

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

# SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION  
This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

February 21, 1925.

## Social-Democracy Strips Itself Naked

### EBERT SPEAKS.

FROM the beginning of the war until the end I stood without reservation on the side of defence of native country, and acted accordingly. During the whole war I was opposed to strikes among the workers of war industries. I spoke with particular emphasis to this effect at the national conference of the German democratic party on Sept. 21, 1916.

The munitions workers' strike in Berlin in January, 1918 broke out without the prompting or approval of the social democratic party.

Neither had I personally anything whatever to do with the strike either directly or indirectly; on the contrary, it took me completely by surprise.

IN the morning of Jan. 28, 1918, a rapid succession of workers' delegations from numerous Berlin works presented themselves at the office of the social democratic party, bringing reports on the strike, and requesting that the central committee of the social democratic party should send representatives to the strike committee, in order to prevent worse from happening. On behalf of the party leaders I pointed out that the strike had originated without the co-operation or approval of the social democratic party. The strikers had already elected a strike committee and formulated certain demands. After this nobody could expect the leaders of the social democratic party to undertake the subsequent responsibility. The workers' delegations then asked if the party leaders would send a delegation to the strike committee, should the delegates' meeting request them to do so. After a long discussion this was replied to in the affirmative.

Here the decisive motive of the party leaders was to prevent the interests of the country from being injured by the strike, and to try to bring the strike to an end as speedily as possible, by means of negotiations with the government.

AFTER a violent contention in the delegates' meeting itself, the majority of the meeting voted for the motion, and the committee of the social democratic party commissioned Otto Braun, Scheidemann, and myself to undertake the party representation. Our entry into the strike committee took place with the proviso, declared to the workers' delegation, that the strike committee was to be reorganized on parity lines, that is, that the social democratic party was to be represented in the committee in equal numbers as the independent social democratic party, and that a renewed discussion on the demands already formulated was to be made possible.  
(Berlin, Vorwärts, Dec. 10.)

### MILITARIST THANKS EBERT.

TODAY I am of the opinion that the strike would have been very rapidly settled if the German government had not adopted a formalist standpoint. In Cologne the commander of the fortress expressed his thanks to the representatives of social democracy for what they had accomplished in preventing Germany's being injured with relation to abroad. At that time I emphasized, at a strikers' meeting, that the strike was nonsense, since the English munitions workers were even foregoing their holidays.

(Berlin, Rote Fahne, Dec. 10.)

IN Munich, the then Bavarian prime-minister, von Dandl, spoke on the strike on Feb. 1, 1918 in the chamber of deputies. In the course of his

speech he turned to the social democrats with the following words:

He thanked them for having now undertaken the leadership of the affair, for from them he hoped that they would guide the movement to a peaceful conclusion, and thus put an end to the insurrection, which was really damaging us seriously in our relations with abroad.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 10.)

### FROM DITTMANN'S EVIDENCE.

WITNESS DITTMANN: The social democrats, and the independ-

### An "INSULT."

MARTIN (barrister): How does this utterance agree with the action taken by the witness with reference to the mutiny in the fleet?

Dittmann (highly excited): I protest against this unheard of attack. I never took any action towards inciting mutiny in the fleet. I shall call you legally to account for this.

Landsberg (barrister): It is perfectly disgraceful to insult the witness here in such a manner.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 10.)

encies, rendering necessary the creation of a defensive organization among the social democratic workmen. This organization, which had the additional object of keeping the party committee informed, made its first appearance during the food strike in 1917. At that time I was working for the firm of Schwartzkopff, where about one-third of the workers were S. D. When the movement broke out in January, I and several functionaries, went to the party committee where we first met only the secretary, Hermann Muller. Muller advised us to pass resolutions in the works, demand-



Henderson

King George

MacDonald

KING GEORGE: As long as the Second International exists the King can slumber and arise in tranquillity.

ents as well, had invariably declared openly that defence of native country was the duty of every German. Haase emphasized this on every occasion. Ledebour too invariably opposed defence nihilism.

The chairman asked the deputy, Dittmann: It was thus your intention to help the strikers to get their demands acceded to?

Witness Dittmann: I find this question very strange in this connection. The formulation is such that I cannot but assume that you mean we had the intention to press something thru by force, in opposition to the interests of the German reich.  
(Vorwärts, Dec. 10.)

### How It Is Done.

THE witness Eimler, a carpenter, spoke of the attitude taken by the witness, Dittmann, at a strike meeting:

Dittmann spoke after Ebert. He said that what had brot us together was the will to peace.

He did not speak of the strike, any more than Comrade Ebert did.  
(Rote Fahne), Dec. 10.

### The Witness Wuschik.

WITNESS WUSCHIK, party secretary: From 1916 onwards the growth of the Spartacus movement was observable in the works and fac-

ing that members of our party committee should enter the strike committee. But this did not appear advisable to us, for it was very questionable whether we should be in a position, under the circumstances, to hold a factory meeting at all. We therefore negotiated immediately with Ebert, Scheidemann, Muller, and Braun. We told them that we should do our utmost to induce the representatives of the functionaries to admit the members of our party committee into the strike committee.

At first Ebert was very gruff, and declared: "I have not the slightest intention of taking part in this movement! Those who have made this bed can lie upon it themselves."

SCHIEDEMANN and Braun were equally unwilling at first, and it was not until after a lengthy discussion that the opinion was arrived at that the members of the party committee, in the interests of national defence, should enter the strike committee, mainly for the purpose of guiding the whole movement into peaceful channels and shortening it. Chairman: Do you know how the members of the majority S. D. party ("majority" social democrats as differing from the "independents," Ed) entered the strike?

Witness: They entered after the majority socialist workers took part. I assume that the well-disciplined right socialist workers took part. I assume that the well-disciplined right socialist workers put pressure on their  
(Continued on page 8)

### Out of Their Own Mouths....

EBERT, social-democratic president of Germany, last December brought suit for libel against the press and individuals of the monarchist persuasion who had accused him of "treason" during the war.

The documents introduced and the testimony given at the trial have just reached us and they constitute the most damning indictment of the social-democracy ever compiled. WE publish herewith the first of a series of articles composed largely of this matter—most of it taken from the social-democrat press of Germany which published it to show that during the war the German socialists of the Second International outdid the monarchists and capitalists in support of the kaiser, the imperialist war, in crushing the strikes and the revolution that followed the war.

OUT of their own mouths....

# The Problem of Bolshevization

By MAX BEDACHT.

IN his article on the coming session of the enlarged executive committee of the Comintern, Comrade Zinoviev warns against the danger that some organizational principles of Bolshevism will be regarded as the whole of Bolshevism. He points out that after the reorganization of the party on the basis of shop nuclei, the problem will be how to fill the nuclei with life.

This life must spring out of the general Bolshevik orientation of the party; it must be applied Bolshevism. Every manifestation of life of the party, must be Bolshevik, conception, orientation, action.

THE recent discussion in our International against Trotskyism was a phase in the process of the Bolshevization of the International. The scope of the discussion silenced even the most consistent non-Bolshevik tendencies within the various Communist Parties. The role of the party in the proletarian struggle for emancipation, and the relation of the revolutionary proletariat to the peasants were in the center of the discussion. Thus two most important Bolshevik principles were given intensive consideration; not abstractly but concretely in connection with the Russian revolution and thus with the world revolution. The fight on both of these questions supply theoretical rallying points of non-Bolshevik elements. But the anti-Trotsky discussion in the International has strengthened Communist understanding and has solidified the theoretical basis upon which a Bolshevik party must be built.

ANOTHER important development contributes to the Bolshevization of the Communist Parties. The consolidation of international reaction behind the Dawes plan facilitates the understanding of the imperialist era of today. It shows capitalism at the height of international organization and, at the same time, it reveals its inner disintegration. It demonstrates ad oculos that the era of imperialism puts the proletarian revolution up as the order of the day. It proves that its present is unbearable, and that its future holds only two alternatives—its victory or its defeats. Its victory means a twentieth century barbarism intensified by modern technique and science. Its defeat means a proletarian victory and a revolutionary transformation of capitalism into communism. The tasks of the proletarian struggle become clearer every day and block the opponents of Bolshevization in their attempts to cover the revolutionary perspective with an opportunist film of inaction and reformist sectarianism.

ALTHOUGH Bolshevization is much more than merely reorganization, yet the problem of reorganization of our party the Workers (Communist) Party, presents a most important phase in its Bolshevization. If we approach this from the correct angle there will be little danger that we fall into the mistake of overestimating its importance.

In our party, the Workers (Communist) Party, the reorganization is of the utmost importance. In Germany, or any of the European countries, where the political problems of the Communist parties present themselves in form of direct revolutionary problems, the reorganization becomes more naturally the adaptation of organizational forms to the revolutionary functions of the party. In the United States, this is not so simple. Of course the functions of our party are not of less revolutionary importance than those of the German party; nor is the shop nuclei form of organization of less importance to our party just because it is further removed from a revolutionary climax of the class struggle than that of Germany. By no means. But at the birth and the early days of development of the Communist movement of America it has looked for its issues against native social democracy or in the realm of abstractions too much in far away European fields. The differences in

the early days of the American Communist movement with social democracy developed more as differences of belief, than of action.

THIS was due more to the immaturity of the movement than to the absence of concrete native issues. Only slowly and gradually did our Communist Party in America learn to function as one. And this development of our party from a Communist propaganda club to a Communist Party is not yet completed. The eggshells of our former existence as socialists still cling to us here and there. So, to a certain degree, the reorganization of our party into shop nuclei is not merely a process of adapting the organizational forms of our party to its necessary functions, but the simultaneous development of Bolshevik functioning and organization.

THE Bolshevized Communist has the revolutionary class struggle uppermost in his mind. All his actions he subjects to his determination of a proletarian victory. For the Communist, the organization, the party, is not an aim in itself. It is an instrument. The quality of this instrument is measured by its usefulness in the proletarian struggle for emancipation. Mere organizational routine means nothing to the party. The question is not how well the inner party organization is functioning, but how well does the party as a whole function outwardly. The smoothness of the inner organizational machinery is important only as far as it facilitates the outward function of the party. In that respect, however, it is of the utmost importance.

REORGANIZATION of our party on the nuclei basis is difficult especially, because of our traditional organizational forms. It is much harder to overcome the natural inertia of tradition than it is to solve the actual technical difficulties. Old traditions have not only preserved organizational forms but also the shortcomings that went with these forms. The principles of federalism underlying our old language group organization have permitted enough segregation of the diverse groups within our party that a measure of autonomy of these groups prevailed. With the change of the fundamental organizational principle of our party from that of federalism to centralism we could not revolutionize the practice. Up to this day there are still whole sections of our party living in practical seclusion and in some degree of independence from the party as a whole. It is true that we adopted a new principle, but the old practice remained. Consistent efforts on the part of the party and also much good will on the part of the language sections and members have gradually brought about considerable improvement—but no fundamental change.

THIS condition is decidedly non-Bolshevik. It fosters and preserves a separate loyalty to a subdivision of the party. It develops separate problems that are entirely aside from the political problems of the party. And no matter how intensely the party endeavors to concentrate on its revolutionary duty, some subdivisions of the party are too busy solving their own particular inner problems to participate unreservedly in the efforts of the party.

It is evident that a fundamental change is required to overcome this difficulty. The reorganization of the party into shop nuclei will bring about this change. But at the same time, this reorganization also presupposes a change. It presupposes a Bolshevization of the minds of the comrades.

AT present we meet again and again the argument that shop nuclei are all right in theory but in practice they are impossible in the United States. This very argument is non-Bolshevik. It presupposes a dualism of theory and practice. Such dualism is unscientific—non-Bolshevik. If theory and practice cannot be made to conform then there must be something radically wrong either with

the theory or with the practice. The quality of the theory is proven in its applicability. A theory that does not work in practice is not built on realities, and is therefore wrong. A Bolshevik party cannot build on such "good" theories that do not work in practice. Form and activities of a Bolshevik party must be made a perfectly harmonious unit of theory and practice.

WHAT is the theory of shop nuclei?

The Communist Party must be the head of the working class. The head is the most important member of the body. It has the eyes to see, the ears to hear, the mouth to speak; it is the seat of the brain where all impressions concentrate to be digested, assimilated and transformed into action. But the head alone cannot act. A head only functions in connection with the body. This connection is supplied by a system of nerves. Nerves are the conveyors by means of which the body transmits all the impressions it receives to the head, the brain. The nerves are also the conveyors that transmit the understanding, the initiative, the will of action of the head to the body. The strike of the fist against the enemy emanates from the head. The nerves convey the will of the head to the arm and fist and that member rises to descend forcefully on the skull of the enemy.

A COMMUNIST party that wants to be the leader, the head of the working class, must penetrate the whole body of the working class with a system of nerves. It must permeate every manifestation of life of the proletariat with an organizational system of nuclei. Every labor organization must be thus permeated.

But the basic labor organization, supplied by capitalist itself is the grouping of larger or smaller numbers of workers at the place of work, in the shop.

All struggles of the working class originate from the relation of that organization to the exploiter. All pressure that drives the workers to fight is applied and felt in the shop. The original form that the worker meets capitalism in, is the relation of the worker in the shop to his boss or the boss' representative. The first form that class solidarity takes among the workers is the solidarity of the workers in one shop. If our Communist Party wants to hear and see for the workers, it must be organized in the shops. If it wants to gain leadership over the workers so that the latter may act in accordance with the party's strategy and tactics, it must be organized in the shop and must thru this organization, thru the nucleus, influence the workers in the shop. Thru party organization in the shop, the party feels the pulse of the working class. Thru the organization in the shop, the party inspires and leads the workers.

ALL these considerations make it imperative that the shop nucleus shall be the basic unit of our party. The reasons why this should be so apply to the United States as much as they apply to any other country in the world.

But, say some comrades, we have some difficulties here in putting the plan into effect. Language difficulties, organizational difficulties, etc.

Unquestionably there are difficulties. However, our comrades must learn to reformulate the problem. Some say now: "There are serious difficulties in the way of that task; therefore we cannot carry it out." They must say: "Our struggle against capitalism demands the carrying out of that task; therefore, let us find ways to overcome all the obstacles in the way."

MANY of the difficulties are already solved—theoretically. The principles of centralization did that for us. All that is needed is to Bolshevize our party and to make our practice conform to our theory. Questions of hall property, printing plants, papers, etc., belong to that category of difficulties. A Bolshevized Communist will consider these questions of

very little importance. He will not ask: "What will become of our property," but "How can we organize the most effective attacks against the enemy, against capitalism, with the forces at our disposal?"

To create this atmosphere among the members of our party is the task of our campaign for Bolshevization. But the needs of reorganization do not permit us to carry out that campaign separate from the problem of actual reorganization.

IN our party the problem of Bolshevizing the minds of our comrades and Bolshevizing the forms of our organization must be solved concurrently.

The greatest technical problem of reorganization is presented by the need of propaganda and agitation among those workers in America who do not speak the native tongue of English. But for the solution of this problem the presently existing federations can be preserved. If our party is made a solid, compact organism that draws every one of its members into the general functions of the body, then the federation will no longer be able to act as segregators by its mere existence.

THE existence of the federations will then supply an additional machinery to the party for foreign language propaganda and agitation. These federations will then no longer be actually parallel organizations to the party as a whole but helpful auxiliaries. Their functions will then be limited not only by a rule on paper but by the fact that the new organizational forms of the party do not leave them any other function except the one that gives them a right for existence.

Here again the Bolshevization of the concept of the membership is needed. The needs of the revolutionary struggle, and the needs of the leading role of the party must be put in the foreground. Instead of a pro-branch, a pro-district, a pro-federation atmosphere there must be developed an anti-capitalist atmosphere. The healthy efforts that most of the subdivisions of the party made in the past to co-operate with the party as a whole in the solution of these problems is some guarantee that this spirit can and will be developed and that we will get a party hewn out of one piece.

SINCE the Bolshevization of organization and action must go hand in hand it is clear that a mere technical reorganization does not suffice. The task remains to fill the nuclei with life.

In the "good old days" we had many branches into whose meetings there never penetrated even a whiff of the storm of the class struggle that whistled around the ears of the proletarian masses in the land. Branch meetings in many, too many instances, were affairs where the spirit of the struggle was put asleep in endless and meaningless routine, instead of being placed where this spirit was fanned. If the shop nuclei should only take over these routine functions of many of our old branches, the reorganization would not mean Bolshevization—but only a temporary disturbance of the comfortable sleep of those branches and members. In the last years there was a considerable improvement and our branches have become more lively. But, as I said at the beginning, the eggshells of our former being are still clinging to us here and there.

THE reorganization will help in the solution of the problems. First it will draw every member who works in the shop, into action. And second it will put the problems of party activity up to the members in a more concrete manner than the territorial and language branch form. It will provide very distinct functions in a very clearly defined sphere of action.

On the other hand the reorganized party will face new problems. Political leadership and direction will have to counter-balance the danger of making out of the shop nucleus an eco-

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# THE I. W. W. REFERENDUM

**T**HE Red International Affiliation Committee, appointed by the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions for promotion of mutual understanding, solidarity and affiliation between the I. W. W. and the revolutionary unions affiliated with the R. I. L. U., considers it necessary to comment upon the results of the general referendum ballot just counted by a ballot committee elected from the I. W. W. members in Chicago.

In so doing, the R. I. A. C. is not moved by any desire to gloat over the confusion and inefficiency within the I. W. W., made evident by the way, in which this ballot was issued and handled, but is attempting sincerely to aid in clarifying issues which it is the duty of the present leadership of the Industrial Workers of the World to explain to the membership at large, and which duty the regular officials are at present shirking.

**T**HE ballot was a very large one, containing 78 provisions to be voted on separately, and carrying also the names of two nominees for the most important office in the I. W. W., that of general secretary treasurer.

It will be remembered that on Dec. 24, 1924, while the ballot was still in the field, the R. I. A. C. issued a statement calling upon both John I. Turner and Arthur Coleman, the contestants for this office, to declare themselves on several most important matters, namely, questions of democratic centralization vs. anarchistic decentralization, for proletarian revolution or for "pure and simpleism," for or against the injunctionites, for or against free and open discussion of policy and principles by the membership in the official press, for organization of the unorganized or for rival unions seeking to destroy other unions, for unity with the Red International of Labor Unions, or for sectarian isolation and impotence, and several other matters.

**N**EITHER of the candidates made any statement of his attitude on these or any other question confronting the I. W. W. This fact may account for what seems at first sight the absolute indifference and recklessness of the membership at large as to what happened or who was elected—at any rate the figures published in Industrial Solidarity show that Coleman, the "winner," had 537 votes "counted" for him, and that Turner had 579, which added to 94 scattering votes written in on the ballot, gives a total of 1,260 votes out of a membership supposed to be in the neighborhood of 30,000. No more than four per cent of the members took the trouble to vote.

**F**URTHERMORE, it well known in radical circles in Chicago that some votes, not enough to invalidate our surmise that the stupid silence of the nominees produced indifference in the membership, but still enough to swing the election from Coleman to Turner, were not counted but were thrown out on a technicality.

There were sixteen ballots from Ashtabula which were burned by the branch secretary there for some reason of his own, but which were known of in detail, because the secretary sent in the stubs of the ballots, and the stubs showed how every ballot was voted on every proposition, who voted and who vouched for him. Enough of these votes were in favor of Turner, to have elected him, but they were not counted because the Coleman supporters insisted this was a ballot committee, and could not count stubs! And this opinion prevailed!

**T**HE R. I. A. C. holds no brief for either of these candidates, as in the absence of any declaration of policy from either of them it is impossible intelligently to choose between them. But we do protest most vigorously against the thwarting of the wishes of the members who cast those votes in good faith, and furthermore, in the narrow legalism and formalism shown by the action of the ballot committee we see a strengthening of one of the gravely dangerous men-

tal disorders among the I. W. W. members, an aberration to which we have had to refer several times before: the inclination to "childishly trust to the letter of the law, allowing the spirit to die, to repose a primitive confidence in dogmas, magical formulas, and precedent, allowing common sense no scope and frequently coming into conflict with the broad principles of class war, class solidarity, and democracy within the union.

**T**HE vote on the other propositions on the ballot was for the most part in the affirmative. Only four questions were defeated. Many of the changes thus made in the I. W. W. constitution are sweeping, but as far as our careful inspection can determine, rather unnecessary and useless.

For example: years ago the I. W. W. had a general executive board elected by unions; this was changed a couple of years ago to one elected at large; this was abandoned in 1923 for one to consist of the chairman of the general organization committees of the various unions, and now in this referendum, the last form of the G. E. B. is discarded, and we return to the older type of G. E. B. elected one member from and by each large industrial union.

**A**LL of this "monkeying" with forms is ridiculous; every sort of G. E. B. so far tried will function fairly well if it represents an enlightened membership, and any sort of G. E. B. which is chosen by technicalities and quibbles, by votes of members who have had no chance to freely discuss persons and issues in their organization press, will be unrepresentative, and at the mercy of the mediocrities, nonentities who will compose it. In this latter case there will certainly be continual confusion, internal dissension, and the ever threatening split.

As far as the 78 propositions themselves are concerned, we shall here call attention to but very few of them. In our analysis of the ballot dated December 24 (and mentioned above), we stated that there were but nine of the questions that were worth bothering about. We shall confine our present statement also to these nine.

**Q**UESTION No. 78, calling for the expulsion of Bowerman, Rowan, Ryan, Trotter and Anderson (the injunctionites), carried by an almost unanimous vote. This is proper. Moreover, we hope that the I. W. W. has learned by bitter experience that mere anti-political fanaticism and glib phrases such as "throw out the Communists," cannot serve in place of a sincere belief in all inclusive revolutionary class unionism.

But it should be noted as a warning that 80 per cent of the votes in Rowan's favor came from the west. And there are others still in the I. W. W. who have the same attitude as the injunctionites, who use the same tactics, avoiding only their grand mistake, and who pose as great "rank and filers." If they get leadership in the present gagged state of the rank and file, the ruin they will do will be no less than Rowan's. Let the members be always vigilant of this danger.

**T**HE membership was given the opportunity to repudiate the clause which prohibits other than wage workers from joining, and it did not do so. It was advised by the last convention to abolish job branches, and it did not do that either.

The vote on these two questions is in accord with the R. I. A. C. stand. Likewise their affirmative vote for question 14, permitting officials to succeed themselves in office, and the vote in favor of question 47, permitting industrial unions to levy their own assessments (in effect allowing a raising of dues in those unions which need it) are approved of by the Reds as measures of efficiency.

**O**n the other hand, the membership in their present state of confusion and misinformation, have voted to the G. E. B. the right to arrange the agenda of the general conventions, and thereby to control them, which is a gag rule by officials, that we who advocate democratic centralization, in-

sis is neither democratic nor centralization. This is a fine example of how union officials, by gagging the members' right to discuss have induced them to grant permission for their further gagging.

The power of any ruling faction to crush out fair discussion and to abolish differences of opinion is also much increased by a vote to give the convention the right to expel any member whose principles are not those of the I. W. W. Let it be remembered that the last convention, like all before it, refused to state what are the principles of the I. W. W. The result is a situation that is silly, and dangerous to unity.

**A**T the same time that this increase in authority over the members is granted, the membership votes to decrease the ability of the general headquarters to organize or educate by cutting the per capita in half—from fifteen cents per member to seven and a half cents. Plainly if headquarters is to do anything, if the I. W. W. means anything to its members, they ought to give it more than 90 cents a year, double and not half rations.

There is also, by virtue of the vote on this ballot, an amendment to the constitution which prohibits any officer of a political party from belonging to the I. W. W. Here the anarchistic confusion is clearly shown, because it is also carried in this same ballot that a member of the I. W. W. can become a political officer, i. e., a sheriff, a policeman, a judge, what you will. (Question No. 75.)

**M**EMBERS of the I. W. W.! Your general constitution now says that if you are prominent in a political party of your own class, you shall be expelled, but if you play dirty capitalist politics, run on the republican ticket instead of on the Communist, and become a member of the capitalistic bureaucracy, that is, an actual wage earner who is sworn to break strikes and send union men to jail, why, you are all right! Or if, like Covington Hall and many other terrible "revolutionists" of the I. W. W., you worked for LaFollette and hoped for a real political appointment, you're a good wobbly if you get it!

The Red International Affiliation Committee, and the Communists within the ranks of the I. W. W., do not believe that this ballot represents the will of the majority of the members on this matter, nor on some other matters mentioned. The smallness of the vote, the fact that the bulk of the vote comes from the "hall-cat" section (the branches in the cities) and not from the jobs, where the real, working members are to be found, shows it.

**T**HIS, and the long, involved and frequently contradictory nature of the ballot, but principally the iron censorship over access to facts or written discussion by the members, everything together combined to defeat the true function of a referendum, which is to find out what the members choose between two or more well understood policies, and give them a chance to elect capable and experienced officials to carry out these policies.

We are forced again to remind the members of the I. W. W. that their organization seems to be absolutely paralyzed. There has not been a large strike won by them for over a year. There is at present almost no organizing going on—the financial reports show that. There are no speakers in the field. The only bit of worth while theoretical matter issued for six months is a single pamphlet by MacDonald; every other piece of literature aside from the periodicals is factional and shamefully poor stuff at that.

The circulation of the papers is down to zero. The general office is cramped now more than ever by lack of funds for educational and defensive purposes. Yet the I. W. W. boasts of its fine principles and dreams of taking over industry.

**M**EANWHILE, capitalism passes to an ever stronger offensive. Just now the bosses are engaged in actual-

ly putting the Industrial Worker where they want it, after it was almost maneuvered there by a couple of blundering editors. Only the practical destruction of I. W. W. job organization in California accounts for the slackening of persecution there; prosecutions increase everywhere else. Nothing is settled, nothing is won.

Many times the Red International of Labor Unions has requested the I. W. W. to pool energies and form a united front with the revolutionary workers of other unions and of other countries for common defense against the capitalistic onslaught, but the I. W. W. officialdom has answered with insults and turned back to its constitutional quibbling.

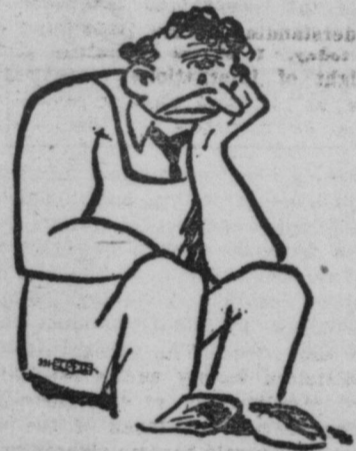
**L**ET all members who sincerely wish to work for the release of all class war prisoners ignore taboos and prejudices and build a united front from below! Make common cause with the Trade Union Educational League and the Workers Party on this and other pressing issues! In needed practical work learn the futility of sectarianism and constitutional tinkering.

For Unity and Revolution.

RED INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION COMMITTEE.

## THE WHITE TERRORISTS CRY FOR MERCY

By MAX BEDACHT



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# Letters From Soviet Russia

## How Klintzy Women Textile Workers Live:

IN one of the newspapers I came across an extract from a report in the German bourgeois newspaper, in which was alleged that the women engaged in the textile industries of Klintzy had not been getting their wages for months, that they had been declaring strikes, and similar nonsense.

It is, of course, a brazen bourgeois lie from beginning to end. Here I merely want to tell our German comrades how the women textile workers live here at Klintzy.

In the first place, we get our wages regularly twice a month: 50 per cent in money on the 7th of each month, and 50 per cent in the products purchased on our books at our own co-operative store.

OUR workers and peasants' government and our trade unions take every care to create the best possible living conditions for the workers. Our industry and agriculture are growing and developing day by day, and with the growth of our national economy the life of the workers steadily improves. In our own particular case, we, the working women of Klintzy, have experienced a vast improvement in our living conditions, and this improvement grows year by year along with the growth of our industries.

I MIGHT mention some of our achievements. At each factory there are creches for our children. On going to work we leave our children there (for eight hours), where they get food, clothing and proper care.

During the last few weeks we also opened evening classes, which re-

ceive children not only from working women, but also from wives of working men.

The creches enable us also to put our children in safe keeping in our spare time, so that we can attend the club, the theater, the various schools and study circles, and the meetings of the social, trade union and political organizations, in which we take equal part with the working men.

THE working men and women in the textile industry have achieved a good deal of progress in the housing question in 1924. We have four community houses, splendidly equipped, with accommodation for 500 people, of whom 250 are working men.

We have so far established one dining hall (a second one will be opened shortly), at which we get well-cooked and nourishing dinners of two courses, and of three courses on holidays, for the comparatively cheap price of 25 kop. per dinner. Many of the working women take advantage of these dinners to get rid of the drudgery and slavery of the kitchen.

PROTECTION of labor is observed in our factories according to the decrees of the People's Commissariat of Labor, in which the following provisions are made: A woman in pregnancy obtains a vacation of four months—two months before and two months after child-birth; nursing mothers are allowed half an hour interval to feed the baby during working hours; a benefit is paid to every mother of a new-born child; women are debarred from night work for nine months after child-birth.

In the summer time working women have their vacations, which many of them spend at recreation homes, sanatoria and health resorts (those in

bad health), thus recuperating their health so that they might with renewed force join in the building up of their proletarian states, in strengthening its power and thereby improving their own lives.

ANOTHER factor for the improvement of the living conditions of the working men and women are the so-called "pioneer detachments," in which the children, beginning from the age of four, obtain a proletarian education, while the working women themselves take part in the organization which looks after the education of their children. We have also art and craft schools, in which young boys and girls are trained into skillful workers, by individual tuition, so that they will subsequently graduate as skilled workers, this we never had before the October revolution.

THIS is how our Klintzy working women live. We would like to exchange correspondence with our comrades, British women in the textile industry. The working women of the textile industry of Klintzy invite you to visit us and to become acquainted with our life on the spot.

A Woman Textile Worker,  
Klintzy, Jan. 16.

KLINTZY, Gomel Gubernia.

Dear Comrades,

I should like to tell you about our life and doings, as I often read in the Soviet papers that your bourgeois papers misinform you about the workers in our country.

I work in a leather factory which employs over 200 people, 78 of whom are members of the Communist Party and 45 are members of the Young Communist League. I should like to remind you of the hard times which

the workers of our factory experienced under Nicholas the autocrat.

Our employer was the manufacturer, Baryshnikov, who had also a cloth factory employing 2,000 workers.

IN those days, the only solace of the workers was to get drunk, and thus drown all their sorrows. At present, instead of Baryshnikov, the factory is managed by a worker whom we elected. He is the manager of the factory and all the others help him in his work. He does not work under compulsion but of his own free will, for the more we produce the better our own position becomes, and not that of the manufacturer.

WE have our own club where the workers find rest and sensible occupations and amusements after their daily work. The club has study circles on political and trade union questions. It publishes a wall newspaper and has also a dramatic circle, and all this has been created by our workers and they themselves participate in everything.

THE Soviet government's call for increased production met with a ready response from our workers. They make full use of the 8-hour day and hope that in the near future the result will be that our goods will become cheaper and will become accessible to the peasant consumer. We keep in close contact with the peasants of the Sinkovka village. They come to our social evenings, and we go to theirs. We have set up for them a threshing machine at the cost of 1,100 poods of corn. We carry on cultural work among them. These are only a few particulars about our life. I will write you more fully later on.

Z. Erdman,  
Tanner.

## Notes of International Labor Movement

### EXPULSION OF INDIAN COMMUNIST LEADER.

Paris.—Following on the expulsion of hundreds of Italian and Spanish workers who had sought refuge in France from the savage persecution directed against them in their own countries, Comrade M. N. Roy, Indian representative on the Communist International has been expelled from France by the Herriot government. There are indications that this act of the Herriot government was carried out at the request of England, which has reason to fear the organizer of India's oppressed masses, and has been pursuing him from country to country. Great indignation has been aroused among French Communists by this latest fascist manifestation.

### KRASSIN ON FRENCH AGREEMENT.

PARIS.—In the course of an interview given a representative of Rosta in Moscow, Krassin stated that the first steps taken toward an economic rapprochement between France and the U. S. S. R. promise good results. If French concerns are willing to grant sufficient credit terms, he said, the Russian market will absorb an immense quantity of the products of French mechanical industries.

### MINER SHOWS INVENTIVE GENIUS.

MOSCOW.—According to news received from Lugansk, the head miner, Comrade Simonov of the Sverdlov mine of the Dalzhansk mining district has invented a new hewing machine which gives excellent results. Its distinguishing feature is its lightness (8 pounds instead of the usual three poods), and the ease with which it can be adjusted. With the help of this machine, one can cut the layer of coal into pieces without exploding it first with dynamite. This makes the process of getting coal considerably easier.

Comrade Simonov has also invented a spade to serve out coal, with a cap-

acity of 40 poods; the output equals 5,000 poods in 24 hours. Simonov's invention is being used in the mine with great success.

The scientific-technical department of the Ukrainian Supreme Council of National Economy (V. S. N. H.) has placed the Sverdlov mine at Comrade Simonov's disposal for the trial and application of his inventions.

### WRANGLER'S BANDS IN JUGO-SLAVIA.

BELGRADE.—It is reported that for several days Wrangel has been mobilizing his forces and preparing for an offensive against the U. S. S. R. The Jugo-Slav and Bulgarian governments are actively aiding in the mobilization. Many of the most prominent figures of czarist Russia coming from France, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria and the other countries where they have been living as refugees, participated in a secret conference held at Zemlin (near Belgrade), attended also by a number of officers of the Jugo-Slav general staff and former czarist generals, at which plans were outlined for an offensive against the U. S. S. R.

The counter-revolutionaries are speaking openly of their return to Russia in the near future. They claim that the Balkans will be the counter-revolutionary base, and say the Jugo-Slav army will not take active part in the war, at the start, but will maintain peace in the Balkan countries.

### DRIVE AGAINST ENGLISH RAIL MEN.

LONDON.—The National Union of Railwaymen and the Association of Railway Employes have presented a national program for wage increases to the companies. The railway directors have not only met the demands of the workers with refusal, but have replied with a counter-proposal for a general wage reduction, ranging from six shillings a week in the provinces to four shillings a week in London. The demands of the railway work-

ers include a basic wage of 16 shillings a day for mechanics, a minimum of three pounds a week for laborers, the working day and week guaranteed for all railroad workers without distinctions, and pensions from 60 years.

For several weeks the capitalist press has been carrying on a violent campaign against the program of the railworkers. The leaders of the national union say that they are "surprised" by the companies' attack. The rank and file are in no mood to accept a wage cut, and even Cramp, the union secretary, admits that a crisis will arise if the companies persist in their present attitude.

### MINERS' SHOP COMMITTEES MEET.

BERLIN.—At the conference of shop committees of the miners of central

### RUSSIAN MOVIES AT GERMAN-AMERICAN HOME KENOSHA, WIS., FEB. 28

The famous movies, "Polikushka," a six-reel story made by the Moscow Art Theater, "In Memoriam—Lenin," showing the life and funeral of Lenin, and a Russian comedy, "Soldier Ivan's Miracle," will be shown SATURDAY, FEB. 28, from 4 to 11 p. m. at the German-American Home, 665 Grand Ave., Kenosha, Wis.

These pictures have been drawing the biggest crowds in Chicago, New York and other big cities. They will be shown in Kenosha ONLY ONE EVENING, FEB. 28. There will be three showings on that evening. The first will start at 4 p. m. sharp. Make sure to attend. Tell your friends about it. Don't miss the greatest treat in your life.

### NOTICE, CHICAGO!

Keep Saturday evening, March 28, 1925, an open date for a Y. W. L. affair.

Germany held at Berlin, Comrades Halle, Rozenbaum, Koenen and Stroetz, delegated by the Communist Reichstag fraction, spoke on the present situation of the miners, trade union unity, the next developments in the struggle of German proletariat, etc. Sixty-five shop committees were represented.

All the resolutions and appeals presented were adopted unanimously. An appeal addressed to all the miners of central Europe spoke of the necessity of realizing a united front of all the exploited and of conquering the trade unions. The appeal referred to the demands of Gotha program, emphasizing in particular: the seven hour shift; wage increases of 40 per cent to meet the increased cost of living; extension of the rights of shop committees; pensions for the aged and invalids fixed at 80 per cent of the regular wage, etc.

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# Views of Our Readers on Many Subjects

## In the Midst of the K. K. K.

Being a migratory worker, hunting my daily bread—migrating from town to town in our so-called civilized capitalist America, recently I have come to a small town, situated in the suburbs of Detroit, Mich., about nine miles for the city hall, called Ecarse.

It is known as a wide open town for immoral purposes and bootleggers who transport whisky from Canada. The prov. of Ontario and the city of Windsor, are just across the Detroit River, therefore, it is easy to bring whisky and beer into this country.

Never did I see so many K. K. K. men as at the Michigan Steel corporation, which is situated in Ecarse, Mich. In this plant every other worker is a member of the K. K. K. The president, who answers to name of Fink, is a member right alongside of a common laborer. The superintendent, who was advanced recently, to the position of general manager and second vice-president, is also a member of this hypocritical organization. He received a Christmas present from the company of \$10,000 company in stock. The workers received none. He has had \$75,000 in stock before the present was given to him, thus making him a total of \$85,000, plus his yearly salary of \$18,000.

The corporation made a net profit—a surplus value, as Marx would call it—of \$2,000,000 during the year of 1924. This capitalist enterprise was put up only two years ago and employs about 800 workers. Considering these two facts the company made an enormous profit out of the workers' toil.

I met two comrades, members of the Workers (Communist) Party, working in this capitalist hell.

There's an organized spy system which is so secretly conducted that hardly a man will notice it, and, of course, the K. K. klansmen are the ones who claim the leadership.

If a man employed there shows signs of radicalism he is either immediately "fired" or reduced to the smallest job to discourage him and he quits of his accord.

I've been told by a K. K. K. that they have about 15,000,000 members in this country. "They are," he says, "for the Americanization of all those who wish to be 100 percenters." The others they will deport to their respective lands. He himself is a foreigner. The admission fee is \$100.00. He asked me to join this fascist organization, knowing that I am American born. I told him I am a Communist, a Bolshevik, if you like.

But this ignorant patriot let the cat out of the bag before he found out that I am a Communist. He gave me in a haphazard way the following information about the K. K. K.:

They want the yellow race driven out of the country; they are against the Jews in the east and their influential power in business; they are against the Negroes, particularly workers, for the mass of Negroes are workers; they are against the foreign born workers because they all come here to preach Communism.

I asked him about the Teapot Dome steals. He replied: "They ought to be severely punished for their crime." I asked him if the K. K. K. ever hopes to control the government. "Thru educational methods and peaceful tactics," says he.

I cited the Herrin riots and others in southern states. His poisonous lips turned blue and exclaimed very harshly, "They were not the work of real K. K. klansmen."

Later on I was told that no Negro workers are employed there. Comrades, we have three Communists toiling there, myself, a Roumanian and an Italian, and I am of the opinion that it is high time we organized a shop nucleus, even at the risk of our jobs. For Karl Marx said that the way to Communism is not paved with beautiful roses. We should always remember this.

Tom J. Bergen.

## Use Cold Logic with Murderers!

To the DAILY WORKER: One of the socialist papers recently published an article named "Blood and Dirt," written by the Jewish "poet," David

Einhorn, once a "Bundist," now a yellow, like the paper he writes for, The Jewish Forward. This article is the first of a series to be devoted to attacking the Communists. For he as well as his pal and fellow traitor—the notorious white-guard—R. Abramovitch, were imported here by our yellows to propagate the American workers against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

In this article he criticizes Communists for being so aggressive in their attacks upon their enemies and social-traitors. Why, asks this "yellow," do the Communists apply such names as "Traitor," "Sold Soul," etc.? Can they not by "cold, logical reasoning" convert their enemies? And why did the Communists imprison

their "comrades," (!) the mensheviks? These who had united with the Kolchaks, Denekins and Wrangels, who were supported by the capitalists of France, England, America, etc. Why did they imprison these "comrades"? And why did they criticize and fight against the yellow socialists in Esthonia? Why did they not use "cold, logical reasoning" with them?

These yellow socialists in Esthonia in a report to their Second International complained about the "intrigues" of the Communists at the time of the Esthonia revolt. These socialists excuse their actions in the following way: "From a distance our action may appear like counter-revolutionary, but we could not help it! Here was

not the question of an uprising, but a conspiracy forced by Moscow... Russian warships were stationed in the waters of Esthonia. With their help the revolt would naturally turn into a successful revolution, and the proletariat would establish its dictatorship over the people." The socialist party of Esthonia according to what they say in their report are satisfied that the bourgeois government of Esthonia was successful in crushing this revolt and maintaining the bourgeois "republic of Esthonia." The socialist party of Esthonia wishes rather the government of the bourgeoisie than that of the proletariat. The Second Internationalists, the representatives of the socialist parties in all countries will naturally approve of this action. They will not for a moment consider the contradiction between their action and the theory of the class struggle and revolution, which some are up to the present day meaninglessly preaching.

In the face of these facts this renegade, yellow socialist, asks why Communists imprison and attack so vigorously, these traitors.

Use "cold logic" with them? Use "cold logic" against Kolchak and Wrangel, when the Kolchaks have united with the yellow socialists to overthrow the only workers' republic on earth?

J. Durke

## Egeberg, Terror of Gary Steel Mills Stabbed by Laborer

GARY, Ind., Feb. 20.—H. O. Egeberg, employment manager of the United States Steel corporation mills at Gary, is recovering from wounds he claims he received at the hands of Z. Plasco, a Mexican laborer.

Egeberg refused to hire the laborer and ordered him from the employment office, charging him with being a "trouble maker."

Egeberg, formerly a member of the socialist party, is known among the workers in the Gary mills as a tyrant who "never forgets a face." Workmen in the mills who have been discharged for organizing the workers into unions find it difficult to get by Egeberg's blacklist.

The laborer was badly beaten by other members of the steel mills staff, and was thrown into jail.

The May Day will be celebrated by Workers Party, Local Chicago on May 1, 1925 at the Ashland Auditorium.

Comrades—Settle for Lenin Memorial tickets. We want to straighten out all the accounts for this affair.



THE Ivestia, in publishing the above cartoon of Baldwin, the British imperialist premier, remarks in a prophetic vein: "The Egyptians have a custom of mummyfying their rulers."

# MUSIC - LITERATURE - DRAMA

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN.

THE Bach mass in b minor, given by the Apollo club at Orchestra Hall last Monday evening, is an interesting combination of modernity and antiquity. It was written nearly two centuries ago. As a mass, then, it is fairly modern, but as music it is old, no antique. It leaves one with a peculiar mixed impression of monotony, and yet a monotony that becomes tiresome only after a few hours.

The mass has existed as a part of the Roman catholic liturgy for untold centuries. In its classic form it has six sections, but Bach, by elaborating the opening section into three parts, the second into eleven, and the third into seven, changed the simple twenty minute service into a long oratorio nearly three hours.

Anyone familiar with the Bach style can understand the sort of music he set to the Latin text. The style of Bach was so hidebound that all his melodies sound alike, tho there may be considerable variation in the actual notes. In all the b minor mass there are only two tunes that stand out as essentially different from the dead level of the composer's style.

It seems as if J. S. Bach never could have been young. All his music sounds like the creation of an old man. But in some of the choruses of this oratorio are passages of a great singing glory of tone unsurpassed because unsurpassable.

There are some fine solos in the work too, but they were all indifferently done by a mediocre quartet of soloists. They were Arthur Boardman, tenor; Emily Stokes Hager, soprano; Florence Evans, contralto, and Robert Maitland, bass.

The psychology of the religious hold on mankind is intimately tied up with works like this mass. Without the masterpieces of architecture, painting and music the church would lose its following. But one may enjoy the esthetic works that religion has turned to its own purposes without in the least subscribing to the beliefs of the church. One may hear the Apollo club sing "Credo in unum dominum, Jesum Christum," without in the least believing in one lord, Jesus Christ, and knowing that thru-out the ages the church has been the most reactionary force in society, but nevertheless deriving a thrill of esthetic enjoyment from the chorus.

Harrison Wild, the club's conduc-

tor, is on the sick list and Edgar A. Nelson substituted for him. Nelson is one of the ablest musicians in town, as a conductor, organist, pianist and teacher, and gave a characteristically excellent performance.

The Chicago Symphony orchestra accompanied. There was solo work in the orchestra that partly made up for the bad solo voices. Mr. Zukovsky had some extensive violin solos, and Hesselbach and Napolilli did wonders with the obsolete oboe d' amore, dug up to play this old score.

## Second-Hand Books

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# A Communist Defense

By Walter Frank

AS a member of the trade union movement I know that its most sacred principle is the inalienable rights of its members to defend themselves when on trial, and in conformity with the constitution of the A. F. of L. I have right to demand it, and you if sincere, should not deny me that privilege. Since my defense will be based upon my own judgment, upon conditions as I see and understand them, and because you intend to convict me, according to your own judgment, feeling, passion, or prejudices, you cannot be consistent when you deny me the same privileges, that you ask for, and exercise yourself. When you deny me this right, you yourself should be placed on trial for having violated the constitution and principles you pretend to uphold.

TO me this trial is not a joke, it is a serious matter. Charged with fighting against the interest of my class, concerns me more, than any other charge, no matter how grave.

Permit me to say this is the first time, during my eighteen years of humble activity in the labor movement, yes, I say the revolutionary labor movement, in several countries, that such charges have ever been placed against me. But I am not concerned about myself as an individual, but only concerned about the interest of the working class, about the interest of the organization of which I am a member. I am proud of being a member of the Workers (Communist) Party.

THE members of this organization are fighting every day courageously, both in and outside of the trade union movement, in the interest of the workers. An organization which is occupying the front line trenches, and are the vanguards and working class shock troops, in the bitter class struggle between the workers and their enemies, the capitalist class and their hired thugs, gunmen, and stool pigeons.

HOW many times have I listened to fakers tells us, that there is nothing in it for us, in our struggle for the workers, but poverty and persecution. Yes, brothers, the workers' struggle is our struggle, and it is a hard road to travel, a stony one, full of persecution, hardships, imprisonment, firing squads and torture. It is a road full of the bones of the victims of several epochs of slavery, and struggle, the bones of heroes of working class revolutionary struggle. They traveled it in Russia, they passed after unbelievable misery, the milestone of tottering czarism and

TWO articles, "A Communist's Defense" and "Slander, Sluggers, Sleuths—S. P.-ism Up-to-Date," in today's magazine section, deal with the class struggle in cities as far apart as Philadelphia and Minneapolis. One is the speech of a comrade unseated by the labor fakers in Minneapolis because he was a Communist. The other is a description of the Abramovich meeting in Philadelphia.

BOTH are working class history in the sense that they occur as part of the international struggle against world capitalism in all its phases. There is a direct connection between Abramovich of the traitorous Second International and his war on Soviet Russia and the bureaucrats of the American labor movement and their war on Soviet Russia and the Communists.

capitalism, and reached the first milestone on the road of working class emancipation, the Soviet Government of Russia.

It is not us, as individuals, that our enemies hate, it is our program.

NOW, brothers, what is it in our program that has caused this brain-storm among our labor fakers? First, we advocated a united front campaign against child labor. You say, so do we. Yes, we admit you are for the child labor amendment. But, brothers, did it ever strike you, that it is meaningless without government maintenance of the children of the exploited workers and poor farmers? Is it not due to the starvation wages paid those workers and farmers, that forces them to drive their children into the mills, mines, and fields, in order to raise the family wage to a level, where they can supply themselves with the most meager existence of life?

The workers cannot afford to keep their children in school up to the age of eighteen, they have not got the price. We say, it is the duty of the working class to force our government to levy taxation upon profits and high incomes, to raise the funds necessary for government maintenance of the workers' and poor farmers' children while in school.

WE advocate work or wages for the unemployed. Why are the workers frequently thrown into the streets by the millions, why are they deprived of their right to earn their daily bread, in this land of the "free"? Because when the parasites who own the means and tools of production and distribution, cannot find a market for the wealth that the workers produce, and when there is no immediate prospect for another imperialist blood-bath to drown a few million unemployed wage slaves in, they close the industry. They are not concerned about our welfare, or the welfare of our children.

They are only concerned about safeguarding their profits.

CAPITALIST production, is the cause of unemployment, it takes away from the workers the right to work. Therefore, we advocate union wages for the unemployed, to be paid by the owners of industry. That is not charity. We should not ask for charity. We should fight for our right to live, for the right to work, and the right to enjoy the fruits of our labor.

Next to our program is amalgamation of our out-of-date craft unions into industrial unions. This campaign that we are waging in the trade union movement for more modern, more militant and progressive forms of organization and methods in our everyday struggle for shorter hours, better wages, and working conditions, is an exigency, that has been forced upon us by the rapid changes that have, and are, constantly taking place in our mode of production and distribution, rendering our forms of organization obsolete.

WHETHER you want to or not, you cannot stop the forces of evolution. You are pushed toward new forms of organization or else you have to go backwards, you cannot stay still, stagnation means degeneration and death.

To expect the working class to be victorious in their fights for better working conditions, better wages, shorter hours, etc., against those powerful capitalist industrial organizations with their present out-of-date craft unions, it is too silly to even seriously consider. The capitalists know this, that is why they fight the Workers (Communist) Party and its program savagely, for fear that the workers may learn our program and organize revolutionary industrial unions.

YOU know that you have lost hundreds of strikes because of your

bankrupt craft union policy, because of your failure to organize industrially. You must organize industrially if you are to preserve the labor movement. When you begin to amalgamate your craft unions into industrial unions, based upon the revolutionary class struggle, you will begin to travel the road to victory, to real power.

It is true that such amalgamation would cause many of our labor fakers to lose their fat ten thousand dollar a year jobs, and that, they resent. They would rather keep their ten thousand dollar jobs, and let the labor movement go to hell, than to give up those jobs and help the workers in improving their forms of organization. That is why they are fighting us, and in that fight, the capitalist class supports them. That is why they want to expel us, and let me tell you, brothers, that this expulsion of the most active members in the trade union movement is the united front policy with the enemies of the workers.

WE are not only concerned with the immediate everyday questions only, but we also know that the workers will never solve their problems permanently until they have destroyed the cause of their misery. Just as true as it is that you cannot cure yourself of any sickness, until you have discovered and removed the cause of that sickness, just as true is it that you will not be able to escape new imperialist blood-baths, new periods of starvation, and unemployment, until you have destroyed its economic cause, namely, our present system of society that boasts of its christian principle, of its civilization, culture and capitalist democracy, but is in reality based upon profit, and murder.

REMEMBER, that the deliverration of America from British imperialism was not done by the ballot-box which is an illusion fostered to safeguard the political state of capitalist dictatorship, but was accomplished by a revolution. How about the chattel slavery question? Was that settled by legislation, by the ballot-box? No, it was settled by civil war. The entire human history is in evidence, that no ruling class ever gave up its usurped power, its privileges, its parasitical existence without a struggle to the bitter end. The climax of the proletarian class struggle is the social revolution, the instrument that destroys a system, that fails to satisfy the needs of the people. Our slogan, as Communists, is "Forward to a united front campaign of all working

(Continued on page 7.)

## Slander, Sluggers, Sleuths—S. P.-ism Up-to-Date

By LENA ROSENBERG.

YOU come over to the theater where the meeting is to be held and if you were not already searched by special plain clothes men one block away from the theater you notice about 25 policemen in the entire block where the theater is.

Then if you are lucky enough to reach the lobby of the Arch Street Theater you come over to the door and show your ticket. Then about 15 plain clothes men who make their living during strikes and happen to know all militants, look you over and if you happen to be one of those who have ever participated in a strike you are told that you can't come in and if you protest you are told by the police to get the hell out or you will be locked up. When I insisted on knowing why they wouldn't let me in, I was thrown out on the sidewalk and arrested.

ANOTHER comrade who is well known to the sluggers for her activity during strikes was told that she can't come in and was also told by the policemen, "You know me, and I know you better, leave before I get rough."

Finally, after a thoro selection of those that they thought were safe, they started the meeting by introduc-

ing the chairman and assuring the audience that all precautions are being taken against any disturbance.

Vladeck took the chair and expressed himself as one of those socialists who don't always worry about socialism, we only think of socialism when we have a holiday, all other times we are too busy, busy with our business and other daily problems. After his "wonderful" address he introduced a number of people who greeted Abramovich.

FINALLY about ten o'clock Abramovich was introduced and the audience was ordered to stand up but only some of the audience stood up and they felt very uncomfortable because it is not pleasant to stand for somebody when you notice most of the people remain in their seats and they immediately sat down again.

Abramovich started his infamous address and told the audience that he was sent by the workers of Russia to tell the American people the truth about Russia and that they are being terribly oppressed. Immediately the selected audience began telling Abramovich that he is lying and the police and sluggers were on the job, using their clubs freely as per Socialist Abramovich's instructions. They finally

arrested a number of them and Abramovich went on and was going to say something about Lenin when the entire audience started applauding Lenin's name, altho the police tried to stop the applause by hitting some people over their hands: the applause was kept up until they were forced to play the Marseillaise to quiet the crowd.

HE then made another attempt and there was disturbance from all over the hall, cries of "counter-revolutionist," "liar," and many other such pleasant remarks.

Then Abramovich started to yell: "Committee, I can't speak," and the committee, who consisted of thugs and police, got on the job again and clubbed everybody within reach. Those that put up any resistance were thrown into the patrol wagons that were in readiness and taken to the police station where they were registered and put into a cell. It took about 260 policemen to do the job which lasted till about eleven o'clock and yet when Abramovich attempted to speak the disturbance started all over again and he was not heard. The workers of Philadelphia refused to hear his lies.

AS for the prison, a remarkable spirit prevailed. Comrades were

singing revolutionary songs and everybody was happy even tho they were locked up.

The comrades who were not arrested were on the job getting comrades out as soon as possible and when we were sentenced to either ten days or \$12.50 or five days or \$7.50, the comrades who were waiting outside because they were not permitted to stay in emptied their pockets and within an hour or so all those who were arrested at the socialist meeting were released including some non-Workers Party members who were also arrested.

THOSE who were non-party members were very appreciative when they noticed that altho they were not party members they were taken out by Communists and also pointed out that now they see the difference between the Communists and socialists.

I am sure that many of those militant workers who stayed out from the Workers Party will now see the necessity of joining the Workers Party in order to carry on the struggle not only against the capitalists, but also against the betrayers who belong to the socialist party and who are now known as betrayers of the working class all over the world.

# IN A GROCERY STORE

By PAUL JOHNSON

IT was an insignificant occurrence. Mrs. Jim Duquesne went into the store to buy some groceries. She was forty-five; her face was pale and sallow; her dress, an old suit of blue serge, was wrinkled and shapeless and even had a few tears that had not been patched. She had to wait; there were other customers before her. So she stood obscurely in a corner while the others were being waited on.

Mr. Lundquist came in. He was a portly man of fifty; well dressed, with an air of prosperity and well being. The clerk turned immediately to him, but Mr. Lundquist waved him aside, saying "I can wait. There are others ahead of me I believe." And he too, stepped aside to wait his turn.

"Why, good day, Mrs. Duquesne" he greeted, for the first time noticing the woman. "I did not know you were up and around yet."

"Oh, yes, Mr. Lundquist, this is the second time I've been down town. I'm feeling better now. Yesterday I was down to the village; the day before that I took a walk around the house. Surely I'm feeling better. Next Monday, perhaps, I can come to your house."

"I doubt if you'll be able to do that, Mrs. Duquesne. You had better take it easy for a couple of weeks more. You catch a cold now, after having had the pneumonia, and it would be a mighty serious affair."

"Yes sir, Mr. Lundquist, indeed it would, but I feel that I can make it all right. I'm feeling so strong now that I hardly know what to do with myself."

"But I thought you only got out of bed four days ago?"

"Oh yes sir, Monday it was. But that is quite a time. And I've been taking it very easy ever since. Surely to do a bit of a washing won't be particular hurt."

At this juncture a clerk tapped her arm with the curt question: "Will there be anything for you?"

"Surely sir. A sack of flour sir. The small sack, if you have it. Sizes? What sizes have you sir? None less

than twenty-four pounds? And how much? Oh, sir, perhaps I had best not get any flour today—the large sack is really too big for Jim and me. We could never use it all. A loaf of bread then—a small one."

She turned back to Mr. Lundquist. "We eat just a bit now, Jim and me. He hasn't eaten anything but tea for a week. Really, I don't care for much either. 'Tis a pity, I suppose, to cheat the grocery men so." She laughed, and turned her attention back to the clerk.

"A little tea, please. About ten cents worth of this bulk. I hate to keep much in the house—its loses its strength."

"We have some in quarter and half pound tins" suggested the clerk. "It will retain its flavor better there."

"Don't bother, sir. The bulk will be good enough."

"How is Mr. Duquesne?" inquired Mr. Lundquist.

"Jim was feeling better a time back, but the last couple weeks he's been worse. He don't eat much; he's getting thin and pale like; coughs considerable. Doctor said he was looking bad, but I figure he'll pull thru all right. Jim always used to be strong and healthy like—that's what helps."

THE clerk's voice again: "Anything else, ma'am?"

"Yes sir. Have you a bit of orange, sir. One or two will be far too many, I'm sure. Jim thinks perhaps he can eat an orange. He won't touch anything else."

"You must pardon me, Mrs. Duquesne," said Mrs. Lundquist. "But I don't follow you. I did not know that your husband was sick. How long has he been ill?"

"It's been all of a year and a half since he was feeling himself. Then he had to quit work. He's been in bed only for a couple months. Of course he was able to get up and walk around a bit at first, but not for a month now has he been out of bed."

"Well, now, that's too bad. I didn't know that. You must pardon me again, Mrs. Duquesne, but how is Mr.

Duquesne ailing? I mean has he the pneumonia, as you had, or is it something else?"

"The doctor says it is the consumption, sir. A year ago he wanted Jim to go to the mountains or to the sanatorium, but Jim didn't want to go. 'Twould have cost a good deal, too."

SHE turned again to the clerk. "A pint of milk, sir, if you please."

She walked guardedly to the counter where the clerk waited.

"Thirty-eight cents, ma'm, it comes to."

Mrs. Duquesne fumbled thru a tattered black pocketbook and brot forth two nickles, a dime, four pennies, one by one; another nickel—that was the end. She thrust the money quickly onto the counter and started to leave.

The clerk, immediately seeing the shortage, began to count the money loudly, that she might hear. Then, in an embarrassed voice: "The bill is thirty-eight cents, ma'm. This is twenty-nine. Let's see now . . . " He pondered as tho on a difficult problem in calculus. "That makes just nine cents more."

Mrs. Duquesne fumbled thru her packages, then set them hurriedly down and pretended to ransack her purse. It was empty. She ran her hands thru the two pockets of her dress.

"Here, sir. Take back the milk . . . no, the tea . . . no, the bread . . . no, wait. I'll owe you nine cents. Pay you tomorrow."

HASTILY she picked up the packages and turned toward the door. The clerk went to wait on the next customer. Mrs. Duquesne passed Mr. Lundquist as she went out. He lifted his hat. "I hope that Mr. Duquesne will be improving soon."

"Yes sir, and so do I. 'Twill all come about all right tho. You can tell Mrs. Lundquist that I'll be there Monday to do the washing. If she's got any scrubbing or cleaning before then I'd be glad to . . . "

"All right. But you must not come until we tell you to. That is, before Monday. You must be careful of yourself or you'll be running into con—

Give my regards to Mr. Duquesne and tell him I hope for his speedy recovery."

"Oh, yes sir. I'll not come, until then. And thank you. Good bye Mr. Lundquist."

"Good day, Mrs. Duquesne."

SHE was barely out of the door when Dr. Pratt entered. He sighted Mr. Lundquist.

"Good day, Mr. Lundquist." "How do you do, doctor. Fine weather we're having."

"Yes, very fine; tho a little rain would be of great benefit to the farmers."

"That's true," affirmed Mr. Lundquist. "In fact I believe that if we do not get rain soon the small grains will suffer for it. I was talking to a man from south of town who has two hundred acres in oats. He said that his grain needed moisture badly."

"I guess he's right," agreed the doctor.

"Oh, say, by the way, doctor—do you know of a Jim Duquesne here in town who used to work for the coal company as a driver who has got the consumption?"

"Yes, I believe I do. I was down to see him yesterday, I think it was. The poor devil, he's in the last stage. Nothing I can do for him, nor anyone. I told him over a year ago to go to a sanatorium, but he was stubborn as a bull. He wouldn't listen to me. Don't know as he could afford to go anyway. It's too bad, tough. He's likely to die most any time now. Did you know him?"

"Oh, I'd heard about him. Just a bit curious."

THE doctor waved his hand thru the crowd. "Sorry, but I see my wife, so I'll have to leave you. And say, those people have certainly had bad luck. Mrs. Duquesne just got over the pneumonia. Just one thing after another with them—hard luck."

"Yes, I know" answered Mr. Lundquist as the doctor vanished thru the door.

And Mr. Lundquist, for no reason at all, went to another store to make his purchases.

## The Problem of Bolshevization

(Continued from page 2)

conomic unit. It will be one of the tasks of Bolshevization to drive home to the members and sub-divisions of the party the fact, that the problem of the party is not that of industrializing itself, but that of politicalizing the working class as a whole.

SINCE capitalism presents itself to the worker immediately in the form of his boss, and since the problems of capitalism are to him first of all the problems of his relations to the boss, his wages, hours, treatment, general conditions of the shop, it will be the great task of the Communists to build on these problems, to extend the view of the worker, to show him in propaganda and action the connections of these immediate and seemingly personal problems with the big problem of society as a whole, and to make the whole shop a driving force, a nucleus within the working class as a whole.

IN the hour when capitalism has reached the turning point of its career, when the class struggle gets nearer and nearer the final climax of a revolutionary struggle for power, Bolshevization of the party becomes a test of the will to struggle and victory. Our party will pass this test. It will build and rebuild the Workers (Communist) Party of America into an irresistible force behind which will rally in struggle the American working class until victory is achieved.

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## A Communist Defense

(Continued from page 6)

class organizations for the daily struggle and the final victory—the dictatorship of the working class—a workers' and farmers' government."

THIS constitutes my defense against the charges preferred against me for being a member of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. Now, either do your dirty work and join the yelping, howling mob headed by our international and local labor fakers and expel me from this Trades and Labor Assembly or do your duty to your class, the exploited workers and poor farmers and protect those who dare to fight in the interest of your class, who dare to speak their mind against the enemies of the working class, the capitalist class, thugs, gunmen, stoolpigeons, and last but not least, by their bankrupt policy, their faithful servants, the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor.

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# Social-Democracy Strips Itself Naked

(Continued from page 1)

leaders. When these gentlemen entered the strike committee, it was not their task to promote the strike; for this their standpoint was too anti-socialist, too anti-pacifist, too much in favor of the commanders in chief of the army. They took part in the strike for the purpose of preventing its taking any great effect, and with the idea of being ready on the spot should something happen.

Bindewald (barrister): Why did the social democratic party not issue warnings against the strike, like the Christian and Hirsch Duncker trade unions?

**WITNESS WUSCHIK:** If the party committee had been anxious for the strike to last as long as possible, and to be carried on with the utmost energy, all it had to do was to give this advice to the workers, many of whom were opposed to the party committee.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 10, 1924, evening edition.)

**WITNESS Wuschik:** Certainly. In some works the workers were

called up by the military authorities on the third or fourth day of the strike. At that time the Spartacus movement was active in propagating the idea of refusing military service. One workman submitted this question specially to Ebert, and Ebert declared that he could not by any means support this proposition of the radicals; however hard it might be for the individual, the call to military service must be unconditionally obeyed.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 10, 1924, evening edition.)

"Equal Representation."

**WITNESS WUSCHIK:** However, we did not let loose, and finally succeeded in having three delegates allowed us, the independent social democrats also having three representatives in the strike committee. But we did not obtain this from the meeting itself but from the strike committee, which included Haase, Ledebour and Dittmann. Further hours of persuasion were required before our party committee was induced to exercise influence upon the action, for the purpose of bringing it to an end as speed-

ily as possible. Ledebour exerted his utmost eloquence to prevent the admission of the majority socialists. When he did not succeed in this, he finally observed to me: "Well, Wuschik, now you have throttled the strike, for that is the sole task intended to be accomplished here by your party friends."

(Vorwärts, Dec. 10, 1924, evening edition.)

No Political Demands!

**A DOLF RICHTER** was then briefly interrogated. At the time of the munition workers' strike he participated in the consultations with the party committee of the S. D. party, as functionary of the trade unions, although he himself was an independent. According to his evidence, President Ebert declared at that time, in the party committee, that

the party leaders of the German S. D. party would by no means share the responsibility for this strike if political demands should be made in place of the economic demands.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 10, evening edition.)

Eberts' Further Declaration.

I was never of the opinion that strikes could shorten the war. I never said to anybody that he should refuse to obey when called up for military service, much less made a public appeal to that effect. Such an utterance on my part would have been inconsistent with my attitude towards the war before and after the strike.

**DISTINCTLY** recollect that at a session of the S. D. party committee at that time the question was raised from another side, of whether punitive commands to join the army should be obeyed or not. We were unanimously of the opinion that, should there be any indication that workers would refuse to obey when called up, this tendency should be decidedly combatted. I also distinctly recollect that I informed the then chairman of the general commission of the trade unions, Bauer, of the views of the party leaders on this subject. Bauer declared himself in agreement with me.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 11, evening edition.)  
(Continued next week.)



## Philanthropy: Where the Money Comes From

By MARTIN P. MORRISLY.

**JOLIET, Ill., Feb. 20.**—Here is a picture of capitalism in action that is real food for thought for every child of the working class.

On Jan. 26, 1925, the school board voted to abolish three kindergarten classes and to stop the feeding daily of 30 undernourished boys and girls. In steps our kind benefactor, Mr. Theodore Gerlach, owner of one of the country's largest calendar-making factories. He publicly announces that he will donate \$1,105 to continue the feeding of poor children each day. And all the church-going people pray for his soul that he may fly right into heaven when he dies.

But Communists are different. They investigate. And here is the dope on Theodore Gerlach.

In Gerlach's factory is employed the sister of one of the poorly fed kindergarten tots. This girl is sixteen years of age and every day she works in this factory to help support a big family of brothers and sisters. Her job is painting little cards for which up to Feb. 9 she was receiving \$1.00 per hundred or one cent a card. Then Mr. Gerlach, the benefactor, ordered a

cut in wages. So now she gets only 80 cents a hundred. His reason is that one highly skilled worker in a test case of two weeks continuous speeding was able to earn \$35 during those two weeks.

This may sound like fiction, it is the real truth of capitalist exploitation as witnessed in Joliet, Ill.

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Enclosed please find \$..... for the relief of the starving Irish workers and peasants.

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## STAGE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY PLAY AT SOVIET SCHOOL

A Russian revolutionary play will be staged at the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St., this Sunday, Feb. 22, at 8 p. m., in honor of the second anniversary of the Russian Communist Daily Novy Mir. The affair will be celebrated under the auspices of the Technical Aid Society and the Russian branch Workers Party.

All who understand the Russian language are urged to attend.

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