

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

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SECOND SECTION  
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# Child Labor--A Modern Pestilence

By H. M. WICKS.

INCREDIBLY ghastly in its ravages among its helpless victims, child labor has become a blight that menaces every human being in the nation. There are two types of child labor in the United States today; the open employment of children in factories, mills, mines, department stores and in agriculture; and the furtive slavery of children within the confines of the hovels they call homes. It is the second category that merits close investigation, because it is more carefully concealed.

Dry statistics from the last census conducted by the U. S. government (1920) inform us that there were at that time 1,090,858 children between the ages of 10 and 15 years "gainfully employed" throught the country. Equally vague are the figures regarding the division of this group between industries and agriculture. The same government report presents tables of statistics to prove that child labor has decreased since the census of 1910. Like all government reports, this one requires further investigation. It is poor policy to take the statements of a capitalist government at their face value, especially when they deal with the devastation caused by capitalism. Granted that the figures were accurate they do not prove a decline of the number of child slaves, for the simple reason that the 1910 census was taken in a period of so-called "prosperity," while the 1920 survey was taken at the beginning of a period of unemployment and at a season of the year when employment, especially in agriculture was at the lowest point. The additional fact that the federal child labor law was at that time on the statute books must be taken into consideration. It was the supreme court decision declaring this law unconstitutional in 1922 that necessitated a constitutional amendment to give congress the power to enact a federal child labor law. So our glorious constitution that the one hundred percenters profess to uphold does not even permit congress to legislate for the protection of helpless children from the jackal pack of capitalism.

### A Tale of Two Pest Holes.

The census of 1920 informs us that in New York City there are 32,333 children between 10 and 15 years of age "gainfully employed," and that in Jersey City, N. J., there are 2,735. But like the national total, these figures are inadequate to convey the real facts regarding child slavery. Nothing is said here about those miserable half-starved and half clothed, prematurely aged children UNDER TEN years of age that slave from morning until night in the most revolting surroundings—their homes! Hearing reports of the conditions in certain districts, I, accompanied by other trade unionists, investigated some of them both in New York and Jersey City and was staggered by the appalling conditions existing in a supposedly civilized country.

In New York City, in three different sections—the Bronx, the lower East Side and Brooklyn—we found children both boys and girls, working on beaded gowns. There are designs drawn on these gowns and the children have to sew bright colored beads on the designs, for which they are paid according to the whim of the employers, who deliver the dresses and beads at the "homes" of the workers and call for them when finished. Whole families and even children as young as six and seven years do this work. Sitting in one position hours, at a time, straining their baby eyes to get each bead in its proper place, browbeaten by filthy, brutal, illiterate parents, there is surely no more pitiable creatures

on earth than these children. One little Italian girl had some sort of infection in her eyes that caused a steady discharge, which she constantly wiped with the back of her hands and every one of these victims of the inordinate greed of capitalism appeared warped and stunted—with the bodies of children in stature, their faces bore ghastly marks of agonizing toil far worse than the puny slaves of the cotton mills of the south.

Slaving their lives away in vile, un-

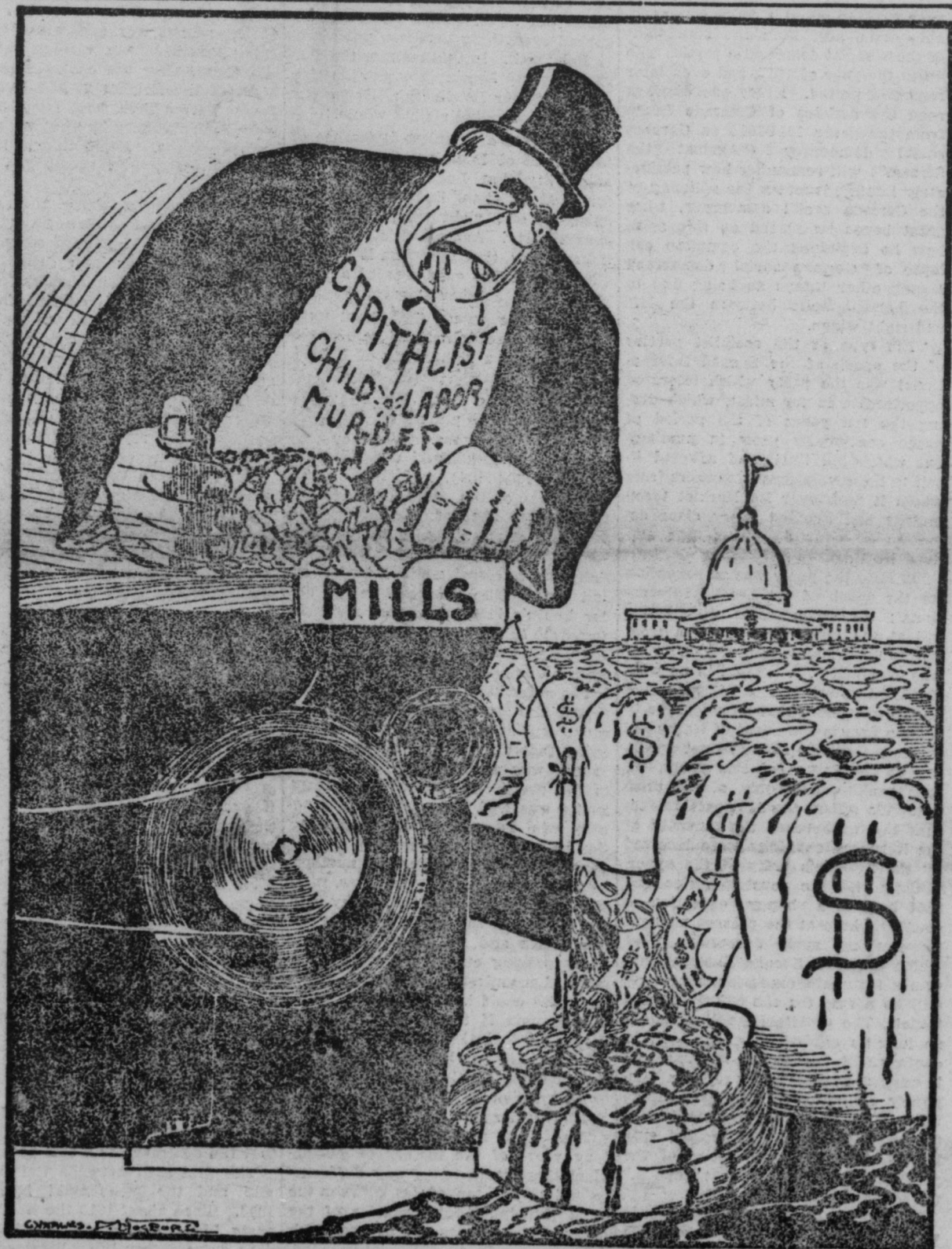
of workers is rampant, a hasty survey was made there. The horrors of New York City were duplicated, if not surpassed. There were found children of both sexes sewing bags for tea. One house investigated is typical of them all. There was no electric light and the dingy halls were in total darkness. Inside the rooms, where people were huddled, one and sometimes two families in one room, whole families were engaged in the business of sewing little pieces of cloth into tea bags.

And when they are removed from these home manufacturing establishments they are stuffed with tea and placed upon the market WITHOUT EVEN BEING WASHED in ordinary water, say nothing of being disinfected.

### Menaces Everyone.

Clearly child labor ought not to be a problem exclusively concerning the working class, tho, of course, it is only the working class that will ever abolish it. It is not only a blight up-

## HIS PROFITS—BLOOD MONEY



sanitary, dark, cold and damp tenements in order that the indolent, debauched, extravagant kept women of the bourgeoisie may bedeck themselves in beaded gowns and attend charity balls where their feigned concern for the poverty of the workers is a pretext for the gorgeous displays. A short time ago, in an address before the Woman's Trade Union League one of the members who had investigated this very condition, stated that no woman with a spark of humanity knowing how beaded dresses are made, would ever wear one of them.

Having occasion to be in Jersey City, where child slavery in "homes"

There were the same signs of occupational deformities that were observed in New York. This work is so arduous and requires so much speed to earn the merest pittance that the ends of the children's fingers constantly bleed from being stuck with needles, some of them are infected and exude puss. During a survey conducted two years ago, Wassermann blood tests were taken of some of these children and many of them registered positive some of them "four plus," indicating 100 per cent syphilitic infection.

The tea bags, when finished, are thrown in heaps upon the floor, around which the family sits in a semi-circle

on the childhood of the nation, but it menaces every person that patronizes a grocery store, or buys clothing on any manner moves in this society. If the pest-holes of the Bronx, the lower East Side, Brooklyn, Jersey City and hundreds of other places throught the nation could be visited by intelligent workers they would rise in their might and scourge from the face of the earth the contemptible scoundrels of capitalism that dare propose a continuation of this foul plague. If the facts regarding child labor were once known it would not be a question of parliamentary discussion, of state ref-

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# Bolshevism or Trotskyism? By G. Zinoviev

(Continued from last Saturday.)

## III.

### Was There a Right Wing in the Bolshevik Party?

We must give a clear answer to this question. Everybody who is familiar with the real history of Bolshevism will, without hesitation, give the following answer: There was none and there could be none.

There could be no right wing because the Leninist fundamental principles of the structure of the Bolshevik party excluded every possibility of a right and of a left wing.

There could be no right wing because the first split between Bolsheviks and mensheviks had already taken place in 1903 on the eve of the first revolution of 1905.

Comrade Lenin wrote regarding the Italian socialist party that even its first splitting from the extreme chauvinists which took place some years before the world war—that even this superficial split which was far from being complete, helped it in the first period of the imperialist war, in the year 1914, to adopt a more commendable standpoint than the standpoint of those social democratic parties who up to the year of 1917, and even later remained united. Every one who has read the articles of Comrade Lenin from the years 1914-1915 on German social democracy ("Against the Stream") will remember how passionately Lenin advocates the splitting of the German social democracy, what great hopes he placed on this split, how he explained the complete collapse of German social democracy among other things as being due to the belated split between the left and right wings.

"The type of the socialist parties of the epoch of the Second International was the party which tolerated opportunism in its midst, which during the ten years of the period of peace continually grew in numbers but which hid itself and adapted itself to the revolutionary workers from whom it took over its Marxist terminology and avoided every clear definition of principle. This type outlived its time.

"In Italy the party was an exception for the epoch of the Second International; the opportunists with Bissolati at the head were expelled from the party. The result of this crisis was excellent . . . We, in no way, idealize the Italian socialist party and do not guarantee that it will prove to remain firm in the event of Italy coming into the war. We are not speaking of the future of this party, we are speaking now only of the present. We affirm the indisputable fact that the workers of the majority of the European countries were deceived by the fictitious unity of the opportunists with the revolutionaries and that Italy is a happy exception—a country where at the present moment there is no such deception. That which for the Second International was a fortunate exception, must and will be a rule for the Third International. The proletariat will always—so long as capitalism exists—be in contact with the petty-bourgeoisie. It is unwise, sometimes to reject a temporary alliance with them, but to unite with them, to be united with the opportunists can at present only be defended by the enemies of the proletariat in the present epoch." ("Against the Stream" p. 36.)

Whoever thinks over these words will understand why in a party which was formed by Comrade Lenin in the fight against the mensheviks and against Trotsky there could exist no right wing.

"Our Russian party has long since broken with the opportunist groups and elements . . . The dead weight of opportunism was not able to drag down our party into the deep. And this circumstance rendered it possible—as the split of the Italian party—to fulfill its revolutionary duty."

So wrote Lenin in "Socialism and War." (Second chapter.)

Comrade Trotsky must understand all this and then he will understand why one cannot speak of a right wing of the Bolshevik party which was created by Lenin in a "fierce" strug-

gle against all non-Bolshevik fractions, groups and tendencies.

Whoever understands anything of the theory, of the tactics and of the organizational principles of Leninism cannot claim that a right wing existed in the Bolshevik party. Bolshevism differed fundamentally in that it could not permit and did not permit the party to be organized as a block of all possible tendencies, as a block of a right, of a left wing, of a center, etc.

Think over what Comrade Lenin has written for example regarding the period of the emigration time of the party. He said: The great variety of political tendencies in emigration—mensheviks, S. R. anarchists, maximalists, which were again divided into sub sections, had the effect that all non-Bolshevik elements were withdrawn, as by a plaster, from the body of the party. The same was the case in the period of legal and illegal existence of our party between February and October, 1917. At that time we saw the same variety and multiplicity of political parties, fractions and minor fractions, which inevitably absorbed everything that was not thoroughly Bolshevik. In this manner the Bolshevik party became a crystallization point only for Bolsheviks. Hence our party was one indivisible whole.

It involves a complete ignorance of Lenin and of Leninism to admit the possibility that Lenin, even if only for a short time, had tolerated the existence of a right wing in the Bolshevik party. And what is still more important is, that Leninism is irreconcilable with the existence of a right wing in the Bolshevik party.

It could be argued that there were Bolshevik "reconciliators" who greatly resembled a right wing of Bolshevism.

Yes, that is a fact. The Bolshevik "reconciliators" played an episodic role at the commencement of the split between the Bolsheviks and the mensheviks (1903-1904), and then also in the years of the counter-revolution (1910-1911). But at the moment of this hesitating attitude of the Bolshevik "reconciliators" it came essentially to a direct split between us and them. The Bolshevik party, under Lenin's leadership, was ready to amputate this small fragment from its body, and this it did in order to remain a homogeneous Bolshevik party.

The overwhelming majority of these reconciliators are at present in our ranks and nobody thinks of asserting today that they recollect there being in any way a sort of right tendency in the party. Their most prominent leader was I. F. Dubrovinsky, and nobody who knew him would pretend that he represented in any way a right wing. From one prison to another, from one banishment to another, went such comrades as Dubrovinsky and Nogin; and in the period between the one prison and the other they made many passing errors regarding questions of organization. Of course, these comrades could have fallen victims to opportunism if their errors had undergone a logical development. This however, did not happen. Lenin put the question bluntly: Either expulsion or submission to the decisions of the Bolshevik leadership.

That does not mean that in the long years of the history of Bolshevism there were never any differences and various tendencies between the most prominent functionaries of the party. There were, of course, such differences. In 1906 Kamenev advocated the boycott of the Duma (a "left" attitude), while Comrade Lenin recommended participation in the Duma. In the plenum of the C. C. in 1910 (the last joint plenum with the mensheviks) a section of the Bolsheviks attempted unity with Trotsky, whilst Comrade Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders, (among them the present writer) were emphatically against this attempt. These, however, were only episodic differences of opinion.

But the differences which we had with the people grouped round the paper "Vperjod" (Forward) in 1908 and which lasted for some years, could not be regarded as episodic. These alleged "left" people, as a mat-

ter of fact, defended opportunist tactics, that is, they abandoned the fundamental basis of Bolshevism. The group was expelled from our organization and only those have returned who have thoroughly recovered from the "Vperjod" sickness.

Also those differences cannot be characterized as being episodic which arose in connection with the war, and which extended only to a few prominent Bolsheviks at the beginning of the imperialist war. Bolshevism as a whole adopted a thoroughly correct attitude towards the imperialist war and was conscious of the world-historical slogan: "Conversion of the imperialist war into civil war." A few important Bolshevik functionaries, for example, I. Goldenberg, vacillated regarding the question of the character of the war, and it came to an organizational break with these comrades. Goldenberg was not able to return to the party until 1921, after he had thoroughly recognized his fault.

What is the explanation of some of the errors committed in the first days of the February revolution? The general staff of the Bolsheviks, after years of imperialist war and white terror, came together from various parts of the earth, after the central functionaries of the Bolsheviks had lived separated from their best friends. All were overwhelmed by the world historical events. Many things turned out differently from what had been expected. In the first days of the revolution the Bolsheviks themselves were in the minority among the Petrograd workers. The mood of the soldiers, whom Lenin later called "honest defenders of their country," created great tactical difficulties for us. We asked ourselves how we could approach these masses, how we could at least get them to listen to us. All this led to those difficulties which were responsible for the errors of the "Pravda" in the first days after the February revolution, before the arrival of Comrade Lenin.

Can one from this infer the existence of a right wing in the Bolshevik party, which Comrade Trotsky attempts to represent as a "social democratic," "semi-menshevik" wing. Only he who does not know the Bolshevik party can say such a thing, who judges the party from the outside, who for fifteen years has fought against this party, and who in 1924 again declares war against the party.

There were serious differences among the Bolsheviks in the period from April to September, 1917. Groups could have been formed out of these differences if the comrades who had erred had not confessed their errors, if events had not quickly liquidated these errors, if the party had not unanimously repudiated these errors, if the party had not had a Lenin. Then a split would have occurred, but in no event would a right wing have been formed.

There were sharp differences among the Bolsheviks in October and November, 1917. During this time the present writer was among those comrades who had erred. If the errors had not been immediately recognized as such, if the party had not unanimously corrected these errors, and again, if the party had had no Lenin, then these sharp differences could have led to serious results. But as a matter of fact the contrary of all this occurred.

The first split between the Bolsheviks and the mensheviks began in 1903. Since about 1910 the Bolshevik party has had a completely independent organizational life. Between 1903 and 1910 Bolshevism experienced a period of insufficient organizational growth. From 1910 to 1917 this could no longer be the case. There was and could be no right wing in the Bolshevik party.

## IV. Is the Formation of a Right Wing in the R. C. P. Possible at the Present Time?

A really serious question. Our reply to this is: Yes, an attempt is now being made to create such a right wing in the R. C. P. and in the Comintern. The leading figure in these efforts is Comrade Trotsky. The real problem is whether we can tolerate the formation of such a wing, and if not, how we can avoid it.

From whence can a right wing, a right fraction, a right tendency arise? It would be absurd to explain this by the personal responsibility of this or that comrade. No, there exist indisputable objective pre-conditions therefor.

What constitute the essential differences between the present state of affairs in our party and the position of our party before the October revolution?

First: The mensheviks, the S. R. the anarchists and the remaining groups have disappeared from the open political life of our country. In the interest of the successful carrying out of the proletarian dictatorship, the victorious working class, under the lead of our party, had to render illegal the S. R. the mensheviks, the anti-Soviet section of the anarchists, and other groups opposed to the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only the Russian C. P. is legally active. Today it cannot be otherwise. With such a state of affairs it is unavoidable that many elements enter our party, who, in the event of the existence of other legal parties, would not be with us.

Second: We have ideologically shattered two important parties which during two decades were our rivals; the S. R. and the mensheviks. Some ten thousand members of these parties have come over to our party, among them many very active members, as for instance Comrade Trotsky. A considerable portion of these comrades have been completely assimilated by our party and now are good Bolsheviks. But we must not disguise the fact that the annihilation of the S. R. and the mensheviks as legal parties does not serve to promote the homogeneous composition of our party.

Third: Our country is passing through a transition period. Up to October, 1917, the situation was in many respects more difficult, but clearer. The party was confronted with an immediate task: the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The present situation is more complicated. The Nep, the bourgeois environment, all these factors render our situation extremely complicated. Never in the history of the struggle of the international working class was a workers party in such complicated transition period.

Fourth: The social composition of the party has become heterogeneous. Up to October, 1917, our party was almost entirely a party of workers. After 1917, the situation has changed. We have at present over a hundred thousand peasant members, some thousands of members from the higher educational institutions, and many thousands of Soviet employees.

What is the meaning of all our efforts to purge our party, the Lenin recruitment? The aim of all these efforts is to render the composition of the party as homogeneous as possible, to prevent a dilution of its social composition.

All these together create the prerequisites under which the formation of a right wing is possible in the party created by Lenin—and is now without Lenin.

When we deal with the attacks of Comrade Trotsky upon the Bolsheviks C. C. with the greatest objectivity, then we see that their content is the following: During these years Comrade Trotsky gave expression to everything which is not strictly Bolshevism, and which feels itself cramped within the frame of the old Lenin tactics. Trotsky is sincerely convinced that the old methods of Leninism can no longer today fulfill their task, when the party is acting in such a vast arena. According to his opinion, the party must become a block of various tendencies and fractions.

We all know that all those processes which are developing in our country are reflected in our party, which is in possession of power and which has suppressed all the other, anti-Soviet parties. We Leninists draw from this the conclusion that it is all the more necessary to preserve the greatest possible homogeneity of the party, the greatest firmness of leadership and the greatest possible devotion to Leninism. To maneuver, sometimes even to make concessions, is unavoidable. But it is necessary that the party shall always remain Bolshevik. Trotsky, on the other hand, draws different conclusions from the complexity of our present situation. It seems to him that the earlier "sectarianism," steel-firmness, is leading the country to the edge of the abyss.

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# Lenin As I Saw Him -

By Schachno Epstein

## ARTICLE VI.

### An Interview With Lenin.

LENIN took great interest in America. For this reason he often invited to his cabinet comrades who were acquainted with American conditions. I happened to be one of them.

This was at the time when the Communist International was exerting all its efforts to unite the different Communist tendencies in America. The representatives of the American Communist factions were, of course, too partial in this question. There were comrades among them who cared nothing about affiliation or unification. One side flung accusations at the other. The "C. P." (Communist Party) considered the U. C. P. (United Communist Party) fatal centrists and opportunists; on the other hand, the U. P. C. thought the C. P. narrow dogmatic sectarians, who were against any Communist mass-action. Along came the "C. U. C." (Communist Unification Committee) and spared neither side.

The representatives of the various factions agreed, however, on one point, that in America there could be no question at that time about an open and legal Communist party. Even though there would be a unification of all Communist forces into one party, the united party would be forced to exist as an underground and illegal organization.

Lenin paid little or no attention to the facts and arguments of the fighting groups. He was all the time of the opinion, that whatever the conditions in America were at the time one thing was certain—the Communist Party must exert its efforts to carry on Communist mass propaganda among the masses.

For this purpose it was necessary to attract all the left elements of the socialist party and bring about a so-called unification, one way or another, of the radical forces. That was why Lenin found it necessary to consult those comrades who had lived in America before the outbreak of the Russian revolution, who were able to remain impartial concerning the factional conflicts in the American Communist movement.

And because the movement of the workers of America always interested me and now though I was in Russia I was nevertheless in close contact with the American delegates, Lenin invited me to his cabinet to a private talk.

The manner of the invitation greatly surprised me. No definite date or hour was set. The question was: What is the most convenient day for me and all this thru the telephone. I, of course, answered, that I was ready to come at any time Comrade Lenin would find it possible to interview me.

That same day, late at night, coming home from a party meeting, I found a note, in which I was requested by Lenin to be at his office at two in the afternoon the next day. But to make sure that I could keep the appointment the secretary of the council of the people's commissars ("Sovnarcom") would phone me at nine in the morning.

The watchman who brought me this note looked at me with great respect. I felt that he looked at me with admiration. When he asked me to give him a cigarette, he eagerly uttered: "Will you be tomorrow at Ilyich's himself? Eh, I wish I had a chance to speak to him personally. I know it isn't hard, he receives everybody without any formalities, but I can't bother him just for the sake of satisfying my curiosity."

The next morning exactly at nine the telephone rang. The secretary told me that at two Lenin had a recess period between sessions of the central committee of the Russian Communist Party. That the doorman at the entrance to Kremel would let me pass and I'd be escorted to the office of the "Sovnarcom."

I have had various occasions to be in Kremel to party meetings, military drill and journalistic purposes. I had

in fact what would be called a regular pass. But this time I did not have to go thru any formalities. As soon as I mentioned my name to the doorman he ordered a Red army soldier to direct me to the office of the "Sovnarcom."

Having arrived half an hour ahead of time, the Red junker, a young Russian of fine appearance, offered to show me the Kremel in the meantime. However, I did not accept his offer. I knew the Kremel well, I had visited all its historical places many a time. The junker told me that last Saturday he and Lenin attended a "Subotnic" together ("Subotnic" means extra work done on Saturdays for starving Russia); they chopped wood for the Kremel military school, and Ilyich (Lenin) proved to be the fastest worker. He chopped the wood with a particular diligence, telling jokes, and making everybody laugh. "Yes," said the young soldier good naturedly, "one feels in the presence of Ilyich like his equal, he shakes hands with every-

own eyes our village electrified. Under the czars regime we have had nothing. Now, under the Soviet regime, things are different. We are the rulers."

Another peasant of middle age chimed in: "The neighborhood village already has those 'Ilyich's lamps,' why shouldn't we have them?"

The name "Ilyich lamps" for electricity made everybody smile. "What names people can invent," my escort, the Red soldier, joyfully remarked.

The chief secretary, Comrade Padejeva, directed me to Lenin's cabinet. In the large corridor, where a high iron stove stood majestically, a few visitors were seated on a bench, among whom I noticed Maxim Gorky, talking to the young door-maid.

I was led into the cabinet. It was a large hall with many high Venetian windows facing one of the main boulevards of the Kremel. The walls were covered with book shelves. In the middle there was a long table with papers, books and telephones ga-

French pointed beard, Lenin looked like a provincial Russian proprietor. Peculiar, however, is his roundly pointed forehead full of narrow wrinkles. When he smiles his jawbones are bulge out.

Lenin showed a special interest in the conditions of the socialist party in America, in its left wing. What elements is it composed of? Did I know the leaders. He was of the opinion that it is necessary to draw them near, and not repel them, as it was unfortunately done by the American Communists. Naturally, we have to criticize them and sharply so, but the criticism must be a friendly one. The same attitude must prevail toward the progressive elements in the unions. "You and Comrade Ogursky have recommended Schlesinger," Lenin remarked. "I don't know just how much one can rely upon Schlesinger, he impresses me as a very limited personality, is somewhat insane, rather insincere, but if he is really as radical as he said he is, so bitterly opposed to Samuel Gompers, we have to support him in his struggle against the conservation in the trade unions."

I told Lenin what I knew about Schlesinger, how he behaved after his return from Russia and Lenin motioned with his hand: "Hm, well, such a person doesn't deserve too much attention; what they want is publicity to advertise themselves. Their deeds, however, tell what they are. What is necessary in such cases is to discuss their doings, ignoring their personality. That is the worst thing for them."

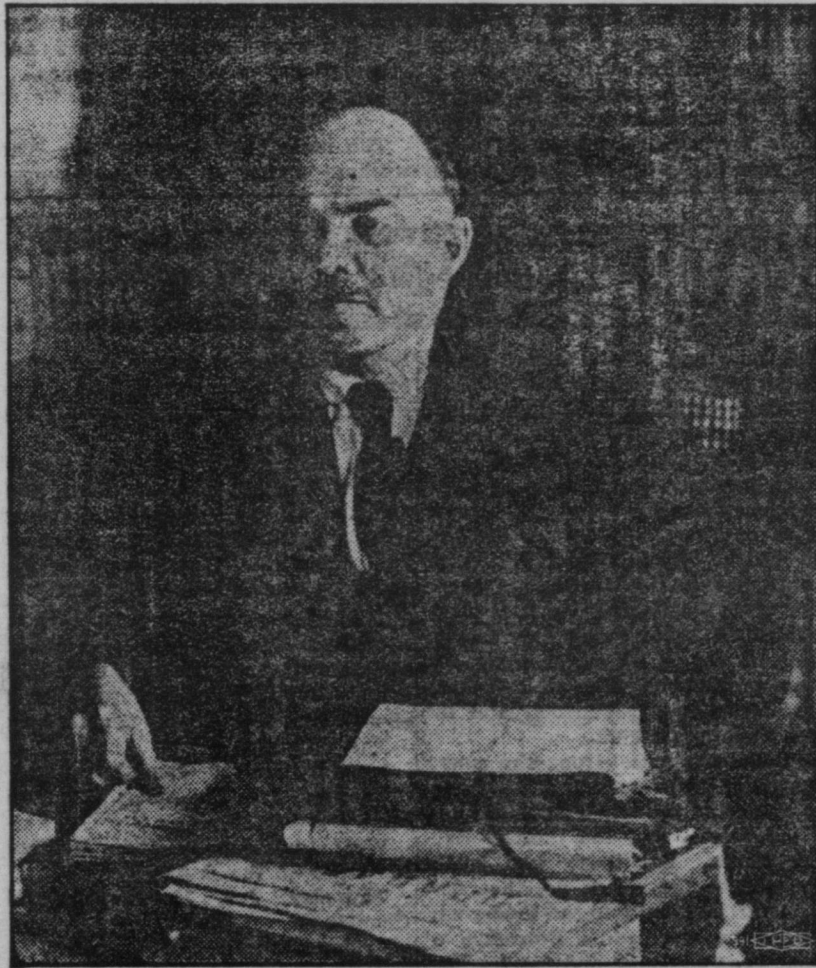
I was surprised to learn that Lenin detected at once the weak side of Schlesinger.

We turned into a discussion of the problems of the working class movement of America, and Lenin displayed a thorough knowledge of American conditions. In his estimate the play of illegality in America was of no or little importance. The chief aim of the American Communists should be to create a wide left mass-movement. To cling strictly to the slogan of armed insurrection, of proletarian dictatorship in America is no more than a left wing child-disease. The moment the left wing movement becomes a movement of the masses, so that in America there will spring up a party of the toiling masses ready to fight capitalism, the slogans of proletarian dictatorship will become the natural result. To jump over from "A" to "Z" is impossible. America is not Russia and not even England. American capitalism came out of the world war stronger than it was before the war, therefore it is first of all necessary to awaken the most elementary political consciousness of the American toiling masses. For this purpose a small legal "daily" is of far greater importance, than a big underground organizational apparatus. The Americans committed an unforgivable error in not supporting Eugene V. Debs in the last (1920) presidential elections. To bury oneself in a shell and fancy that one is making revolutions is not becoming to a Communist who must stand on solid ground and not soar in the ethereal spheres of abstract slogans and speculations.

"I argue about it," says Lenin fully convinced, "with the American comrades, and it is remarkable that just those comrades, who went thru the revolutionary school in Russia and are now active in the American movement, cannot and will not understand this. They think that America must follow the road of Russia. The genuine American comrades do understand the importance of being a legal party, and to them, therefore, belongs the leadership of the movement. There are among them people who have a thorough understanding of the trade unions, and the trade unions are the foundation of the entire left wing movement. So long as the Communists will not penetrate the ranks of the trade unions, they will remain stationary."

In passing, Lenin made a few remarks about the Jewish working class movement. And here too he showed

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NICOLAI LENIN.

body, and always takes an interest in our well being; he wants to know how we are getting along, what books we read. We are all comrades. Last Saturday, at the 'Subotnic,' some of the comrades were ashamed to smoke in his presence. Ilyich noticed it and made the following remark: 'It's better when one does not smoke at all, but when one is used to smoking, there is no reason why he should be ashamed to do so in the presence of a comrade.'

When the young soldier told me this story his eyes sparkled with joy.

In the office, a large bright room simply furnished, several girls worked on typewriters. There were a few delegations waiting; among them one could see some elderly peasants dressed in gray dowlas coats and shoes made of bark. This delegation was attended to by the leader of the co-operatives, Khinchook, a well known former menshevik, who was the president of the Moscow Soviet under the Kerensky regime and turned Communist. I learned that these peasants came from Tula; they had to decide on the electrification of their village, so they came to ask Lenin's aid. One of the delegates, quite an old man with a long gray beard, was their spokesman: "A school we have in our village already, a club of Communist youth, too. The club has a library, it is therefore high time that we should have electricity. We're old people, let's then, live to see with our

lore, several simple chairs stood around the table and a sofa in a corner of the room. There were no pictures on the walls, no ornaments. There was only one large map on the wall. The only luxury to be found in the room was a Persian carpet covering the entire floor. But everything basked in an abundance of light and spaciousness. Thru the windows one could see a beautiful panorama on the lake Moscow, surrounded by golden church domes.

Having to wait ten minutes, I cast my eyes on the New York Times, Call, and Weekly People, that were lying on the table, also several English books, among them Upton Sinclair's "Brass Check."

From another room, the door of which was open, I heard Zinoviev and Trotsky, whose voices were familiar to me ere long.

Lenin came out, and extending his hand to me, as to an old friend, excused himself for keeping me waiting. "Young ought to know," he smilingly added, "when we begin to discuss a question time ceases to exist."

I at once felt intimate, as if I had met a very close friend whom I have not seen for a long time. Soon our conversation was in its full swing. The sprightliness of his face especially impressed me. Not a gray hair in his beard. His small keen eyes pierced with a fire of youthfulness. Dressed in a black, light alpaca jacket and wrinkled necktie with his blond



# When the News Reached Siberia

By AMY SCHECHTER.

A SPECIAL meeting in the People's House. The big log hall is filled with men and women in rough sheepskin coats and high felt boots, the men with ear-lapped fur caps, the women with shawls, some with babies wrapped in the folds. The news reached the county committee of the party several hours ago, so that most of the workers know why the plant whistle has summoned them to a special meeting, and their faces are grave.

The party secretary comes in, throwing off his great shuba he wears over his sheepskin coat, he has come by sleigh from the next village and it is bitter cold.

He is the typical worker of these parts, blonde and strongly built, and he tells about Lenin's death in simple words. Then he reads the telegrams from the central party and union state organs.

The messages tell of Lenin's last weeks, his part in the revolution, his relation to workers and peasants; but the burden of each one is the same: "Lenin is dead—his work goes on."

The workers are very silent and some are weeping. Now their minds are filled with the bare fact of their

loss. But within a few days many will join the hundreds of thousands of workers all through Russia in confirming the party's words, when the mass movement of workers to the Communist ranks will come as a magnificent answer to the whispering and whispering among the counter-revolutionaries and the liberal defenders of "democracy," and the plain ordinary speculators and crooks and grafters all waiting vulture-like for the disintegration of the revolution after the death of Lenin.

"Lenin is dead—his work goes on." A comrade has died while on a job of vital importance to the workers' republic, and the others feel a personal responsibility for seeing that it is carried through. For it is exactly as a comrade worker on the job of building the workers' republic together with them that the revolutionary workers of Russia think of Lenin . . .

The chief of militia in this village was a worker in a Leningrad factory when Lenin led a strike there. . . All over Russia workers are scattered who, at one time or another, came into just such contact with Lenin in their everyday industrial struggles.

To some of the peasants he may be a sort of supernatural figure. Hereabouts, for instance, the peasants tell that once in the days of Kolchak when

the Whites herded all revolutionary sympathizers into this same People's House and were getting ready to fire the building when "Lenin suddenly appeared in their midst" . . . and a few moments later, "A Red band came down from the hills," and put the Whites to flight.

All of which is true, save the appearance of Lenin; and what is that after all, but revolutionary force as personified in the peasant mind?

But to the mass of the workers Lenin is the comrade, the organizer of strikes, the teacher of workers' groups, the comrade who knew every detail of their daily lives and struggles, and who, at meetings, as Stalin tells, might always be looked for in some corner of the hall, talking animatedly with a group of rank and file workers. . . .

The messages have all been read, and the meeting is ended.

This is the regular meeting night for the party shop nuclei, so the members of the mixed nucleus which regularly meets in the People's House, remain, and the machinists and electrical workers and carpenters and other groups go off to their shops.

The work goes on . . .

The night of Lenin's funeral. The workers gather in the snow-heaped

garden of the People's House where girls and boys stroll about on summer nights between dances or the acts of plays.

It is far below zero, and the sky is blue ice, and the stars distant and pale. The Young Communists come, and the chill of the night is broken by red-flaring of pine torches, dusky red of flame-lit banners.

The band plays the opening bars of the Red Funeral March, and the dark sheep-skin clad mass thins out as it goes through the gate and becomes a procession. It circles the little settlement, passing the coke plant where blazing ovens show a living industry where last year there was dark silence.

Back near the People's House again, the Communists line up facing the river with rifles at aim. A speaker mounts the platform set in the open near the graves of men who fell here in the revolution.

His speech is suddenly broken into by the signal for the parting salute fired at the same moment by thousands of Communists in towns and cities and villages all through the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The volley is answered by a flash from the hills across the river where the miners are gathered.

The speaker takes up his theme with its burden—"his work goes on."

## MUSIC - LITERATURE - DRAMA

### Popular Music at Symphony Orchestra

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN.

The fourteenth program of the Chicago Symphony orchestra, given at Orchestra Hall last Friday and Saturday night, somehow sneaked out of the Thursday night pop series and found its way into the solemn subscription series. The entire program was light, except for one composition. It was an international program as well, since music of Germany, Austria, Italy, France and Russia was represented.

The Italian work, the third symphonic poem written by G. Francesco Malapiero under the title, "Impressions of Nature," was given its first Chicago representation. It is in three sections, "The Festival in the Valley of Hell," (not Dante, but an actual valley near Naples), "The Roosters," and "The Tarentelle at Capri." The section is quite clever. The music is most solemn and churchy, broken by cacklings from the muted brass. Thus Malapiero contrasts the serious aspect of the dignified cock with the sounds to which he gives voice. The last section is a sweeping, infectious dance tune.

The program opened with a still born and stupid little overture, "The Barber of Bagdad," by Peter Cornelius, a German who has written far better music.

The Austrian work was the "Rustic Wedding," symphony of Karl Goldmark. This is a gracious gesture among symphonies. (It is really not a symphony because it is not in symphonic form, but Goldmark called it that.) There are ve movements, a wedding march with variations, a bridal song, a serenade, a section called "In the Garden," and a heavy peasant's dance.

Soviet Russia came to bat with the symphonic poem, "The Sirens," by Reinhold Moritzovitch Gliere. This work was written during Gliere's German period, in 1912, and shows markedly the German influence. The plot of the poem is the familiar one of the sirens luring the sailors to approach the island, where the ship is wrecked on the sunken rocks. Gliere's setting is second only to one piece of music I know of in describing water. The passage in the mysteriously muted horns describing the approach of the doomed ship and the terrific climax when the ship is ground to bits on the

rocks, are two of the great thrills written by a master of thrills.

Since the Russian revolution Gliere has directed the government conservatory at Kiev, where he was born.

The program wound up with some selections from the opera, "The Damnation of Faust," by Hector Berlioz, one of the great master hands of France and of the world. In these days when the Gounod Faust is popular and the Bolto Faust bids fair to attain a popularity approaching epidemic proportions, it is well to hear these melodies of a Faust greater far more than both others.

Mr. Stock's suite from the opera consists of the invocation of Mephisto the dances of the will-o-the-wisps and of the sylphs, and the famous Rakoczy march. Let those who loudly proclaim, as they often do, that Berlioz contributed only to the theory and not to the worthwhile literature of music hear this suite and forever hold their peace. The two dances are music with an unexplainable quality about it which is at once graceful and light and hypnotic, in the literal sense of that word. The Rakoczy march is a splendidly vigorous setting of an old Hungarian tune. There is a long story behind this Berlioz arrangement but it is too long to tell here.

Anna Pavlova, empress and standard bearer of Russian dancers, is due to arrive at the Auditorium theater next Monday night. She and her company are to stay here for two weeks. The present tour of the Pavlova company is announced as its last.

The regular Pavlova repertoire will be presented with several important additions in the way of revivals and new pieces. Chief of these latter is a ballet in two acts on the subject of "Don Quixote," with music by a composer named Minkus. Minkus is a name unfortunately not within the ken of this writer nor do any of the standard reference works carry any comment on him, but "Don Quixote" is alluring material for ballet treatment and Pavlova is famous for presenting the best in the art of dancing.

Another new presentation is a work called "Coquette de Colombine," by the Russian composer Richard Drigo, author of that famous restaurant tune the serenade in the ballet "Les Millions de Harlequin."

The revivals are the ballets "The Sleeping Beauty," by Chaykovski, the waltz of which is played by every amateur orchestra, "Coppelia," by Lec

Delibes, author of Lakme, and ballet composer par excellence, and a setting of Weber's "Invitation to the Dance."

The company for this final tour is over a hundred strong. That phenomenal athlete, Laurent Novikov will be Pavlova's partner, as in previous seasons. Theodore Stier will again be the orchestra director.

The program of the first week is subjoined. There will be seven diversifications at each performance. "Divertissement" is a fancy word for a short ballet five or ten minutes long.

The program:

Monday, Jan. 26—Don Quixote.

Tuesday, Jan. 27—Amarilla and Autumn Leaves.

Wednesday, Jan. 28—Fairy Doll and Invitation to the Dance.

Thursday, Jan. 29—Coppelia and Chopiniana.

Friday, Jan. 30—Don Quixote.

Saturday afternoon, Jan. 31—Sleeping Beauty and Fairy Doll.

Saturday evening, Jan. 31—Don Quixote.

Sunday afternoon, Feb. 1—Don Quixote.

Sunday evening, Feb. 1—Polish Wedding and Snowflakes.

### Emperor Jones at the Punch and Judy Theatre in New York

NEW YORK, Jan. 23.—Paul Robeson, great Negro actor, has risen to the peak of his artistic career in the title role of The Emperor Jones, the fine West Indian play of Eugene O'Neill, now revived and presented by Harry Weinberger at the Punch & Judy Theater.

Robeson has the physical magnificence that goes with the part of the ex-Pullman porter who rose from stow-away to emperor in two years on this Caribbean island not yet "self determined by United States marines" as the program puts it. He is a genial superman in the opening scene as he tells a shrimpy English trader of a good lesson he learned from the quality folks on the Pullman cars—that if you steal a little they put you in jail but if you steal enough they make you emperor. And like a good sport, trained in the school of craps he gaily admits that good luck can't last always and that he is ready any time to make his getaway and cash in, if his luck turns.

Luck turns when the "bush nig

gars" the emperor is exploiting, start a revolution. The gaudy monarch hikes thru the tropical forest. Night sets in and fears with it. The terrors of the darkness and the old superstitions he laughed at in the daytime overcome him. He is haunted by visions his distraught mind conjures. The chain gang and whipping boss he had once fled from appear before him with other phantasies of the horrors he has seen or heard from of old. In the end the "bush niggers" get him.

Another O'Neill Sailor Play. The Steamship Glencairn, another fine O'Neill revival, now playing at the Princess Theater, after a run at the Punch & Judy and the Provincetown Theaters is a powerful presentation of the life of the sailors of a few years ago before unionism wrought some reforms. The passing out of Yank in his forecabin bunk is one of the most realistic pieces of tragedy the New York stage has seen and the crimp joint scene in London where sailors are vamped, doped and shanghaied is raw, disheveled life as it was. So some old sea dogs, not regular theatergoers, say after seeing it. O'Neill's years before the mast have been vividly crystallized in the Steamship Glencairn.

Teachers' Silver Jubilee Today. The Chicago Teachers' Federation will celebrate the 25th anniversary of its entry into the tax campaign in the city of Chicago with a silver jubilee luncheon today at the Morrison Hotel 79 W. Madison street. There will be an informal reception on the second floor, main parlor from 11:30 to 12 o'clock. Luncheon will be served at 12:30 sharp in the Cameo Banquet Hall on the same floor.

### RUSSIAN COMRADES TO GIVE CONCERT TONIGHT FOR LENIN MEMORIAL

A Lenin memorial meeting will be held by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia and the Russian branch of the Workers Party on Saturday, Jan. 24, at the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St. A beautiful concert appropriate to the occasion will be given and speakers in Russian will address the meeting. Besides the musical program the well-known and justly popular Russian actors, Pokatillov, Luganov, Lijes, Namgova and others will participate. It will begin at 8 p. m. sharp and admission is 25c. All who understand the Russian language are urged to attend.



# Shop Nucleus Reorganization

THE following communication on shop nucleus reorganization, a reply to the C. I. letter published several days ago, will be of interest to all members of the Workers Party, making available the experiences gained so far for all units of the party.

To the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Dear Comrades: Your letter of November 22, 1924, on the matter of shop nuclei has been received. Your letter will be most helpful and we hope it will be followed by additional material and suggestions on organization and experiences in carrying on shop nuclei work in the other Communist Parties.

The plan of organization which you outline is the one which we have been working on and which we hope to carry out in due time.

We are enclosing the thesis on reorganization of the party on the basis of shop nuclei which was unanimously adopted by the central executive committee a number of days before receipt of your letter.

We think that you will find it in thoro harmony with the policy on shop nuclei of the Comintern. We have, as you will note, corrected our errors in conception and organization of shop nuclei as contained in the original resolution on factory nuclei adopted at the second convention of our party in January, 1924. Especially as concerned with language organization, dues payments, etc.

## Followed Platnitzky's Articles.

We have followed Comrade Platnitzky's articles on shop nuclei organization very closely, especially as outlined in his articles in the Communist International No. 4, English edition, which goes into details on the way to carry out the reorganization.

There is not any disagreement between your outline and ours. Yours is a finished form of organization, that is, when shop nuclei organization has proceeded to a very great extent, while we have had to deal with but the preliminaries of the organization and therefore our immediate and practical approaches are variable, but having the same foundation and form. We are even yet in the propaganda stage in many instances of shop nuclei organization. Not all the party units by far, especially the language organizations, understand the necessity of reorganization on the factory nuclei basis.

We suggest to you that you deal in a special communication on this question in a great part with the role of language groups and members or auxiliaries when the party is a party of shop nuclei. This will no doubt go a long way in getting the language federations more energetically behind the reorganization.

At present we are following the plan of organizing shop nuclei in favorable, yet isolated instances, for the purpose of experience and demonstration of the superiority of shop nuclei over the territorial or geographical form of organization. This is on the basis of information gotten thru the industrial registration. We have organized some shop nuclei in the city of Chicago and in Gary. These are in the needle, printing, machine shop and steel industries. They have not been organized within a particular territory or ward, but from locality in general. These are working out fairly well, despite inexperience, and indicate much promise for the future.

We are enclosing copies of material sent to district organizers on experiences to date in organizing shop nuclei which will explain some of the difficulties thus far in the work and some of the benefits.

## Work Will Grow.

It must be understood very clearly that it is not our intention to continue for a very long period the method of organizing shop nuclei in isolated instances and places. When these factory nuclei have, among other things, served the purpose of showing to the party units how much better shop nuclei function, we will be in a better position to apply the more systematic plan of reorganization as outlined in your letter, Platnitzky's articles and as also adopted by our party.

We shall then also take a special territory or ward and try to reorganize that particular territory or work, or working area on a completely shop nuclei basis.

We are clear, we think, on the function of factory nuclei and local branches. Perhaps the confusion between the functions of the local branches and factory nuclei occurs to you because of our method of organizing the nuclei in isolated places. If so, we trust that we have cleared up this point.

Our reading of your letter gave to us the impression, in fact, that our organizational plan and understanding of functions were in complete harmony with yours.

The city committee is the guide of the activity of the party in its respective locality in every phase of the work. The factory nuclei have authority on all the party matters in their respective factories. The superior party committees have authority over the nuclei as such as well as over the individual party members. We believe our thesis makes this, as well as other points, clear.

We have, of course, not yet reached the stage whereby the leading committee of the city organization is elected by a conference of factory representatives of nuclei. When we have organizations functioning upon a ward or district scale, we shall naturally proceed to organize our leading bodies thru such means, and also the higher bodies.

For purposes of clarification, we might say that uses and meaning of terms may lead occasionally to misunderstanding. For instance, your use of the term "district conference" indicates a territory smaller than a city conference, whereas American usage of the "district conference" means a conference larger than a city one, in fact implies numerous cities. Also in America the term "ward" refers to an election area, whereas, it must now be made clear what we refer in our literature and letters to, is a working area.

In smaller localities, we find that all the subdivisions will not be necessary, especially in the mining territory where only one organizational form, a city committee, for example, may be necessary to direct the work.

## Industrial Registration.

We are agreed that the industrial registration of members according to factories is irksome and perhaps superfluous. We are making use of that since we are organizing our nuclei at present as mentioned above, in isolated cases which makes this registration necessary for informational and organizational purposes. When we proceed to organizing nuclei thru the ward method, then the registration method will not be required.

Where we have organized nuclei, such as in Chicago and Gary, the city executive organization directs the work and issues the necessary instructions for the nuclei, tho it cannot of course be said that everything is working as smoothly as would be desired. Our enclosed letters speak of some of those experiences, good as well as bad.

We are especially pleased with your statement that "It is absolutely necessary for all the members of the W. P. working in a particular factory regardless of their language group to which they belong to organize themselves into one and the same nucleus." We have also stressed this point, as you have no doubt noted in our discussion and thesis.

## Language Federations.

Also your opinion that the future form and development of language federations and the auxiliary organizations of the party of carrying on propagandist, agitational and cultural tasks, etc., is completely in accord with our conception. You have perhaps seen this in our original draft of the thesis which speaks of language federations being formed into language auxiliaries of the party. With this we have not as yet dealt, except in passing, in our press and thesis, since we felt that our first task is propagandizing of the absolute necessity for factory nuclei reorganization and the commencement of the practical

work. In this way we would be transforming the character of our work and thus, naturally, by developing at the same time the new forms of the party, the shop nuclei, changing the role of the language units. We would like more on this question, since especially in America the problem is quite complex and the party and its federations will require all the advice and experience possible.

We also are pointing out, as you do, that the argument of difficulties of open activities as an argument against factory nuclei is quite the contrary; that that is another good reason for the organization of shop nuclei. America with its oppressive methods, its multitude of factory and governmental spies, certainly makes our branches a thousand times more open to attack than our factory nuclei which can closely scrutinize who enters its ranks and as much as possible prevent the entrance of all kinds of spies. You will perhaps recall that we spoke of this in answering the contributor you refer to in the DAILY WORKER supplement. We are taking, of course, all due precautions to safeguard the shop nuclei.

We might add that some of the difficulties in the shop nuclei work is to make the factory nuclei carry on definite political functions. The tendency is toward swerving off onto almost entirely industrial and shop matters, but we have been making headway in this respect. By continued discussion and practice we find that the nuclei thus far organized are beginning to see that they are political units of the party and function accordingly.

## Question of Unemployed.

Another point upon which we would like to get more information is that of the unemployed and factory nuclei. First as to the length of time unemployed are to be attached to their factory nuclei, if there are no immediate signs of returning to work in the same factory. Shall we continue to let them be in the branch long, or to stay in the nuclei to which they belonged until they are employed in another factory and then

transfer them to another shop nucleus, transfer them to another shop nucleus?

Also, we have these situations in America to meet in the needle trades; for example, where we have comrades in nuclei who are unemployed for a month or two months and then return to the same factory. It is very hard to make them realize that they are to continue functioning. They seem to feel that, out of a job, out of the nucleus, whereas, of course, this feeling does not exist in the case of a territorial branch. We point out to the comrades that the question of unemployment is one of the problems to discuss and to meet in the cases of the factory nuclei and to make this an agitational and organizational basis for reaching other fellow workers. We hope to remedy this difficulty, but would appreciate suggestions.

Also we have the case where members of a nucleus working on various floors and one floor is employed and the other is unemployed. This is a variation of the previous question (which is not as difficult of solution, we find).

The party is also now proceeding to organize shop nuclei in southern Illinois in the coal mining territory. The reorganization there is meeting with fine results. We hope to be able to write you soon of practical successes. Also in the case of Pittsburgh steel and coal territory. In Cleveland, too, factory nuclei are being established.

We are in the midst of a party discussion and this in part delays practical reorganization, but it will help to clarify the entire question of shop nuclei. We feel thereby that we shall be able to go ahead much faster with reorganization in many parts of the country on the basis of our thesis just adopted and the policy of the Comintern.

With Communist greetings,

Martin Abern,  
Director Shop Nucleus  
Reorganization,  
Earl R. Browder,  
Acting Secretary.

## ABRAMOVITCH GETS INTO TROUBLE

By JOSEPH BRAHDY.

NEW YORK, Jan. 23.—And now the yellow "socialist" international has sent its emissary to America.

Abramovich stood on the platform in the New Star Casino, New York City, last Sunday waving copies of the "Emes" and the "Pravada" at an incredulous audience and shouting "I'll prove to you from the Bolshevik press what I am saying." He never read a line from those papers.

## Pulls Old Joke.

"The Bolsheviks accomplished the peasant revolution, I admit," he shouted; the audience applauded "but they didn't do it according to Marx." He really said that in the best stupid fashion of the swivel chair philosopher. Tho an old joke the audience acknowledged their pleasure at hearing it again. "The trouble with the Bolsheviks is that they only put into effect the theories of the peasant leaders Stankernazin and Pugatchoff." So the Bolsheviks were too slow for him he said; but they also were too fast for him because Russia wasn't "ripe" for the revolution.

There was several million dollars' worth of "socialists" on the platform, Hillquit, Panken, Vladek, etc; socialists of smaller denomination, members of the "organization departments" and "entertainment committees" of certain unions were liberally sprinkled thru the audience.

They were auctioning off socialism. Vladek, Hillquit, Oneal were standing on the platform flapping their arms and crying "Order, please. There are only ten disturbers in the hall, don't mind." Later they said there might be as many as 200, but that that was alright, too. They'd be taken care of. As a matter of fact, there were really 2000 "disturbers" there, out of an audience of 3000.

They pleaded with the sympathizers

of Soviet Russia who were in the crowd. "You can applaud whenever you like," they said. The various chairmen, vice-chairmen and super-chairmen took their turn. Finally Hillquit said, "Comrade Abramovitch can take care of any interjection; don't throw them out." But of course, Comrade Abramovitch could do nothing of the kind.

Then the cheka of the S. P. was led into action by his honor, Comrade Judge Panken. "Leave the aisles, committeemen; police, take your post in the aisles." And in the very best socialist fashion every one could see the united front between the millionaire-socialist-lawyers and the Tammany Hall bluecoats. "Here, here, there," the committee men pointed them out and the policemen threw them out, and beat them up, while some of the protesting comrades were carved up by the union gangsters.

When Abramovitch mentioned anything pertaining to the yellow international, the audience booed; when he referred to the Communist International, they applauded vigorously. So he had to talk carefully in between these two; a contradictory, colorless, classless, aimless talk, worthy of the best traditions of the Second International.

One serious mistake he committed. He challenged the Communists. He the compatriot of Noske, Scheidemann, Ebert, Kerensky, is challenging the comrades of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Lenin.

Abramovitch, we accept your challenge.

"Ido for Workers" (Textbook in German or Russian).....50c  
"An Elementary Grammar"  
(In English).....15c

The Workers' Ido Federation  
Room 5, 805 James St., N. S.,  
PITTSBURGH, PA.



# The Truth About Soviet Russia

By A. A. PURCELL,  
Head of the Fraternal British Trade  
Union Delegation to Investigate  
Conditions in Soviet Russia.

SEVERAL years ago, in 1903, I think it was—I remember reading a pamphlet by that Scotch-American millionaire, Andrew Carnegie, wherein it was stated that if capital could ever be got together to exploit Southern Russia, it would be a veritable Mecca beyond the dreams of avarice, returning to capitalism a financial Mount Everest.

Several times my swift movements through Southern Russia covering 3,000 miles in eighteen days, I have been constantly reminded of the Homestead philosopher of capitalism and his trite remarks.

Carnegie would exploit the earth's wealth for a particular small set, but the Russian worker has accepted the task of exploiting his native territory for the common weal.

Go where you will in the Don Basin and you are struck instantly with a

**Fred Bromley**



whole maze of capitalist contradictions, or rather, the remnants of them. You see the incessant struggle going ahead to master the physical and mental defects inherited from capitalism.

You can see the bruises and dinges battered upon the well-worn machinery, the frightful conditions under which the minions and concessionaires of czarism freed their victims to work, breed, feed, sleep and expire amid tears of blood and disgusting modes of disease and insanitary conditions.

Everywhere you can discern the depredations of the treacherous invader, whether in frock coat or khaki suits. Then having defeated the invader you sense the miraculous and herculean tasks being performed to diminish the evils which have scarred a one-time beautiful and undulating country side. A yawning black and bleak cavity seems to gasp at the human presence.

The filthy relics left by capitalism as its contribution to human emancipation present a formidable enough

task for the new masters, and these are gradually wrecking the old so-called homes and replacing them with tiny houses, that are monuments to the revolution, and will eventually prove to be bulwarks against the old inhuman, insanitary and disease-ridden little cells.

It is a tribute to the ability and capacity of the Workers' Republic that they can rely upon sufficient discipline to enable them to mobilize domestic armies to march and attack this octopus.

If you go to Grosny or Baku, the story simply changes from coal and salt to oil. But the avowed intention, everywhere discernible, to reduce illiteracy and shocking housing conditions, becomes more and more apparent the further you move forward.

Then Schlerovka and Zemo-Avchati give an ever-widening and penetrating glance into the efforts being made to provide energy-giving electrical power to huge slices of the earth's territory, piercing the natural darkness on a more modern basis with the application of scientific methods on an ever-increasing scale.

Thus, to destroy the old and erect the new on these ruins is the everywhere accepted task of all.

As showing the intensity of interest in the undertakings, and the certainty of final success, at one of the mines in the Donetz, a very good old trade union colleague of mine remarked to a Russian comrade that whilst admitting the enormous difficulties which were being so successfully surmounted, there was much of a primitive nature about the workings. "Quite true," replied our good Russian friend, "but never forget these are ours."

But Chatura is clearly the greatest example of working class determination and capacity. Four years ago the place was in an extremely raw state, but I remember reporting in England the importance of what I saw on that occasion. I have now seen it a second time and am bound to say that it certainly ranks among the highest efforts of the Soviet Republic.

The use and exploitation of peat as an energy-raiser on the scale provided at Chatura is of itself a unique thing, but the lay-out of the place, the fine buildings, the well-planned housing facilities for the workers, together with the clubs, schools, and restaurants—all this will, when the plant is completed, make the Chatura electricity plant one of the finest, healthiest, and most self-contained industrial plants in the world.

Here is shown the mighty difference between capitalist and working class effort to deal with a great problem.

A mere glance would compel the most hide-bound anti-Soviet croaker to admit that even the users of strong revolutionary phrases can handle powerful economic undertakings with wonderful success.

Here the technical men are given free and full play within the scheme for the display of scientific skill, a freedom they cannot get under capi-

talism, unless it pays the capitalist; here is a question of social service and consequently, the best is asked for, expected, and conceded.

These great undertakings at Chatura, Schlerovka, Zemo-Avchati, impress me considerably; each is a great piece of social and economic organization, and yet they, and several others, are just a part of one and the same idea.

Soviet Russia will yet feel more proud of its adventures in the field of electricity. In England, we are still talking about it, but you in Russia are doing it; and Russia is poor financially, whilst England is relatively rich, again financially.

Anyway, in this direction you are fast approaching genuine and satisfactory communal rewards, while we in England are still considering whether it will pay the capitalists to exploit our natural resources.

My time will not permit me to launch into further detail, it is sufficient for my purpose to say that I am profoundly impressed at the wondrous advances made since my visit of 1920.

The head almost reels at the thought of the energy which has been consumed in repelling the attacks of almost every country in the world; sometimes avowed and open, at other times by the most insidious and dastardly manner. Then there was the famine period, the almost daily attacks in the world's newspapers, and the constant and persistent building up of crass calumny, lying and distortion, every atom of which was perpetrated in the ever present hope that it would bring about the fall of Soviet Russia. These fools forget that in the end they have done more to popularize Russia than they will ever know. More and more, we are beginning to know Russia; the inquiries by ordinary workers in Great Britain are a constantly increasing stream, despite all calumnies.

And so I am led to Georgia, which has had its full share of capitalist attention, and, if I may say so, alleged socialist attention too.

When I was about to enter Georgia I kept glancing around to see if any Georgians still survived. The British press during the last six months has demonstrated a fond capitalist-like love for Georgia; it has, in fact, emptied Georgia of its entire population.

Day by day, and week by week, we were told how munitions, risings, tortures, shootings, murder, rapine, and slaughter was being perpetrated under Bolshevik rule in Georgia. The most hair-raising paragraphs were stuck in the mid-columns of the British press.

They knew all this was untrue, yet they hoped it really was true, because all their other weapons against Soviet Russia had fallen from their hands.

It appeared to me at sight, that the trouble is clearly one in which those who have been compelled to disgorge their plunder feel annoyed.

The splendid demonstration in Tiflis on December 3, which took nearly three hours to pass a given point,

was a complete answer to the croakers at home and abroad.

Men, women, boys, and girls, all in their industrial garb, sang, cheered, and marched in good order and their banner, and the expression on their faces indicated that they have a hold upon Georgia which they have determined must be maintained at all costs.

Merchants and landlords, former occupants of Georgia, stand up if you can and speak the truth!

You know your confreres abroad lie. Why do you acquiesce in this? I will, if I may, reply for you.

You observe that the workers have taken all power out of your hands, and worse still for you, are going ahead to clear out the vile slums from which you took toll. They have built up better dwellings, and bigger and stronger trade unions, which have their full share in the general scheme of things.

They attack your profiteering. They have ended your chances to exploit them for your own aggrandisement. That is your trouble. I as a mem-

**A. A. Purcell**



ber of the British working class am proud, indeed, to have had this opportunity to associate with that great mass of Georgian workers which I witnessed and mixed with recently. Despite all the lying, despite all the charlatanism, chicanery, and humbug, the Georgia workers are in possession, and, therefore, long life and success to them! Keep out your old masters, keep in yourselves.

It will be our duty on returning to Britain to prosecute, with ever increasing energy, our promise to inform the British working class of your great work in Georgia, and this, too, also applies to the U. S. S. R. Long may it reign, and may it have our greatest help!

*Daily Worker*  
*Insurance Policies*  
#10 - #5 - #1

## LENIN AS I SAW HIM

(Continued from page 3)

a thoro acquaintance with the matter. He knew the role the Forward plays in the Jewish labor movement, what Abe Cahn represents. He emphasized that he considered the movement of the Jewish workers of great significance. It will have to play a decisive role in the left wing movement of America, especially at its inception. Lenin was of the opinion that the Jewish workers will be pioneers of the open revolutionary activity, simply because their unions are the most progressive, and also because they are more socialistic ally inclined as a result of their past experiences on the other side of the Atlantic. Leaders of the Abe Cahn caliber are not to be taken seriously—they are money makers; if the Forward had no other worker's daily to

compete with, and the left wing movement would grow, it would also bend leftward, for Soviet Russia; but if, on the other hand, the left wingers will publish their own daily newspaper, the Forward will turn blacker and blacker against Soviet Russia and for Gompers. It would be better, added Lenin with a smile, that the Jewish workers had a daily of their own in opposition to that of the Forward, owned and controlled by the workers themselves.

While discussing the movement of the Jewish workers, Lenin asked me whether I was a "Bundist," and whether I became a Communist right after the first split of the "Bund." I answered him and he expressed his delight that the entire "Bund" went over to the Communists. After all, the "Bund" is one of the oldest Marxian organizations which is of great value

to the Russian revolutionary movement, not withstanding its optimism and nationalistic tendencies.

Finally Lenin asked me if I knew Daniel DeLeon personally. He was very much interested in him and expressed a desire to get all his works. Debs is too much the man of the heart. This makes him flexible and inconsistent and this is to be pitied; he is a bright personality and could otherwise have had a great creative influence on the development of the American working class movement.

Lenin became enraptured in his talk to such an extent that he forgot about the session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which was going on in the other room. Remembering it, he, good-naturedly, made the following remark: "A Russian habit we haven't yet learned from the Amer-

icans that time is money."

He very heartily took leave from me, excusing himself for troubling me, thanking me for the information I had given him.

I felt ashamed of myself, because it was he to be thanked. In the one hour I spent with Lenin, I learned so much about America! And I was supposed to be the "expert!"

After Lenin has taken leave, and I reflected upon our conversation, upon his comradely behavior, I only began to comprehend his greatness, that which people call "genial simplicity."

In the corridor Maxim Gorky was still waiting, and because of this visit to Lenin, I had the opportunity to become acquainted with Gorky.

This was one of the happiest days in my life, that I will never, never forget.



# Bolshevism or Trotskyism?

(Continued from page 2)

According to his view, the party must become a combination of various tendencies and fractions, and that it shall not immediately conduct the state and economic apparatus, but leave more scope for bourgeois specialists, etc.

This idea of Comrade Trotsky would in the present international and inner-political situation, logically lead in the best case to the substitution of the Bolshevik Party by a "broad" "labor party," after the model of the English MacDonald labor party in a "Soviet edition." It is quite possible that Comrade Trotsky has not thought out his idea to its logical conclusion, but he is steering in this direction, unless he returns to Bolshevism.

A party which has to work under such conditions needs a number of transmission belts to secure its influence upon the peasantry, upon the employees, upon the intelligentsia, etc. The system of levers which secures the dictatorship of the proletariat is complicated (Soviets, trade unions, etc.). But it does not follow from this that the party can become a block of tendencies, a sort of "parliament of opinions."

It is a matter of course that the Bolshevik Party in the year 1924, cannot simply copy the Bolshevik Party of, say 1914, or even of 1917. We cannot limit ourselves merely to admitting workers into our party as members. By means of the Lenin recruitment we did everything possible in order to increase the number of industrial

workers in our party. For some years we held back the influx of peasants into our party. But we have now come to the conclusion that we must again admit a considerable number of peasants. A workers party which governs the state in a peasant country, must have among its members a certain percentage of peasants.

The regulation of the composition of our party is a complicated and difficult task. It is closely connected with the most difficult and sometimes the most delicate political problems. The party must maneuver in this connection. At the present epoch the party cannot be so homogeneous as it was before the seizure of power.

Therefore, the policy, and also the leadership of the party, must be as Bolshevik as it has been hitherto, as Lenin has taught us. The working class realizes its hegemony in the revolution, and the party is the leading advance guard of the class possessing this hegemony.

From this there arises the question of the inner orientation of the party. The Bolshevik Party of 1924 must base itself upon the picked troops of its members, upon the workers. No other section outside the workers can serve as the barometer for the policy of our party.

Must we therefore permit the existence or the formation of a right wing in our party?

We must not!

It does not in the least follow that be

cause we have to be content with a non-sufficiently homogeneous social composition of our party, that because we have to attract a certain number of non-workers into our party, we can water down the policy of the party, that the leadership of the party must also be heterogeneous. On the contrary! Precisely because the party, under the present conditions, cannot be so homogeneous in its composition as it was before the seizure of power, the policy of the party must, more strictly than ever, base itself upon the workers; and precisely therefore, the leadership of the party must be specially firm and Leninist.

The objective conditions under which our party must work at present are such that there exists the danger of the formation of a right wing. He who wishes to remain true to the spirit of Leninism must exert all his forces in order to help the party to withstand these tendencies. With a skillful and correct application of the principles of Leninism to the present situation, we will succeed in preventing the formation of a right wing in our party.

Those comrades, however, who, like Comrade Trotsky, not only do not resist these tendencies, but become their representatives, those comrades who oppose the Leninist central committee which clearly perceives the danger and has to maneuver in a complicated situation, thereby become the enemies

of Leninism.

Whether this is their intention or not, it is all the same. Whether they clearly recognize this or not, it is also all the same.

Let us take, for example, two prominent comrades (let us say comrades A and B). Both comrades are the most disciplined and excellent comrades. Comrade A, however, came over to Bolshevism at another time and by other ways than comrade B. Comrade A came from the peasant movement. Comrade B came from the workers' movement, he has been a Bolshevik for twenty years. Our party needs both. When, however, comrade A begins to develop within the party in a certain manner, as so often happens, and begins to demand that the policy of the party shall be based, not upon the workers but upon the peasants, or when he begins to demand that the general staff of the party should be transformed into a block of various groups—what would our party say to this comrade A in this event?

Something similar, but in a more serious form, is now being done by Comrade Trotsky. He is giving expression to everything in the party which is not Bolshevik.

Can the party tolerate this? Is it to be wondered if the party administrators such a severe rebuke to Comrade Trotsky?

(To be continued)

## What Is A Liberal?

By KARL REEVE

WHAT is a "liberal"? Judging from the Nation, the chief liberal magazine, a liberal is a self-inflated personage who never says in a clear, direct and concise manner what can be said with an obscure, half-hearted, bewildered, muddle-headed, and doubting phraseology. A liberal prides himself on his doubts. He wants to be fair, wants to weigh both sides. The test of a liberal is this—when a decision is forced upon him, he always favors the most reactionary course. And the doubt, according to the liberal rules, must be expressed in high-falutin' sentences.

Take for instance the book review in the Dec. 10 issue of the Nation, entitled "Mussolini, Pro and Con." A blackguard fascist named Luigi Villari has written a book on the "Fascista Regeneration," which is a pean of praise for the arch murderer Mussolini. But the Nation, true to its liberal tradition, must be fair to Mussolini. "Italy needed force vigorously applied in the right direction," says Tenney Frank, in the review of this fascist's book. "Mussolini was there at the proper moment, preferring however, to use quantities of TNT where some of us think that a steady steam engine might have sufficed. But Italy has made the grade, notwithstanding the fact that she has been a bit rattled by unsteady motion. It was a steep grade, too."

Nation Praises Mussolini.

"There is something very appealing in Mussolini's romantic faith in youth, his devotion to clean public service, his power to inspire disinterested work, his hatred of malingering and graft in public office."

In this statement the Nation's liberal tactics are followed to the letter. In the first place, the liberal idea of "fairness," of "seeing both sides," has nothing to do with gathering the facts. Mussolini made the grade, says Mr. Frank. In other words, it was a question of the rule of the working class of Italy or the rule of the bourgeoisie thru a murdering, oppressive, dictator. What the Mussolini rules by means of the bayonet, torch and castor oil. What the thousands of workers are being tortured in prison, what the fascists have been caught committing every crime on the calendar, including arson, robbery, rape and murder. The main thing is, Mussolini has made the grade. He has for a time staved off the triumph of the workers' revolution and kept the industrial capitalists in power. That is

enough for the Nation and for Tenney Frank. The liberal code has been followed. When it comes to a choice between the dictatorship of the Italian workers and the dictatorship of the capitalists thru the fascist rule, the Nation's book reviewer chooses the blackguard blackshirts.

The Utmost Confusion.

It is no accident that this reviewer praises the book by Villari, a reactionary Italian professor, and eliminates the viewpoint of the Italian working class. Numerous other examples of this "liberal" method of that can be taken from the pages of the Nation, and the similar breed of petty bourgeois publications.

Take for example, the review of Sherwood Anderson's autobiography, "A Story Teller's Story," by Harry Hansen. This is a case of a liberal writing about a liberal's book, and the utmost confusion results. That Sherwood Anderson insisted that when men get back to the period of individual craftsmanship, the ills of the machine age will be solved, is dwelt upon by Hansen. Hansen does not point out that the machine age is here to stay, that machines are necessary to supply the necessities and comforts of life, and that the workers must take control of these machines and run them for their own use. For that matter, neither does Sherwood Anderson.

Nation Contemplates "The Soul."

These book reviews are supposed to be the work of "artists," writing about the works of other "artists." The "machine age" the fight between the workers of Italy and the fascists, the class struggle, the battles of the workers for emancipation, are looked upon by the liberals as so much material with which to adorn written sheets of papers, Anderson dismissed with a phrase how he spent his life trying to find out the meaning of life. But those who were making history, fighting the battle of the working class for the overthrow of the rule of the employers' Anderson dismissed with a phrase or two about "sterile Communists." The liberals centering around the Nation are an instrument in the affairs of the world only in so far as they disinfect the manure pile of the capitalist system with their confused ravings about "pure art" and "craftsmanship." Like Sherwood Anderson, they spend their lives weaving fancies, while the workers fight the bloody battles for their own emancipation.

Nation Forgets Workers' Battles.

The staff of the Nation never considers an article for publication on the ground that it might aid in this battle of the workers for control of industry. Take for example, the case of the oppressed miners of Eastern Kentucky. These miners are clamoring for organization. Those unions which they have formed have been broken up by Samuel Pascoe, head of the district of the miners' union, who co-operates with John L. Lewis and the international organizers of the United Mine Workers to keep the Eastern Kentucky fields running on a non-union basis.

These workers appealed to various liberal publications for publicity as to their extremely bad conditions. They told of the company stores, the murders by mine officials, the low wages and the long hours. But how did the "liberals" respond to these pleas.

"Can Do Nothing."

Upton Sinclair wrote "one of these miners who appealed to Sinclair for publicity, "I have your extremely interesting letter, and I wish I could be of some help to you. Certainly the conditions you report should be exposed. I myself cannot write anything about them. Having written one novel about coal, it would be only repetition for me to write another."

Sinclair sent this Kentucky miner's letter, written by A. Walters, a member of the I. W. W., to the Nation. Freda Kirchwey, managing editor of the Nation, wrote back to Sinclair, "I am enclosing herewith Mr. Walters very interesting letter on the coal situation in Eastern Kentucky, together with Mr. Lane's comments. It seems to be history repeating itself—another case of the West Virginia story. I do not think there is anything we can do with the material now." The Nation, in other words, has ample room for a book review which praises Mussolini, and it is willing to repeat over and over again twaddle to be fed to the introspective egotists who parade as "artists." But it is not willing to print a story on the conditions of the Eastern Kentucky miners for fear of repeating the West Virginia story. It is not worth while, in the eyes of the Nation, to emphasize the heroic struggles of America's miners, or any other of America's workers for that matter for decent living conditions, because the cane carrying intellectuals who read the paper might become fed up on stories about the masses of

America's workers.

"So Sorry."

Winthrop D. Lane, writing from "Croton-On-the-Hudson," says, "I have read Mr. Walters' letter to Upton Sinclair. Eastern Kentucky is certainly one of the most exploited and badly treated parts of the coal fields, and the conditions that Mr. Walters describes are no doubt, substantially true. But there is nothing, or at most little, in these conditions different from the conditions in West Virginia.

"An article about Eastern Kentucky would afford a new geographical name, and one might pick out some new aspects, but this I doubt. I do not think any article on it could add much to hitherto published information about the ways of industrial autocrats and the facts of the industrial struggle. Neither do I know anybody who could write such an article."

The Ostrich Hides Its Head.

One can imagine Mr. Lane, after giving his verdict that the Nation is not going to print the coal miner's story, yawning and looking with a bored air out of the window at the beautiful countryside bordering the Hudson. Lane is well enough versed in the magazine business to know that a "new angle" could easily be found if he were interested in finding it. He could also find someone to write this article if he cared to. But Lane does not want to bore the readers of the Nation with too many facts about the "industrial struggle," he does not want to drag them away from their contemplation of themselves as "artists." Nor does he have the heart to ask one of the literary lights of the Nation to write about Eastern Kentucky. He would rather they would stick to their merry game of "fairly" considering all subjects—and always siding with the existing system and with the exploiting class when a real decision is unavoidable. Gracefully, artistically, with a few regrets and a few tears shed about the poor workers, the Nation sides with the bourgeoisie when a crisis arises.

The moral is, when you want to be confused about the class struggle, buy the Nation. If you want to join the workers in their struggle for power, buy the Workers' Monthly and The DAILY WORKER.

Insure The Daily Worker for 1925



# Child Labor--A Modern Pestilence

(Continued from page 1)

erendums or of imploring state legislators to act against it; no one would DARE defend it.

The elegant grande dames of the plutocracy do not know when they drape themselves over their antique chairs at afternoon teas but that the slimy trail of child labor will wreak a loathsome vengeance upon them—that is, those of them that are not already infected thru indulging in the favorite pastime of the ruling class seducing each others' wives and husbands.

But those who distill the blood of children into profits are not concerned about such abstract considerations as the welfare of society. Speak to them of the ghastliness of child slavery and they reply with the bourgeois philistine shibboleth: "There is no sentiment in business."

## The Economics of Child Labor.

While the working class cannot escape the effects of the spread of disease emanating in the foul holes where children slave, it must face another menace equally as dangerous. The spread of child labor will inevitably result in wholesale reductions in wages of adult workers because it fosters a condition where the whole family must work in order to earn sufficient to enable it to exist.

Under capitalist production the value of labor power, the one commodity the worker has to sell, is determined by the value of the neces-

saries of life required by the average family—that is, the father's wage (price of labor power) should be sufficient to support his wife and children. Unless this condition prevails there is a violation of the very laws of capitalist production itself; the plain economic fact that the worker must not merely produce sufficient to maintain himself, but that his wage must enable him to support a family so that another generation of wage slaves may be able to step into the places of the present one.

When other members of the family are thrown upon the labor market the result is the spreading of the value of the labor power of the husband over the whole family, thus depreciating his own labor power. Proof of this effect of child labor can be obtained by even a cursory examination of the wages of men in industrial centers where child labor prevails. In the cotton mills of the south this is so glaring that the so-called "poor white trash" that furnishes child slaves for the mills actually measure their prosperity by the number of children they have to send into the slave pens. If the number of children is greater than the average, the family income is larger—the parents are so devoid of that which the bourgeoisie like to parade as the parental instinct that they look upon their own children only as adjuncts of machines to be put in operation at the earliest possible moment. Many of these parents were child slaves themselves, marrying in their early teens—many girls become

mothers at fourteen in these districts—and deprived of even the rudiments of an education, so they are utterly incapable of properly raising children. As soon as possible after childbirth, these pathetic mothers go back to the looms, while neighbors' children, not yet old enough to go into the mills, take care of their offspring.

This blight upon the family is not confined to the cotton mill states, but is gradually spreading thruout every part of the country. Even the skilled industrial workers of New York are forced to send their children into offices, stores or industries at an early age in order to meet the demands of the cost of living. If such workers were alive to their own interests they would prepare to struggle against the spread of child labor. For if the labor movement of this country does not take drastic steps to wipe out this menace, the conditions now existing in child labor territory will become the condition of the working class of the whole country.

The enemies of labor, in their fight against the abolition of slavery of children, talk about the sacredness of the "home," in order that they may continue to ravage the homes of the working class.

Trade union officials of the reactionary type, which is the predominant type today, are incapable of waging a real fight against child labor, first because of their political alliances with the politicians who exist by virtue of the patronage of the exploiters of labor, and, secondly, be-

cause of their notorious ignorance of everything pertaining to economics. No matter what their intentions might be, they are not equipped to lead a struggle of this character.

It is only the Communists who can analyze the system that produces child labor and it is only the Communists who are capable of taking the lead in mobilizing the workers for united action in defense of the elementary interests of labor. We fight today for ratification of the proposed amendment, thereby proving that we engage in every struggle that affects the working class, but we know full well the limitations of parliamentary reform and to the extent that workers in large numbers engage in such struggles to that extent will they come to realize that the constitution, the congress of the United States, the various state legislatures—in fact the whole government apparatus—exist only for the purpose of perpetuating slavery. This is part of a struggle that can only end when the workers of the United States, under the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party, smash the state power of the capitalist class and establish a workers' republic.

"There is no sentiment in business!" say the Philistines. All their sycophants re-echo this part of the litany of capitalism. Very well, we revolutionists should see that the workers remember this assertion and mobilize our power relentlessly to scourge form the face of the earth these despoilers of the human race.

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