

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

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SECOND SECTION  
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# The Lessons of "MacDonaldism"

By A. G. BOSSE.

THE NATION'S editorial "Ramsay MacDonald's Achievement" in the issue of Oct. 22 is a strange admixture of insufficient knowledge, half-truths, and inglorious admissions. Its enthusiasm at the record of the labor government accords very poorly with the latter's day by day record of broken pledges, compromises, and even betrayals of principle. Liberalism in excelsis!

Let us follow the Nation's outline of this "amazingly impressive record."

Foreign Policy. 1. MacDonaldism sold the German workers to allied finance-imperialism thru the Dawes plan. The 10-12 hour day, reduced wages, increased unemployment (as in the case of the German railwaymen, 143,000 of whom are to be sacked), increased taxes on the workers, who now pay 90 per cent of the taxes, etc., are Germany's share. For England the following threatens: "the grave danger to British industry and increased unemployment, which may result from the Dawes report being put into operation" is called to parliament's attention by the national union of manufacturers.

REGARDING Poincaré, MacDonald astonished him with "determined friendliness" just as the election in France was coming on. The French liberals were also astonished at such friendliness at such a time. The Franco-British breach was temporarily healed, but the surgeon was the American bankers' compulsion, not MacDonald. This "massive achievement" (the forcing of the Dawes plan on Germany, etc.) was a colossal betrayal of MacDonald's election pledges on the Versailles treaty, on pacifism, and on nationalization (MacDonald denationalized the German railways in his support of the Dawes plan.)

2. On Russia, the facts were these: When the negotiations nearly broke up, it was MacDonald (and Snowden) who ordered the rupture, against Ponsonby's wishes. He (MacDonald) was compelled to "climb down" by prominent trade union leaders and labor M. P.s who threatened to expose him to the labor movement. MacDonald insisted on full compensation to bondholders despite the fact that the £40,000,000 of railway and harbor bonds were to a great extent bought by speculators at 1-10 to 1-100 of their value; that many ports are now Latvia's and Estonia's; that British intervention smashed much of the Russian railways. MacDonald's own party showed up the falseness of British claims in "Russia's Counter-claims" by W. P. Coates, published by leading labor M. P.s. MacDonald stood completely on Baldwin's and Lloyd George's claims, despite his election pledges of full recognition, peace on a working basis, extensive credits, etc. Since he was to be defeated on the Russian treaty he could at least have remained true to his position as a laborite and a socialist. If you are to be defeated any way, why not at least retain the confidence of the workers? But that is not the way of a yellow socialist.

3. As for disarmament, we can quickly dispose of great achievements there. Building five cruisers when the liberals were opposed to it was not quite the acme of pacifism and disarmament. The specious excuse of replacement could not do away with the real fact that they are a new type, as the Observer said, as complete a revolution as dreadnoughts were eighteen years ago: "practically the whole of our present cruisers will be rendered obsolete" (and then Mac-

Donald would "replace" more cruisers and destroyers). Snowden said the employment of 15,000 men was the excuse. Ammon (navy dept.) gave this away when he said there was "no warrant for any such suggestion." He continued with the real reason, "We have placed first and foremost the needs of the navy." No "blah" about giving employment. And a Tory was heard to say, "Well, we've no need to turn these fellows out." Walsh (war minister) considered the army "a non-party question," and announced there would be "no policy of further reduction in the fighting arms." This pacifist disarmament urged employers to let their men off "to join the territorial army." Thompson (minister of air) had an attitude "toward the development of the air service which is decidedly sympathetic" (London Times). He was accelerating work on war planes and engines and following out Baldwin's policy in this: intensifying anti-aircraft training; spending \$15,000,000 more on air forces than was spent by the bourgeois government in 1922-23.

The labor ministers refused to divulge any information in regard to explosives, the "mystery towers" at Littlehampton, relative aircraft strength, etc. Munitions being made in Australian state factories under the council of ambassadors were none of parliament's business. The pacifist government would take care of that in time for the next war. As the French Communist Cachin said regarding the French left bloc, they wanted "reformism without reforms and pacifism without peace."

IMPERIALIST POLICY. 1. Capitalism has not in the least been modified by the labor government. On the contrary, it has if anything benefited greatly by it. A Tory government would have had to spend much more money on housing, unemployment, and the like than MacDonald has. The British bourgeoisie has "got away with murder" thru MacDonald.

2. The labor government also sent armored cars, machine guns, and troops into Ireland to fight against a republic. The labor government "honorably" insisted on carrying out every treaty made by a capitalist government preceding it, except when such treaty promised self-determination, dominion government, or a similar small measure of freedom. Examples of this will be given in items 3, 4, and 5. J. H. Thomas insisted that the Irish question was closed and that his government would give no consideration to complete national freedom thru a republic to Ireland, at that time or in the future. Irish political prisoners imprisoned by previous governments, and now held in Holloway and Wormwood Scrubs prisons were kept there despite pretexts to MacDonald and Henderson. Only Georgia wrings their hearts.

3. To call the Nation's account of India an "achievement" is rather strange. MacDonald's bullying and imperialistic ultimatum to India when a word of friendliness was expected could have been sent by Curzon or Churchill. To say that he kept the Indian question in "suspense" is to be absolutely without knowledge of the situation. Agnes Smedley's article in the Nation on the Akali Sikhs some months ago is one instance of "suspense" in turmoil. Thousands of peasants are rotting in jail still, some as a result of the 1921 Moplah uprising, some as political prisoners, after a mockery of a trial or none at all.

The labor government more fiercely accentuated persecution in India than any previous government since the war began. Bombay strikers were refused the right to form a trade union, under the labor government. Politicals were jailed for trying to form a labor party. Hundreds of strikers were shot and jailed for striking; when their pay was held back eight weeks and they were starving, as happened in the Cawnpore and Bombay mills. Police spies were the sole witnesses at the Communist Cawnpore trial, where the defendants were sentenced to four years at hard labor for doing what is perfectly legal in England—forming a labor party. In Beghar, 111 poor peasants were arrested and a complete press censorship resulted, with the labor government absolutely silent until exposed.

BOYS and girls were murdered at Jaito in February, while Sidney Webb expounded British "Kultur." "He believed that the British race had its mission in the world." Richards (under secy. for India) said the Sikh jathas "were disposed of peacefully," and it took a Tory to bring out that they were "peacefully" passed into jail; Mr. Richards made no answer. The grim massacre of Jaito and the 72 peasants sentenced to death in Chauri-Chaura, the shooting of unarmed workers from armored cars in Bombay, and the Cawnpore Communist trial which illegalized a workers' and peasants' party—all these were MacDonald's measures to insure the peaceful imposition of a big wage cut by the employers of India. And this with wages at ten to twenty cents a day, while profits averaged 63 per cent (Indian Year Book: "profit works out at 63 per cent"). Otherwise the Indian question was in suspense under the labor government.

4. Egypt and the Sudan. Along with MacDonald's taking the biscuit, one might mention this fact: MacDonald continued the government subsidy to Asquith's Sudan Plantations Syndicate, which makes only 35 per cent profit; and by a strange coincidence, MacDonald found his government supported by Asquith. I don't say that there is any relation between these facts. I simply mention them together. British contractors were making fortunes building dams and railroads and taking the land away from the Sudanese peasants. Military planes shot Sudanese and Egyptians because MacDonald refused to return the Sudan to Egypt (which was coerced also by British control of the upper Nile). Labor's premier continued to violate article 3 of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement. Serfdom and forced labor made British treatment of Sudan worse than under any previous regime.

Egypt told the same story. Persecution of Communists, and leaders of the Confederation of Labor, police frame-ups, the proposition to send 10,000 troops to "independent Egypt," the absolute refusal to carry out promises made by some sixty premiers since Gladstone to grant Egypt independence—this was only a small part of MacDonald's record. In the Socialist Review for Feb., 1922, one may read some of the "bunk" MacDonald used to pour forth on Egypt: "Here, if the pledged word of England means anything, we went for purely temporary purposes . . . the prime minister . . . anxious to convince his alarmed reactionary colleagues that he had not altogether retained a radical faith, decided to put his mailed boot down upon Egypt . . . and wrecked all hopes of a settlement."

This exactly characterized MacDonald's actions in Egypt.

5. Item 5, as well as 4, is an admission of a great negative achievement. Iraq is one of the sore spots of the empire. Its theft from Turkey has resulted in Turkish incursions, and it will be a miracle if war is avoided. Oil, and proposed cotton cultivation are the excuses for bombing innocent tribesmen and peasants. Mr. Leach's statement of no change in policy was honest, but very modest. His government treated Iraq worse than Curzon ever dared to. Goercion of the national assembly thru reprisals and gold failed to persuade even an assembly owned completely by England, until last minute military action. A labor protest forestalled a Tory mandate over Iraq, which MacDonald put across. Curzon and Churchill tried a trick in Persia which failed; MacDonald succeeded, as elsewhere.

THE rest of the labor government's foreign policy can only be indicated, for lack of space. Included in this record of achievements was: flogging, forced labor, and shooting of natives in New Guinea; broken pledges of self-determination for Cyprus; fomenting revolution in Brazil; inciting insurrection in the Turcoman steppes, to discredit Russia and alarm Persia; doing the same in Soviet Bokhara, and spending enormous sums on Afghan rebellions; suppressing more Communist papers in the Cologne sector in four months than the Tory government did in a year; interfering with the military in Ruhr elections; deporting German workers from Cologne; falsely imprisoning Communists to 27 years in jail, prohibiting meetings of the Rhineland factory councils during the election campaign; answering, in March, a protest sent in January, with the reply that MacDonald "was obliged for the information;" attempting thru its ambassador on the Inter-allied Danube Commission to make all strikes and lockouts illegal in Hungary when the Hungarian government, of bloody Horthy tried to make illegal only strikes in public service; upholding Mrs. Evans in Mexico when she actually took up arms against the Mexican nationalization law, and supporting the oil agent, Cummins, there to the extent of breaking off relations with Mexico; interfering with gunboats on the side of the Canton fascist against the South China government of Sun Yat Sen; compelling Premier Theodore of the Queensland labor government to withdraw the just taxation of great estates; welcoming the royal murderers of fascist Italy and Rumania; merciless slave-driving in Kenya; etc., etc. If I've left out a few minor "achievements," I think we can judge the situation from what has been presented.

DOMESTIC POLICY. 1. The military policy has been discussed under foreign policy, item 3. As to Singapore, it was chosen as a naval base, after the Washington agreement forbade such bases in the Pacific. Singapore is about 200 miles beyond the limits of the agreement, and is practically, if not technically, a violation of the agreement. The MacDonald government gave up the naval base project, ostensibly; but it was kept as an oil tankage station. Lord Haldane said of it that it "would be something of great offensive possibility." It will yet see a naval base.

2. As to the budget, and the promise of a free breakfast table, it is interesting to note that the taxes on a working man's £2-10s. was equal

(Continued on page 8)

# WHY NOT LIKE THIS?

By Jack Gaveel (Hamburg)

TODAY, I was aboard the Russian steamer, Garibaldi, which is loading in Hamburg for London. From London she is going back to Leningrad with a mixed cargo, containing a lot of machinery, however. All Russian steamers have changed their names since the revolution. They have all been re-christened and re-named after men whose work for the revolution has gained them immortality.

I knew that the Garibaldi was lying in the Hansa harbor, but the Hansa harbor is big and has at least three landings. I asked the boy on the harbor ferry that was taking me across, but he couldn't tell me either. So I had to depend on my own wits to locate the ship. Well, there I stood, well forward on the ferry boat as it was cleaving the wind-swept and tossing waters of the Elbe with eyes peeled for the black funnel and the red flag of the Garibaldi. You must know that the Garibaldi is an old friend of mine. I have been on her before the same as I have been on the Karl Marx and the Trotsky. And sure enough, just before we got to the last landing I spied her, a small black steamer, lost amongst the pretentiously looming hulks of her big Dutch, English and Norwegian neighbors. And only for her big red flag with the bright hammer and sickle in the upper right hand corner she would have remained inconspicuous and hidden from my eager and searching gaze.

A BOLSHEVIK ship in a foreign and hostile port amongst thousands of ships all flying long established and respectable flags is a new and unexpected sight. As a revolutionist, it does you good to look at it. It gives you confidence. It conjures up before your mind glowing visions. It makes the blood run quicker thru your veins. She may be a rusty old tub but that only raises her more in your opinion. For raggedness always marched side by side with the red flag. The red flag on her stern, its entire length unfurled to the harbor's breeze, is a bold and uncombattable challenge of capitalist commerce and civilization. Uncombattable I say, as the iron laws of trade are stronger than man's petty prejudices and hatreds.

"Is this possible," you say, "a for-

ign ship raising the red flag of revolt unchallenged and unhindered in the staid old port of Hamburg?" But it is a fact. There is the ship and that's her flag. And in it there is that which makes you like the unrelieved and hopeless drudgery, the soulless and grim routine of this capitalistic world, of this vast Elbe harbor with its slave ships manned by slave crews. The rumble and thunder of the cranes and winches, the hissing of the escaping steam, the clanking of the chains, the tooting of whistles great and small, all this is like sweet music to the ears of the dreamer. Listen—that's the International and Marseillaise. Dead hopes are revived, new ambitions spring up and new resolutions shape themselves.

AFTER I had picked my way across some slippery and partly submerged logs and across a number of scows and lighters I managed to get within hailing distance of the Garibaldi. Yes, there was somebody in her stern. One of the crew, a Russian no doubt. I knew they were expecting me. So, "Hello there, Garibaldi," I hollered at the top of my voice to make the sound carry across the tumult and uproar of the harbor. Yes, he has heard me. He is looking my way. I point at myself and then at the ship to make him understand what I want. "Yes, the ship, take me over to the ship." Ah, he's got me. Yes, he's making for the boat tossing down below, alongside of the ship. Five minutes later I'm aboard.

THEY were glad to see me back. I'd been on her before. I was again struck by the fact that on this ship they have no watchman. When you board any other ship in this harbor, a watchdog of the shipowners is always waiting for you at the top of the gangplank to inquire into your business, past history, family connections, etc. I later asked the sailors of the Garibaldi why they have no watchman aboard and they replied that on Russian ships every member of the crew is a watchman because Russian ships are as much the property of the men as of the state. Well, they led the way aft and down into the firemen's quarter.

MUCH has been written about working conditions in Soviet Russia, but to get a real idea of how workers are treated in and under the

Red Republic you must see for yourself. Never on any ship have I seen anything like this. Here everything possible has been done to make the seaman's life bearable. The men sleep in new and clean bunks. The whole place is kept scrupulously clean and is well ventilated. And there is no overcrowding. And just think aboard this ship they have showerbaths for the crew. Quite a contrast, as you see, to the filthy and beastly conditions that generally prevail on the ships of the capitalist nations. The chuck is plain, but wholesome and plentiful, as I can testify because this was my second dinner aboard the Garibaldi. As for the pay, here's an example: A. B.'s get about six pounds and firemen seven pounds a month. But what I wanted to get at is the share that the crew have in the management of the ship. For after all, this is the most important part. So I interviewed some of the members on this point. They want to great pains to explain to me. To give you everything they said would take too long so here is the gist of it: On board Russian ships the captain's sole function is that of getting the vessel to its destination and in the exercise of it he can of course take such measures as he shall deem fit to further the desired end.

THERE'S none of that needless "bull-dosing" of the crew which is customary aboard capitalistic steamers. Each man has his work cut out for him and as the welfare of the ship is identical with that of the seamen, all do their duty faithfully and to the best of their ability.

Any time the men have a grievance a meeting is called to trash the thing out. If it's anything serious a committee is sent to lay the result before the captain. And the skipper is compelled to listen to the men, consider the question and do everything in his power to bring the matter to a satisfactory solution. In fact meetings are called regularly both for educational and other purposes. A radical and extensive library is carried on board. As you can see a spirit altogether different from that which rules on the ships owned by capitalistic nations. This new and democratic spirit permeates every inch of the Garibaldi from its captain and of-

ficers down to the humblest members of its crew. Take this captain of the Garibaldi. You think you are looking at an American stiff. No uniform with brass buttons for this seaman. He's a sailor as truly as any stoker or coal passer. And he wants the world to know it. A plain black hat, a ditto coat, a big muffler and there you have the uniform of the captain of the Garibaldi. Nothing to distinguish him ashore he does not keep aloof proudly and disdainfully from his crew. No, he goes ashore and uptown together with his men. He talks to them, laughs with them and they all have a good time together.

A LEAKY old tub, with her rudder as I had seen there reminded me of what an official of the Schiffahrtsbund had told me about a rotten old trawler in Hamburg harbor. He had been aboard this steamer a week or so ago to try and prevent her captain from taking her out in the condition in which she then was.

A leaky old tub, with her rudder as good as disabled, because the rudder chain had been tied together in several places with hay wire, with her plates coming loose and her boiler on the verge of exploding, she was a sight to see and entirely unfit to go out. Her crew was fed on potatoes, bread and rotten meat. Sleeping quarters were in the most impossible places, little lousy boxes crammed and knocked into any old nook and corner without the least regard for the comfort of the men. And in these so called sleeping quarters the floor consisted of a number of planks laid across a big hole full of water. Fresh water there was none except some twenty gallons.

THERE is no reason why all ships cannot be made just as good as those of Red Russia. But for that, one thing is pre-essential. That is the international industrial organization of all the Marine Transport Workers. When seamen shall have the power to stop shipping in all the ports of the world thru a mighty international organization of all the marine transport workers linked up with all other workers then shall the Red Flag fly from ALL ships and seamen be treated like human beings instead of dogs.

## Florida As Seen By A Worker

By H. C. Fillmore

Much of Florida is flat, uninteresting country, with great tracts of gray sand covered with pine trees. The relatively high lands are all sand, the lower lands black soil shading into pure muck as in the everglades. The big planters (there are 6,000 acres of orange trees in one block owned by one company near Lake Wales) are full of hope for the future. The small growers and back woods planter is not so optimistic and complains bitterly about the state of the market, the cupidity of the buyers, and particularly of the railroads who, he says, charge as much for moving the crop 200 or 300 miles to Jacksonville as do from Jax to New York.

Lake Wales lies in the Ridge District. That is a district where the monotonous level of the wooded plains of Florida is broken by a succession of relatively high ridges and valleys between, many of which contain lakes. The "realtors" are impressing their optimistic psychology on all the cockroach business men of the hundreds of little towns that are springing up, fed by northern money. Some of the town laborers are also infected and are trying to buy town lots and shares in orange groves out of their puny wages. In few other places in America perhaps does this custom more certainly necessitate the laborer's family doing without proper food, because rents are high (exceptionally so in the winter, due to the tourist influx) and so is food, and wages are low; not far from the absolute minimum required. This is not mere literary license; not Marxian phraseol-

ogy, but fact gained from observing how the laborers live; moreover, living it out with them.

To those who prate so knowingly about the American standard of living I would suggest they try "making both ends meet" on a wage of from 15c to 30c an hour, while paying \$20 a month for a shack to live in and with milk ranging from 17c to 25c a quart. Other food prices being higher than in Chicago except for meat, which is a trifle cheaper. Even without investing anything the white laborers' children, and himself as well, show a poor physique. The blacks show up better due to living in poorer dwellings, a lesser desire to keep up appearances, and a better knowledge of real food values.

Just a few miles from the little town of Lake Wales lies the home of the Mountain Lake Club, where a pack of wealthy northerners make their winter home. They have lots of room among the wild pine ridges and lakes, and have built a fine golf course, a great clubhouse and each one has his separate bungalow. There we find Edward Bok, the karo syrup king, President Suspender King and scores of others with prominent money bags and abdomens. Last winter they gave work to many laborers and what do you suppose they are doing? Oh, you would never guess. Bok and some others were building a BIRD SANTUARY, that is, they put a big crew of men and trucks on and ranged the country for miles round about and dug up all the huckleberry and other kinds of bushes they could find. They hauled them up on top of

a ridge and by using lots of manure and water, right here in the woods, where presumably the birds have always lived quite happily, they started a fine, exclusive plantation of their own for the birds. No doubt they figure that all the nicest birds in the neighborhood will come inside and the fences and guards will keep undesirable persons out and the sweet singing of the birds will help soothe the tired nerves of the poor, weary millionaires.

Both white and black labor is employed apparently impartially all over the place. The southern white laborer who has not been used to working close to Negroes doesn't know what to make of this. They say, "The nigger is the cause of the low wages, he ought to be segregated somewhere, perhaps in Africa," and I would come back with inward malice, "Why I think the blacks do very well, indeed. They seem to do as much work as we and do it just as well. I rather like to work and talk with them."

One hangover from the old is evidenced in two water buckets, one for the whites, another for the blacks. Over I go for a drink and when cautioned against the blacks' bucket say: "These blacks look good and healthy to me. I was brought up on a farm and we never watered white and black cows separately."

A truck driven by a black passes and the old line whites tell you of how only few years before such a condition would not have been allowed. You restrain your anger and say: "Why he seems to me to drive that truck just as well as anyone, and does

his best to get as much money as he can for it, just like a white man."

Summing up one may say that blacks and whites are coming together down here, are growing slowly to understand one another.

You might think that an organization like this Mountain Lake Club, composed of men who have more money than they know what to do with would pay the laborers pretty well. The truth is they pay just what they have to and no more. 25 cents and 30 cents an hour and this maximum only because living in Lakes Wales is very high. At Plant City where our (?) winter strawberries mostly come from, a farmer offered me \$1.50 a day, from sunrise to sunset. Listen to the karo syrup king when the park superintendent told him that to keep his grounds in order during the summer he would have to pay a man \$3.00 a day. "Damn it, man, there is not work enough here to keep him busy. A man ought to care for two or three places. These caretakers are half asleep anyway. They don't know what work is." And you ought to have seen his indignant red mush, and pot belly shaking as he said it.

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# Letters From Soviet Russia

The Village of Chasovnia, Okhtomsk Velost, Moscow Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia.

DEAR Comrades:

Our Soviet village has in many ways outstripped the former backward and czarist village.

I WANT to tell you about our life and want to tell you about our life and doings. First of all let me tell you that our village is now under the administration of the village Soviet, which is elected by the peasants themselves. It has happened that "kulaks," well-to-do peasants, traders, etc., managed to get into the Soviet. But last autumn we decided to elect to the Soviet only poor peasants, in order that it should work for our interests.

THE last Soviet was weak, and we have made up our minds that those who have four cows and three horses must not be admitted to the Soviet. One of these people wanted very much to get in. He was very persuasive and almost succeeded in befooling the peasants. But thanks to the Young Communist League, which exposed his machinations, he was not admitted to power. The Soviet was elected. It is a good business-like and diligent Soviet. It is only a fortnight since the election, and already the village Soviet is showing what it can do. It proposes to introduce electricity into the village.

THE "Ukhtomtok" (Ukhtom Current) company has been formed in the village, and the members of our village Soviet have got into touch with this company. They found out what is required and set to work. They collected money among the peasants and have already begun to erect the necessary posts. Towards the spring we hope to have in our village "Ilyitch's little lamp"—electricity.

THE kulaks and traders were cheating the villagers right and left and made their lives a misery. At last the peasants could not stand it any longer. They called a meeting and discussed ways and means for getting rid of these kulak elements. Finally they made the following decision: "We must establish a co-operative," we must organize our own shareholders' co-operative. No sooner said than done. They began to organize. It was difficult at first, there were very few members, but the state of affairs soon improved. The peasants began to pay more attention to their child, and they also managed to obtain credits from M. S. P. O. (Moscow Soviet of Consumers' Societies) and from the Moscow and District Credit Union.

THE business was extended, and now this co-operative has a clear profit of 7,000 rubles, and has opened two branches in the villages of Gakarevo and Jhilino, as well as a bakery here in Chasovnia. As the profits are considerable, the society has been able to establish a mutual aid fund. Poor peasants receive loans for cattle, implements, etc. In addition to the mutual aid fund, the society assigns money for cultural-educational work. On the initiative of the society, the village reading room has been organized and is the cultural center of the village. The village reading room is an ordinary peasant hut, fairly spacious and decorated with posters and portraits of our leaders. It has a little library of agricultural political works, as well as newspapers and periodicals.

THE village reading room boasts also of an information bureau, where peasants can get satisfactory answers to all questions of interest to them. There are two study circles: an agricultural and political circle. Shortly a "bezbozhnik" (freethinker) circle will be formed. The village reading room publishes its own wall newspaper, which reflects the life of the village. This newspaper exercises considerable influence over the peasants, especially the younger peasants who are eager to contribute to it.

SPECIAL work among women is also carried on. A sewing and general needle work school has been opened for them. While the girls and women sew, knit or embroider, someone talks to them on political subjects

or reads the newspapers. The work of the village reading room is in charge of the Young Communist League, which is assisted by the schoolmaster and the agronomist.

THIS is how we live and how most of the villages of the Soviet Union are living . . . Won't you tell us about your own life?

J. HETLING,

Village Correspondent.

(Correspondent of the newspaper "Moscow Village" and of the periodical "Town and Village".)

Yalta, Dec. 23, 1924.

DEAR COMRADES: Recently a closer connection has been established between Russian and foreign comrades. I would like to tell you how we lived before and how we are living and struggling in our Soviet country.

On the other hand, we would like to get better acquainted with you and to know all your joys and troubles, for altho far away you are our brothers whom we remembered thru all our struggles.

TO be united one must know each other, one could not do better than correspond with one another. Our desire to do so is very great, and I am sure that you will agree. Not only the workers of big factories who are the most class conscious people among us, but even the peasantry and the rank and file workers of the Soviet Union are anxious to keep in touch with the workers of western countries and to share their thoughts, hopes and experiences.

COMRADES, if you consult the map you will find among the vast territories of our republics right in the south in the middle of the Black Sea a little peninsula called the Crimean Soviet Republic. In its most southern part there is our famous port—Sebastopol, and not far from it the health resort Yalta famed for its beauty.

Our club is in one of the streets of Yalta, which you would probably not be able to discover with the help of a magnifying glass.

The Crimea deserves its appellation—the pearl of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. All the year round it is flooded with bright sunshine and washed by the green waves of the sea. All the year round it enchants people with the beauty and magnificence of its mountains, its panorama and its luxuriant vegetation. It is the best place imaginable for rest for recuperating one's tired organism.

OUR czars and capitalists knew that full well. Magnificent palaces, villas and parks are to be found all along the shores of the Black Sea. They belonged to those who oppressed and sucked the blood of the people from Nicholas the Bloody down to his lackeys, the dukes, earls and capitalists.

The Crimea had a longer and harder fight than other parts of our country for its liberation. The white bands of Denikin and Wrangel, who, like the Russian and foreign workers alike, made the Crimea a point d'appui in their struggle with Red Moscow, and had in this the support of the British and French fleets.

And it was only after the fierce struggle which lasted three years that our Red army defeated these bandits in 1920, drove away Wrangel and handed over the Crimea to the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

THE Crimea became at once a proletarian health resort where the workers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics can recover their health after the long years of war and famine and devastation. The palaces and villas formerly the pleasure ground of a handful of debauched parasites, were converted into sanatoria and rest homes for the workers.

The Soviet government granted large sums of money and the necessary personnel to make these health resorts fit to provide rest and recuperation for the sick. In spite of the

terrible famine of 1921, which affected not only the Volga but also the Crimea, the local workers did their utmost to repair the havoc wrought by the whites.

They repaired the electrical power station, the drains and the buildings and increased the number of sanatoria. The health resort is now in full swing.

TENS of thousands of sick working men and women from the bench find rest and health here during the season. Here you will find miners from the Donetz basin, Moscow textile workers and metal workers from the Urals. Over 2,000 persons have gone thru one department alone of the health resort during the spring and summer season. And we have hundreds of beds of the Central Insurance Administration, as well as trade union and factory sanatoria, etc.

This is how we have converted the former czarist and bourgeois Crimea into a proletarian health resort. Our industry here amounts to repairing shops to mend the health of the workers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. And from here they go to take part with renewed strength in the building of the edifice for the creation of which every one of us is working—the edifice of a World Workers' Commune.

THE workers who belong to the "Third International Club" are principally workers employed in the sanatoria and vineyards, and also members of the Medical and Sanitary Workers' Union and of the Land and Forest Workers' Union. Comrades, we would like to correspond with you regularly. We will ask you to tell us how you live and work, and we for our part will endeavor to tell you about what can be of interest to you concerning our life and work. We will tell you how we learn to live and construct our life according to new methods, getting rid of all the relics of the old social order.

WE will exhibit your letter to our club and we will send you all the answer to these letters. In the dark days of bourgeois repression, let the knowledge that the workers of the Soviet Republics are always with you and that true to the injunctions of Lenin they are holding high the banner of the first workers' and peasants' republics, put courage into your hearts.

Awaiting your reply,

With fraternal greetings on behalf of 1,000 members of the "Third International Club."

Luba Gendina, secretary of the management board.

## BROTHER!

(Answer to a letter, a poem—or is it my heart? I do not know.)

By JOHN LASSIN.

(Translated by Simon Felshin)

Brother!  
The mountains gleam,  
Fragrant are the trees,  
You came, to call me, and I am going.

Brother!  
Oh, yes:  
Our hearts are one,  
Our hearts are one,  
Our lungs are one,  
And the blood too is one,  
The hot, the rebellious—our blood.

Brother!  
You gave me your hand,  
And I feel the contact:  
How the veins throb,  
How soft and smooth it is,  
And clings to mine.

Brother!  
For the hand is not a single hand,  
It is the hand of all humanity:  
A voice that calls,  
A word that rings,  
A hand that leads,  
I am going . . . I am going . . .

Brother!  
I have no more body,  
I am only a word light as a flame,  
It soars, soars into the far infinity.

Brother!  
In men's hearts there soars,  
In slaves' hearts there trembles  
A blaze setting adame  
The chilling hearts.

Brother!  
My brother in the fight,  
In pain,  
In rebellion,  
In struggle,  
You stretched out your hand to me.

Brother!  
We stride forward on stony paths,  
At the head of daring rebel armies,  
You, I, we: the slaves . . .  
Into infinity  
We slaves march,  
We conquer in the fight,  
In fever; out of black slavery  
Into the land of eternal light.

Are Sacco and Vanzetti to Die?

WORKERS! ANSWER NO!

## PROTEST MASS MEETING

SUNDAY, MARCH 1, 1925, 2:30 P. M.

at EMMET MEMORIAL HALL,

Ogden and Taylor Aves., South

SPEAKERS:

JACK W. JOHNSTONE, Secretary Trade Union Educational League, RALPH CHAPLIN, and an Italian speaker

Auspices, Workers (Communist) Party, Local Chicago.

ADMISSION FREE!

ADMISSION FREE!

# Social-Democracy Strips Itself Naked

Heine "Protects" the Overpowered Socialist Workers.

**HEINE** (barrister): On January 8 the strike broke out among the dock workers of Kiel. On January 29 the social democratic leaders entered the strike committee. The social democrats did not prepare the strike, and their leaders entered the strike committee solely for the purpose of protecting the overpowered socialist workers, and in the interests of national defence.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 12, evening edition.)

**Kaiser Socialist Scheidemann as Witness.**

**SCHIEDEMANN:** I did not hear Wallraf's speech, tho' there is much contained in it to which I could give my agreement. The strike broke out without our knowing anything about it, and deputations were sent to us asking us to participate. We declined to do this and sent the delegates away. But when our own followers begged us to join the strike committee, we did so with the expressed intention—here I betray no secret—of putting an end to the strike as speedily as possible by means or negotiations with the government.

There was a strong feeling against us in the functionaries' meeting, as "sabotagers" of the strike.

The workers wanted to stop the electric supply as reply to Kessel's commands.

If we had not entered the strike committee at that time, this court would not be sitting today, precisely as we prevented Russian conditions in 1918. And no newspaper would exist today which could abuse us. What we did was done for love of our fatherland!

(Vorwärts Dec. 12, evening edition.)

**SCHIEDEMANN:** I hear of this leaflet for the first time. When we entered the strike committee, we did this mainly because of the danger that unknown wirepullers would attempt to seize the movement. It is utter nonsense to maintain that we favored the strike internally.

We should have been fit for the lunatic asylum had we done this, after pursuing for four years the straight line of defence of native country.

**Heine (barrister):** Did not the greater importance accruing to the strike thru the participation of the social democratic party have the effect of extending the movement?

**Scheidemann:** By our participation in the strike the workers were united, and thus the movement could be much more quickly settled than would otherwise have been possible. If anonymous wirepullers had got the matter into their hands, there is simply no saying what might have happened (Vorwärts Dec. 12, evening edition.)

**CHAIRMAN:** Could you issue the slogan for the breaking off of the strike?

**Scheidemann:** That was entire impossible. All we could do was to take part, in order to bring the affairs to a favorable end.

(Vorwärts Dec. 12, evening edition.)

**Scheidemann:** . . . We exerted every endeavor to induce the general commission of the trade unions to take part. This was in accordance with the intentions of the government.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 12, evening edition.)

**Ebert Ready to Cry—for the Fatherland!**

**HEINE** (barrister): Do you remember that Ebert declared that the Philistine view of peace at any price did not come in question for the social democratic workers?

**Scheidemann:** Yes indeed; he declared that national defence was unconditionally imperative. At this session Ebert was called away to receive important military information from Major v. Bussche. This information was so affecting that Ebert almost wept when repeating it to the party committee. He said: "Now it is more than ever our duty not to fail at this moment."

It was not that we rejected the

## Out of Their Own Mouths . . .

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

The documents introduced and the testimony given at the trial have just reached us and they constitute the most damning indictment of the social-democracy ever compiled.

**WE** publish herewith the second installment of a series of articles composed largely of this matter—most of it taken from the social-democrat press of Germany which published it to show that during the war the German socialists of the Second International outdid the monarchists and capitalists in support of the kaiser, the imperialist war, in crushing the strikes and the revolution that followed the war.

**Of their own mouths . . .**

demands themselves as such, for these were good enuf in themselves, but we could not agree to the use of the strike as weapon of extortion.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 12, evening edition.)

**Against the Amnesty.**

**LANDSBERG:** Was the demand for an amnesty a particularly critical point?

**Scheidemann:** The case was precisely the same as today, when our party rejects the amnesty demands made on such a large scale by the Communists.

(Berlin Rote Fahne, Dec. 12.)  
**Their King's Evidence.**

**D. R. LANDSBERG** (barrister): Did you not consult with Prince Max of Baden on Sept. 23, 1918?

**Scheidemann:** Prince Max of Baden declared to Ebert and me that he would not undertake the government unless the social democrats participated. The tenor of his speech was that we had held strictly to the line of defence of native country, and that we must hold to national defence.

**Noske as Witness.**

**NOSKE** was then heard, on the preparations for the Jan. strike. He declared: On Ebert's suggestion I became the intermediary between the party and the government in September, 1918. I am thoroly familiar with Ebert's standpoint with regard to the strike, for I was his intimate friend, and there was hardly any political problem which we did not discuss together, I must say that I am surprised at the way in which a man of such irreproachable character and great patriotism as Ebert has been dragged thru the press and meetings during the last few years.

**WHEN** the revolution set in, after shots were fired in consequence of the events in the navy at Kiel, the admiralty feared—not that a revolution might break out—but that the shooting might bring about a strike of the dock workers. It was Ebert who proposed sending me to Kiel, since my relations to the navy might enable me to prevent a rising among the workers. As you will probably know, I went to Kiel; I did not, however, find any strikers there, but 30,000 mutineers. I say all this for the purpose of illustrating my close connection with Mr. Ebert.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 13.)

**He Broke Up the Strike.**

**LANDSBERG** (barrister): It is said that the fictitious letter sent by Mr. Pfitze to Kloth contained the statement that a secret party resolution had been passed, to the effect that the party should externally disapprove of the strike during the war, but should support it internally.

**Witness Noske:** That is perfectly ridiculous. The party never came to any such decision. Had I desired it, there would have been a strike at Chemnitz in January. I do not know who it was in Berlin who suggested my being sent to Chemnitz during the critical days of January. In Chemnitz the question of a strike was actually being discussed, and, when the movement threatened to break down in Berlin, it was intended to organize the insurrection on a broader basis. I attribute it essentially to my efforts

that these radical tendencies were defeated. The now fugitive Brandler, late government director in Saxony, and the radical deputy Heckert, were in Chemnitz at that time, and endeavored to organize the strike. I succeeded in first postponing the vote on the strike since I knew that the Berlin strike would break down meanwhile. The radicals reproached me later on for dragging the matter out and thus breaking up the strike.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 13.)

**Arrest of Rosa Luxemburg.**

**WITNESS GENERAL VRIES.**  
**BERG:** I should like to emphasize the following:

One day an agent of the social-democratic party came to us and requested the arrest of Rosa Luxemburg or of another woman. We made the arrest.

I was the more astonished that it was precisely Mr. Ebert who then attacked us severely in the reichstag, and spoke of the case with the introductory words:—"Another word on the military terror."

(Vorwärts, Dec. 15.)

Upon this von Stein, general of the artillery, former minister of war, was heard.

**Chairman:** The defence asserts that from 1916 onwards the German S. D. party deliberately thwarted the measures of national defence.

**Witness:** I cannot say anything about that, as the party leaders did not invite me to their meetings. But there were difficulties enuf.

On one occasion, when a metal workers' meeting was about to be held, we were applied to by an agent of the social-democratic party, who asked us to forbid the meeting, as their right socialist wing was going to be driven to the wall by the radicals.

I prohibited the meeting, and was subsequently severely criticized by Scheidemann in the reichstag for doing so. This I did not understand.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 15.)

**Groner on Social Democrats.**

**THE** retired reichminister, Groner, was then heard, and made the following statement:

I am not aware that the social-democrats did any harm to the defence of the country. On the contrary, I have always found Mr. Ebert to possess the fullest understanding for national defence.

**Heine (barrister):** Do you know anything about Mr. Ebert's activity for keeping the army together after the breakdown?

**Witness:** Yes indeed. The present President Ebert did his utmost to carry out the wishes of the military headquarters. At that time Mr. Ebert discussed the situation with us every day, in full agreement, and endeavored to carry out everything which we suggested and recommended.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 15.)

**Hindenburg to Ebert.**

**HEINE** (barrister): Are you aware that General Field Marshal Hindenburg, was prepared to co-operate with Mr. Ebert?

**Witness General Groner:** General Field Marshal von Hindenburg was in entire agreement with this co-operation. He was also agreed with our entering into an alliance with Mr. Ebert at that time. I know of a let-

ter in which Excellency von Hindenburg wrote to Mr. Ebert that he, like Mr. Ebert himself, was willing to place certain feelings and wishes in the background for the sake of the welfare of the fatherland, and would work in collaboration with him.

**Landsberg (barrister):** Can you confirm the statement that the letter written by Hindenburg on Dec. 8, 1918 commenced with the following wording:

Dear Mr. Ebert! That I apply to you in the following lines is explicable by the fact that I have been told that you, as a faithful German, loving your fatherland above everything else, are prepared to place in the background your personal opinions and wishes, as I too have been obliged to do, in order to serve the fatherland in its need. For this reason I have allied myself with you to save our people from the threatened ruin. I should like to remind you of your appeal of Nov. 9, in which you say:

"The new government of the reich cannot fulfill its task unless the whole of the authorities in town and country lend a helping hand. I know that many will find it difficult to work with the new men who have undertaken to rule the reich, but I appeal to their love for our people. If our organizations fail us at this difficult hour, Germany will be plunged into anarchy and the profoundest misery. Help us by fearless and persevering work everyone remaining at his post, until the hour of release arrives."

This is followed by several points dealing with discipline in the army, and with the necessity of the speedy convention of the national assembly. The letter then goes on:

"The fate of the German people has been placed in your hands. It depends on your decision whether the German Reich will revive. I am ready and with me the whole army, to help you without reservation for this aim. We all know that after the regrettable issue of the war, the reconstruction of the reich is only possible on a new basis and in new forms. What we want is that the restoration of the state is not postponed for generations by a foolishness and blindness completely destroying every pillar of our social and economic life . . .

"Signed: Hindenburg."

**Witness:** I can fully confirm the authenticity of this letter.

(Vorwärts, Dec. 15.)

(To Be Continued.)

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.

# A Herald of Revolution

By M. D. Litman

THO nothing officially can be noticed, business boycotts and petty horse-play among American "Babbitry" is the order of the day. The crux of these boycotts, takes place in the smaller communities where the Babbitts make it their business to know the affairs of each other. Protestant cockroach businessmen of the three K's variety are boycotting catholic and Jewish small-town merchants and they in turn retaliate. Some leases are never renewed and in some towns the streets are painted with such words as "Kigy," or "Akia" and "Ayak." Kigy means "klansman, I greet you." Ayak means "Are you a klansman?" Akia means "A klansman I am." With the above gibberish the knights of the knight gown recognize each other.

In the manufacturing centers, advertisements calling for "christian help" are not common. Evidently christians make good slaves. The masters are seeking to feed the most willing slaves first and they choose their workers according to the particular brand of religious opium they inhale. An artificial line of gentile, catholic and Jew is tightly being drawn and all the prejudice and witchcraft of old is arrayed to befuddle the uncouth.

So long as this sort of horse-play is confined among the various elements of two-by-four bank patrons, known as the middle class, the harm done, tends to weaken the unity and strength of the capitalist state, but of late, thanks to our efficient Mr.

Ford, the poison has reached some elements of the working class and we must not permit this poison to retard, even for a moment the forward march to Communism.

The French revolution—the very expression of industrial capitalism's coming of age — cold-stored the witches of medieval religious and racial prejudice temporarily. The capitalist state became the conciliator between the budding businessmen who needed stability and the church which was becoming too clumsy to minister the new state.

A convenient wedlock, however, between church and state—each party to the contract maintaining their own home but living amicably together—was affected. This wedlock is now successfully operating in most western democracies. To bring the war to the people, the almighty on high and the state, have worked hand in glove.

## Sign of Revolution.

Whenever the working class begins to get conscious of the fountain-head of exploitation and bourgeois society is threatened, the handmaids of that society will unearth the old stinking carcass of religious and race hatred and create a condition of intolerance, which for a while holds back the forward march of the working class. It is the last connivance and calumny—after that the deluge. There only remain internal military suppression and external invitation to mercenary troops to hold the working class in leash. We are now passing thru the state of intolerance. When it becomes clear to the workers that they

have been misled and that they are not divided along religious and race lines, but only along class lines, they will know what's to be done.

Up to 1914 the United States industrial development was so intense and rapid that the various phases of intolerance that were rampant in Europe could not develop here. The Negroes suffered the most up to that time and if there had been no Negroes to roast it can be supposed they would have roasted foreign-born workers or the next minority that "heroes" pick on.

Religious intolerance began to be felt in America during the few hard years prior to the world war, when it was necessary to give the workers a dose of prejudice in order to stem the tide of industrial unrest that was sweeping the country prior to 1914. With the coming of the great carnage and with "plenty of jobs" for the slaves and profits for the masters and with a war on hand which gave them a better subterfuge than internal intolerance; mainly, "death to the Hun" and "patriotism," we experienced a lull.

## Post War Hatreds.

The war has been fought, workers have returned to jobs which machines and capitalist efficiency have replaced. The world market is ruined and an age of specialization, such as has never been heard of before, is confronting the American worker today. The American land squatter has long ago lost title to his land, and has been reduced to tenantry. Such a condition presents a most fertile soil for

the capitalist apologists. They come before the people and tell them that "foreigners," "catholics" and "Jews" are depriving them from their profits and from their jobs.

The smallest and most unprofitable enterprises are in the hands of the so-called foreigners. The hardest mine and farm labor is being performed by so-called foreign labor; yet, there is that politically and class ignorant "native son," who allows himself to be misled by this drivel of hatred. To show their patriotism, some bosses are handing out the "easy" mine and mill and factory jobs to natives and take pride in employing none but "christian, white, Americans."

## The Ku Klux Kraze.

Born inside of the stinking carcass of race and religious intolerance and germinating from the swamps of southern United States, the klan is the agency which has rendered the most service to American capitalism. The old decayed carcass of hate and intolerance was dressed up in a white robe and placed on a horse and is now being paraded around before the uncouth.

Conflicts must result from this campaign that will tend to weaken the capitalist state organism and will make the state a weaker enemy of the working class. Sectional disputes in regards to authority will arise and with it internal warfare into which the working class led by Communists will throw their forces and organize the first step towards Communism—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## Religious Opiate for the Children

CAPITALISM, with its powerful weapon, the school, is burying its poison fangs still deeper into the hearts of the children by at last establishing in New York City, religious instruction for public school pupils. At a meeting a few days ago of Roman catholic priests, Jewish rabbis and protestant ministers, it was decided that such opiate must be administered as often as possible to as many scholars as possible. The attempt will be made to inoculate the 1,200,000 New York public school children, with this virus instead of 400,000 now receiving such injections in one way or another.

### Catholics At It a Long Time

It has also developed that the catholics, always working jesuitically, have been for the last two years giving religious opiates to children after school hours. This was announced by no less an official than Dr. William J. O'Shea, superintendent of schools, who made no explanation of how they do it and whose children they are teaching.

Cardinal Hayes, chief of the opium squad of the catholic branch of worship, has given his "august" sanction to this movement and his Machiavelli, Dr. Lavelle, is the active force carrying out the cardinal's dictum.

It was declared with pride that the public school officials are in favor of this religious instruction for the school children and the immediate establishment of such teachings seems to indicate that capitalism knows what it is doing and that it needs must be done to withstand the onset of labor waking up to the wiles and oppressions of capitalistic ethics and sweatshops.

These medicine men have now arranged for one day a week of religious instruction in one school, P. S. 46, at St. Nicholas avenue and 156th street. They are wily in announcing that instruction will not be given in the school building, but in places apart. The Jews, protestants and catholics will have separate classes. It is also intended not to dismiss classes early to receive this instruction, but it will be done after school hours. They will catch first, it is said, the part-time class children who, deprived by the niggardliness of the capitalist politic-

ians, of full-time lessons, will be pounced upon by the witch-doctors and given as frequent doses as possible, of this venomous narcotic, so that they may be "good," meaning docile workers for capitalism.

Superintendent O'Shea, to calm the people who might be disturbed by this new plan to take possession of their children mind's minds, says that attendance at these classes will be purely voluntary. But they will work on children they find not attending in a similar fashion to the catholic witch-

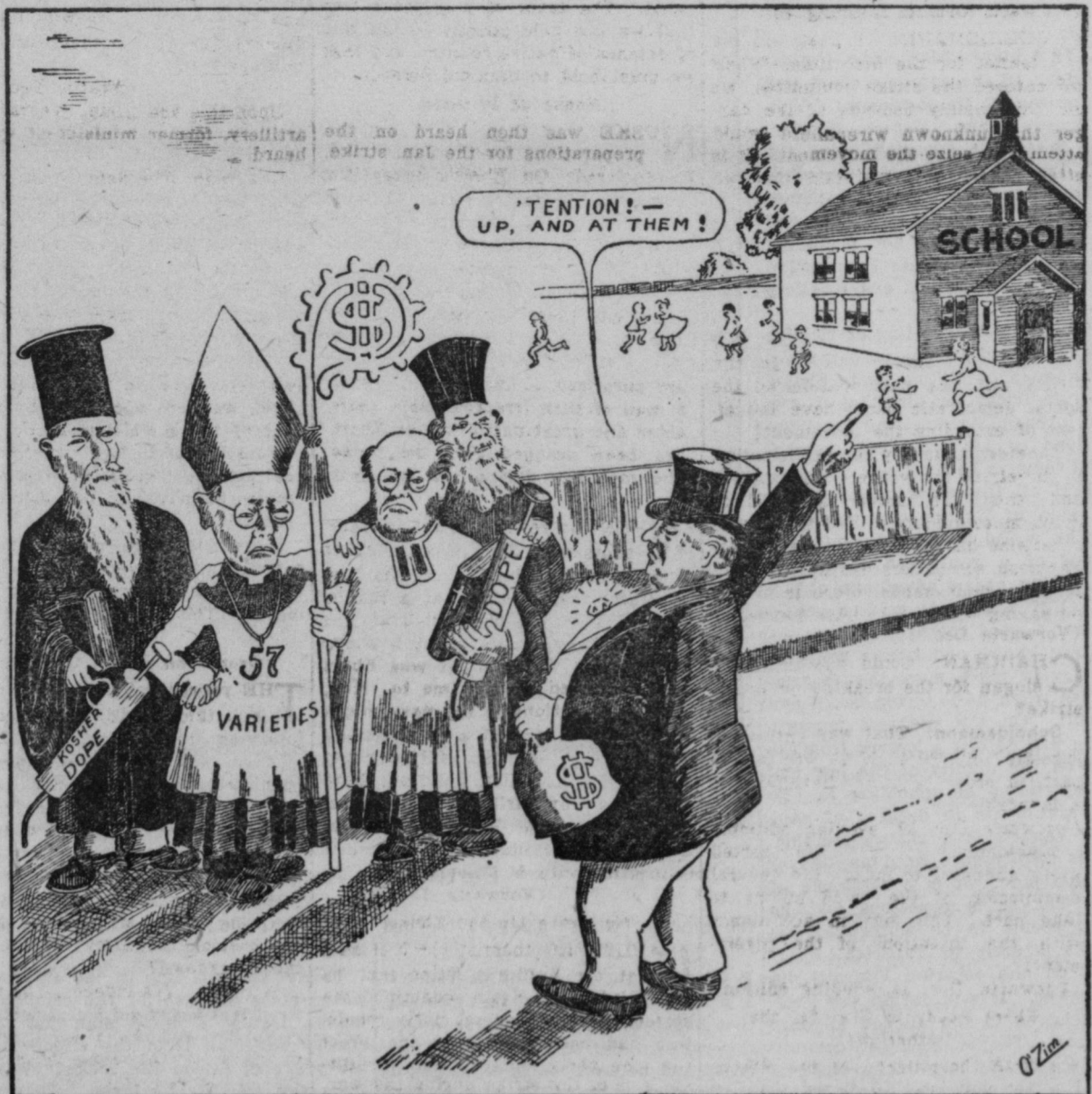
doctors who dangle a devil before the eyes of a terrified child and its mother.

The Mephistophelian horror enters the trustful souls and they are dulled in spirit by the poisonous fear. The parent relents, the child is staggered by fear and successive doses of the opiate render it immobile and thoughtless. Thus the public school will continue its efforts to create imitative monkeys out of the magnificent potentiality of adolescent human brains. Capitalism is forever alive to its

interests and it knows the child is its future earner of profits. If it doesn't receive opiates enough it will join the Communists who strike directly at the villainies and abominations of profit-making.

It is a frightful step towards bringing the working class into subjection and its effects will be far-reaching if it continues.

In the whole city of New York with its 7,000,000 people only the Workers (Communist) Party combats this menace in an organized manner.



# VANZETTI AND JUDGE THAYER

*Victims of the Textile Barons in New England*

**I**N "The Story of a Proletarian Life" Bartolomeo Vanzetti describes the manner in which Judge Webster Thayer sentenced him to fifteen years in prison on the charge of attempted highway robbery. "There was not a vibration of sympathy in his tone as he did so," says Vanzetti. "I wondered as I listened to him, why he hated me so. Is not a judge supposed to be impartial? But now I think I know—I must have looked to him like a strange animal, being a plain worker, an alien and a radical to boot."

The modesty which is part of the make-up of Vanzetti never told him that the reason Judge Webster Thayer hated him was that in addition to being "a plain worker, an alien and a radical to boot" he was a man of fine intelligence devoting that intelligence to challenging the system of which Thayer is part.

**O**NE did not need to sit long in the court room of Superior Court Judge Webster Thayer in Dedham while Bartolomeo Vanzetti was there to realize that the two strongest personalities in that court room were Thayer and Vanzetti. The cage in which Vanzetti sat faced the bench on which Thayer sat. Vanzetti never took his eyes from Thayer and Thayer knew it.

Thayer is a good lawyer in the sense that he knows the law. He has a fine brain which he has concentrated on legal problems. Vanzetti has a fine brain which he has concentrated on ideas of brotherhood and the bringing about of a better system of society. Thayer has an education gotten in the best schools and universities in the country. Vanzetti educated himself in the time left him after earning a living for himself.

**T**HAYER knows Blackstone, the decisions of the supreme court and the statutes of Massachusetts. Vanzetti knows Marx, Dante, Mazzini, Hugo Zola, and strangely enough the bible. Darwin, Spencer and the other scientists are more than mere names to Vanzetti. He has studied them and said "my teeth were not made for such bones; nevertheless I proceed to gnaw them desperately, and I believe not uselessly."

Vanzetti's understanding of English is far from perfect. Thayer can make the language of Milton and Shakespeare do tricks for him that it was never intended to do. The legal implications of his slightest remark always seem to be limitless.

**W**ITH all the advantages on the side of Thayer one would assume he would be a good enough sport or enough of a gentleman to refrain from taking unfair advantage of Vanzetti. But Thayer is neither gentleman nor a good sport.

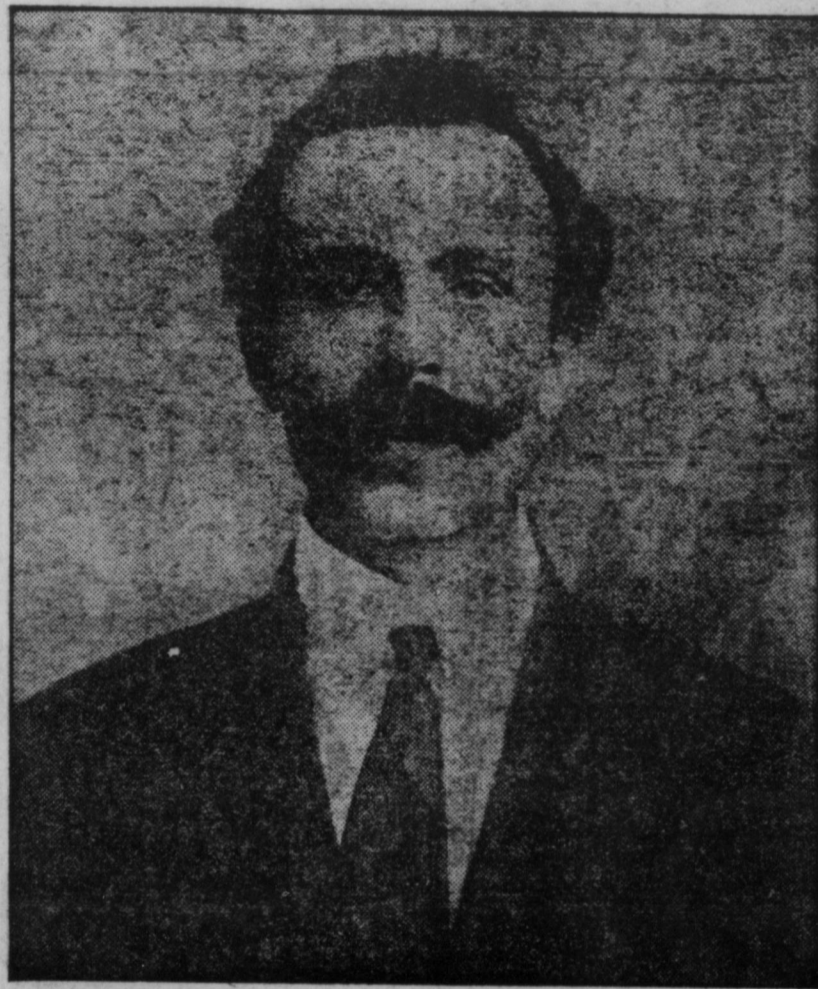
Thayer knows and knows well that he is trying much more than a murder case when he is trying Sacco and Vanzetti. On the slightest provocation he will deliver a lecture from the bench on the dignity of the law and the importance of upholding it. To these arguments in defense of capitalism Vanzetti can answer nothing. But his steady gaze fixed on Thayer is a challenge. It is a challenge of which Thayer is conscious and he always seems to be addressing his remarks directly to Vanzetti.

**B**UT on one occasion Vanzetti did answer. It was during the hearings relative to the alleged insanity of Sacco. Thayer had just committed Sacco to the hospital for observation. He then delivered a talk on the idea that "this is a government of laws, not men."

Sacco had been on a hunger strike for twenty-nine days as a protest against the frame-up which had put him and Vanzetti in prison. Thayer was pointing out that an individual could not stop or impede the workings of the law. That the law was more important than persons. "The time will never come I hope when one person can make his will felt over his fellows. When the word of one person will have the force of law," he said. The harangue lasted about



Nicola Sacco, His Wife and Son.



Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

ten minutes when Thayer reached this point in his argument.

**N**O doubt thru the mind of Vanzetti flashed pictures of the frame-up that had brot Sacco and himself into the cage in the court room as prisoners and he snapped in a loud, clear, challenging voice, "We are at that time now."

Baliffs hurried about the court room bellowing, "Silence in the court." The clerk rapped his desk and a guard rushed to the edge of the cage where Vanzetti sat. The judge continued droning out his remarks.

**B**UT Vanzetti had at last challenged the bunk of the judge to whom he was compelled to listen. That little scene which was over in a moment symbolized vividly the challenge which the working class hurls in the face of existing society. It might well have been a part taken from a

symbolic drama transplanted to real life.

Today Vanzetti lies in the Bridgewater state hospital for the criminal insane legally a crazy man but in reality suffering from the effects of his years of prison life locked away from the free air he loved. Thayer has rendered his final decision in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti by passing the buck and refusing their demand for a new trial saying the supreme court could reverse him if it wished.

**V**ANZETTI'S future seems to hold but two possibilities, life in an insane asylum or death in the electric chair unless his class frees him. Thayer's future seems secure. For his part in the now world famous case "The People of the State of Massachusetts vs. Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti" he will probably be

given a judgeship in the supreme court of Massachusetts. There his life long ambition will be realized and he can continue to play a part in what has been called "the immortal adventure of the law in Massachusetts."

## Lines to the Unorganized Unemployed.

Too many boots, and your feet are unshod,  
Too many suits, and you shiver with cold,  
Too many houses, you bed on the sod,  
Too many meals, so your rations are doled.

Over-production—the warehouse is full;  
Over-production—you starve on the street;  
Over-production—a nice little lull  
With plenty stored up—but nothing to eat.

Think of the boss that you love feeding fat,  
While you tighten your belt and go begging a meal;  
Think of the banquet his family it at  
As you prowl by the shops and are tempted to steal.

Over-production—you speeded like hell;  
Over-production—you took little pay;  
Over-production—you did your work well;  
Over-production—of Bosses today!  
Henry Geo. Weiss.

## GO TO YOUR CLASS MOVIES

"The Beauty and the Bolshevik" will be shown in the following cities, together with its companion piece, "Russia in Overalls":

East Pittsburgh, Pa., Feb. 28.  
Gary, Ind., Eagle Theater, March 3, noon to midnight.

Milwaukee, Wis., Pabst Theater, March 7, one matinee, one evening show.

Neffs, Ohio, March 20.  
San Francisco, Cal., March 21.  
Los Angeles, Cal., April 8.

Tacoma, Wash., April 19.  
"Polikushka" and its companion comedy and news reel will be shown:

Kenosha, Wis., Feb. 28.  
Bentleyville, Pa., May 1.  
"Russia and Germany" is being shown in the Miners' Union Theater, Galloway, W. Va., Feb. 28.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY THEATRE.

**M**EYERHOLD is the spirit of the revolutionary drama in Soviet Russia. He it is who has swung the theatre directly into revolutionary activity, while at the same time, heightening the artistic effects and making of the theatre a spectacle splendid as nothing has been before, rich in art, in propaganda in broad, and yet simple effects.

Meyerhold has spoken the last word for revolutionary drama in Moscow. His dynamic genius sweeps everything before it and produces a theatre that means death and oblivion to all bourgeois ideals of society and art. After Meyerhold one is no longer interested in or held by ordinary drama, no matter how poignant. Why? Because Meyerhold crushes in his overpowering dramatic and satirical scope all the bourgeois ideals of the world—that world of polite society, of brutal exploitation, beastly governmental diplomacy and cruel expression. Meyerhold makes you feel the very essence of these things and side by side with this, he raises the Communist ideals of struggle, of sacrifices and of comradeship.

There is practically no scenery on the Meyerhold stage, and all the effects are produced with wonderful groupings and with lights from the wings that achieve enormous and poster-like effects. It is clear and strong and is the beginning of a new world drama.

There is no reason why the nucleus of such a theatre should not be started in America. There is opportunity for a theatre of this nature in this country, such a theatre working in direct contact with the party.

The Workers Drama League, which produced the beautiful pantomime for the joint bazaar under the direction of Sadie Amter, may be the beginning of such a movement. Indeed, interest and enthusiasm for this new field is so great that there is every reason to believe that the Workers Drama League will do great things in the future.

Dr. Arkotov, who produced the "Dawn," in Moscow, will produce a splendid spectacle, "The Paris Commune," on March 15, at Madison Square Garden, for the benefit of the Workers Party press. This will be a magnificent pageant, in which hundreds of comrades will take part. The fifteen thousand who will crowd Madison Square Garden to witness this original production will carry away with them a picture for life.

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN.

**I**GOR STRAVINSKI, the great Russian composer, directed the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in four of his own works on the regular program of last Friday and Saturday which was given at Orchestra Hall.

By way of contrast with the advanced modernism of Stravinski Mr. Stock opened with the Beethoven seventh symphony, crystal clear, dancing music, sparkling diamond-like under Frederick Stock's baton.

Then came Stravinski. This short, vigorous person who has upset the music of three continents with his surpassing genius, opened his section of the program with an arrangement of what the program called "The Song of the Volga Boatmen" for wind and percussion instruments. Stravinski intended that this world famous tune should, in his arrangement, become the national anthem of the new Russia. There is a certain amount to be said for him in this. The tune is distinctly Slavic, is well known and is a song of labor. Stravinski's arrangement is short and has tremendous power. But the composer overlooks the most essential point. National anthems are born out of war. The song that carries a nation thru revolution will be the national song of that nation after the revolution is consummated. So it is that neither Stravinski's "Song of the Boatmen of the Volga" or Grechaniov's "Hymn of Free Russia" have displaced the International.

Followed a fantastic scherzo written by Stravinski in 1908. This piece

proves that Stravinski can, if he will write as clear a melody, in the old fashioned sense of the word, as Ravel or Elgar. It is light and clever music, attempting and failing to describe the activity of a bee-hive. Far be it from me to accuse Stravinski of plagiarism, but there are moments in this scherzo that are too reminiscent of Dukas' "Sorcerer's Apprentice."

Then a masterpiece of the fully ripened genius Stravinski—"Le Chant du Rossignol," which is in English "The Song of the Nightingale." Based on an old story of Hans Christian Anderson this work exists in three forms, first as an opera, second as a ballet, and, in the third form played on this occasion, as a symphonic poem. It is concerned with the story of the Chinese emperor who had a pet nightingale that left him cold when he got a mechanical nightingale as a present from the Mikado of Japan. But when the emperor is sick and death sits on his pillow, the mechanical bird is broken, and the real one appears, charming death and saving the ruler's life.

It is impossible even to attempt description of this music. The best description is the apt metaphor, the appropriate analogy. But there is no analogy to be made to "The Song of the Nightingale." It is unique, it is like nothing else played as music, it is only to be experienced.

The program ended with a suite in five movements drawn from the ballet "The Fire Bird," one of the Russian's early creations. There is much pep and brilliancy of color in the suite, but coming as it did after "The Song of the Nightingale" it was too much of a let-down.

### LIONEL TERTIS, THE GREAT VIOLA PLAYER.

Mr. Stock's eighteenth Symphony program of this season, given in Orchestra Hall last Friday and Saturday, was one of a double significance. It was given over completely to the work of contemporary English composers with an English soloist, and, of the four compositions making it up three were descriptive of cities.

Lionel Tertis, the great viola player, was the soloist. He presented, for the first time in this town, two movements from a suite for viola and orchestra by Benjamin Dale. Most of the music is simple stupidity, but there are in it spots and patches of a peculiar violet colored music that the viola tone seems to inspire.

The viola is the day laborer of musical instruments. No orchestra of any size is complete without it, no string combination bigger than trio can dispense with it. Yet, with the single brilliant exception of the Berlioz "Harold in Italy" symphony there exists scarce a solo spot of importance for it. The viola works, but without the reward of a chance to stand out.

Lionel Tertis is a phenomenon. He arrived on the scene as a soloist on an instrument that has only a paltry solo literature. And at once his contemporaries began making a literature for him. The music for solo viola that is pouring out of London today is due to Lionel Tertis.

It is worthy of note that the instrument Tertis uses is larger than the average viola. It has a different tone too, something like a sort of soprano violincello, if such a thing were possible.

The program opened with a symphonic movement descriptive of Paris at night, written by Frederick (before the war it was Fritz) Delius. The opening and closing sections, a wistful little tune in the oboe, suggest somewhat the spirit of the town at night, but the rest of the composition is a failure.

This was followed by the London symphony of Ralph Vaughan Williams. The London symphony has been discussed here before, so we shall not go into details again. It is without doubt Williams' masterpiece to date, and one of the great pieces of program music. Williams sees London as it really is, and in his music the pathos of London, the horror and hunger of Lon-

don, the romance and the mystery of London, almost the very smells of London are all brot out by a master hand. The four movements concern themselves with, first, the noise and clang of heavy traffic, second the pathos of the Bloomsbury district in the twilight, third, the heart rending gaiety of a Saturday night in the slums, and last the Hunger March "of those whom the city grinds and crushes, the great army of those who are cold and hungry and unable to get work." (Quoted from Albert Coates, the English conductor.)

The windup of the program was the "Cockaigne" overture of Edward Elgar. Elgar sees London as a sort of sublimated Sunday comic supplement in this overture, and tries hard to cover up the poverty of his ideas in masses of tone.

**T**HE civic orchestra gave its second Orchestra Hall concert of the season last Sunday afternoon, with Frederick Stock and Eric Delamarter conducting. The program opened with an overture called "In Bohemia" by Henry K. Hadley. This is better music on the whole than most of Hadley's work. It is light, it is melodious, and it is not in the least Bohemian.

This was followed by the fifth symphony of Schubert, which was given its first Chicago performance. Connected with this work is a history of romance of the sort generally associated with some paintings. The manuscript score of the symphony was sent to Russia and lost there. Later it was discovered and just last year it was published in Vienna. But there is considerable doubt as to the authenticity of some of the ten symphonies of Schubert. It is thought that some of them, including the work played on this occasion, are forgeries. It certainly seems that this fifth symphony is not genuine Schubert, for it is in Mozartian style and so long that about two-thirds of it had to be cut to make it into a program at all.

The symphony was followed by the prelude to "The Deluge" that well-worn old timer of violin solos, here played by Charles V. Hrych, the concert master.

Miss Margaret Farr was the soloist of the day, playing the Liszt fantasia on Hungarian folk melodies. It is customary for pianists to vie with each other to see who can give this war horse the most eccentric performance. Miss Farr's interpretation was of the most eccentric.

The shadow weaving march movement of Chaykovski's sixth symphony and the Strauss waltz "Wine, Women and Song" wound up the show.

**T**HE Chicago Mendelssohn club gave its second program of the season at Orchestra Hall, last Thursday night. Because of the illness of the club's conductor, Harrison Wild, Calvin Lampert, the accompanist for this foremost of men's choral organizations, took the baton. Louise Harrison Slade, contralto, was the soloist.

The Mendelssohn club programs are built up mainly of English and American music of many different sorts and degrees of worth. On this particular program the outstanding composition was the one called "Siberia," by a man named Starke. In it the song of the protesting, exhausted prisoner condemned to Siberia by a czarist court, sung by a solo voice is constantly circled and framed by Cossack cries in the chorus.

Beside this solo with the club, Mrs. Slade did two groups alone, one group of songs by John Alden Carpenter, which are very bad, and another group of Louisiana Negro songs that are not quite so bad. Mrs. Slade can interpret with considerable feeling and insight, but unfortunately was not in good voice on this occasion.

### Second-Hand Books

Used Communist, Labor and Economic books, pamphlets, magazines and maps in all languages, bought, sold and exchanged at cut prices.

### "Daily" Book Exchange

805 James St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

**F**ELLOW peasants: A wave of savage and cruel persecution has descended upon the careworn, toiling peasantry not only in Europe, but also in other parts of the world.

The landlords and the capitalists are dealing out a bloody revenge to the best sons of the toiling peasantry for the only offense that they dared raise their voice against the oppressors and exploiters of the village.

In Bulgaria the stalwart champions of the peasants' cause are being murdered; in Rumania the peasants are being shot in their hundreds and entire villages are being levelled to the ground by artillery fire; in Poland the infuriated generals and landlords are threatening death to millions of peasants, shooting and imprisoning every day some of the best sons of the toiling people.

Everywhere, in Czecho-Slovakia and India, in Corea, Italy and Egypt, in Peru and Canada, in America and China, everywhere the attempts of the peasants to improve their lot, to obtain land and human conditions of existence, are met with stubborn resistance on the part of landlords and capitalists, who drown such attempts in a sea of peasant's blood.

Hundreds of thousands of widows, mothers and orphans of peasants, who were either murdered or imprisoned for the cause, are left without any means of subsistence.

Thus it was in Rumania, thus it happened in Poland, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Esthonia and other countries.

Fellow Peasants and Peasant-women:

Do not trust the hypocritical "pacifist" twaddle of the flunkies of the bourgeoisie and the landlords in the camp of the Second International, do not put your faith in the dope administered by the priests who are the champions of landlordism.

Continue the fight for your cause, for land and power, and let there be no peace between wolves and sheep, between landlords and peasants. The organization which renders aid and comfort to the victims of your fight against capitalism and landlordism is the International Red Aid.

The industrial workers of all countries, who are engaged in the same fight against capitalism and landlordism as yourselves, have long since appreciated the great worth of this organization, which has been so helpful to them, and they are joining it in masses.

Fellow peasants: Join the ranks of International Red Aid (I. R. A.), support and strengthen the only organization which renders aid to the victims of the revolutionary struggle of the peasants for land, freedom and power.

I. R. A. will solace the lives of your imprisoned comrades and will plead on their behalf before the workers and peasants thruout the world.

Raise your protest against the cruel violence practiced by the master class.

Demand freedom for the imprisoned fighters.

Down with the terror practiced by the landlords and capitalists! Long live the fight against the landlords!

Long live the toiling peasantry thruout the world!

Peasants and workers of all countries, unite!

The Presidium of the International Peasants' Council. Signed: Smirnov (U. S. S. R.), Dombal, (Poland), Burg (Germany), Vazeilles (France), Rydle (Czecho-Slovakia), Here (Scandinavian), Gavan (Mexico), Ken Haysachi (Japan), Al-Quac (Indo-China).

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# The Lessons of "MacDonaldisim"

(Continued from page 1.)

to that of a bourgeois' salary. Snowden told the unions he had no money for widows' pensions; the army needed £45,000,000 and the navy £56,000,000, not to speak of the air forces. Now as to whose budget Snowden's was. The corporations profit tax was dropped, also the phone charges reduced; the McKenna duties reduced and inhabited house tax withdrawn—all for the benefit of the middle class. For the workers, food taxes were reduced, and the cost of living somewhat lowered. With the sliding wage scale prevalent in most industries, a wage offensive would naturally result. But even without that, the capitalists found a way to make up previous prices for the workers. Tea imports were restricted, and prices raised, with terrible exploitation on the colonial plantations and profits as high as 150 per cent (Makum Tea Co.)

**RUMORS** of a sugar shortage of 3 million tons in world consumption were floated and the price was jacked up, with fortunes for the refiners. A wheat-harvest scare was manufactured, and flour went up 23 per cent from April to August, 1924. The chemical and drug trusts, with a complete grip on the market squeezing out all undersellers. And so it goes. The government went wild preventing strikes, and moved not a finger to stop profiteering. Boys are earning 10 to 25s. a week (\$2.25-5.75) and agricultural laborers getting such low wages (27s.) that even liberals had to protest and vainly fight the labor government for a 30s. minimum wage. And Snowden's cure was a beet subsidy and a tariff to wipe out unemployment, with 3,000 workers more in the beet industry! In August, 1924 the cost of living generally was as high as before the budget. The capitalist class was the only one to benefit. Why, Snowden told us:

"... a solution of the unemployment problem, in the opinion of the government, is to be found in the full development of all our national and natural resources, and in the scientific organization of production, ending with the elimination of waste in every sphere and every department." Sounds "kind-of-like" Coolidge and Mellon, doesn't it? Its significance was that it incites wage reductions, increases unemployment by a more efficient capitalist method of exploitation, invites subsidies, etc. What Tories couldn't dare try, Snowden did for them, and labor must be grateful! And the rude Communists call him a lackey of capitalism!

3. On education, much was pledged, and nothing done. Regulation of the flow of young workers into industry, training and maintenance, and similar pledges meant nothing in their lives. Minors didn't help elect MacDonald and Snowden.

4. The housing problem was wretchedly bungled. The building trades workers were to be bamboozled, while building material profiteers were to abandon themselves to an orgy of unregulated profits. Pledges to "commandeer" factories, "ration surplus housing accommodations," "abolish slums, promptly build an adequate supply of decent houses, and resist decontrol till the shortage is satisfied," all petered out in ineffectual plans to build 2½ million houses, if the banks would finance them, the builders listen to reason, the workers surrender wholly to the employers, the next government be willing. We'll take into consideration that the labor government had no majority. But we'll check up on their sincerity by looking at similar instances where they had power. A little case, but indicative is this: The workers took over four houses which had been empty nine years, offered to repair them gratis and pay rent for them. Henderson's police put them out without a warrant. One was a group of man, wife and three children living in a twelve foot room, with ceiling cracked and walls full of holes.

Protests availed nothing. Poplarism, Glasgow evictions, (in two months labor evicted more workers than the Tories did in a year; the government refused to support Wheatley's claims and tried to keep the law the same) etc. show the same insincerity and bungling, even discounting the lack of a majority.

**UNEMPLOYMENT**, according to Baldwin, was endemic. It had broken the backs of previous governments. It increased under MacDonald's rule. Far more than a million out of work, and about 100,000 on government relief work, at starvation wages. "Radical" Wheatley reducing the dole at Sheffield, against the wishes of the capitalist members of the board of guardians. The same Wheatley telling unemployed to go to the work-house. Pledges on degrading domestic work cracked wide open. Snowden telling the country he didn't mean to keep his election pledges on unemployment, with an increase of 100,000 unemployed from July to August. Shaw telling labor to "wait and see" if he had any plan. And they waited, and saw not. His remedy was the "restoration of our foreign trade," for which the unemployed were duly thankful. Baldwin had said, "If you have a particular remedy, you will have the support of the house and the country," but they didn't even dare him, simply proposing what he had failed in trade revival.

**THE** unemployed workers' charter wasn't even looked at by MacDonald, and their demands of suitable housing, reduced hours of work, government relief, occupational training centers, weren't even advocated for their propaganda value in a future election. Why? Let MacDonald expose himself: "Society is always badly treated... when these grievances (unemployment) are taken

up by political parties whose sole interest is to clap a salve and a poultice on them, and like a quack doctor, pocket a fee and quiet the patient with an expectation." (1920). The labor party rank and file meant sincerely what they pledged, but MacDonald and his crew of professional politicians, imperialistic pacifists, and opponents of socialism and strikes betrayed the workers. Court peacockism, laudation and defense of colonial brutality and exploitation, and placating of big business corrupted labor's present leaders. If the labor party is not to degenerate as did the German social-democrats, it must find a new leadership. Let Stresseman tell what the German MacDonalds did: "The chief successes of the social-democratic participation in my cabinet were that... it was possible for me... to inflict a military defeat on the Communists in Saxony and Thuringia, and this defeat, in its turn, has cleared the way for the abolition, without any resistance, of the 8-hour day and the so-called 'conquests of the revolution'." Regarding the same clique, MacDonald said in 1919 of Lenin's condemnation of them, "Condemnation which was fully deserved and to which I fully subscribe." And then he tried to sell out the British workers to financial imperialism in the same way.

**WHAT** MacDonald should have done was to present labor's demands to parliament, gone outside parliament to the unions and mobilized them, brought their pressure to bear on parliament as did the young bourgeoisie in 1832, dissolved parliament if defeated and appealed to the workers again, this time with a program that would bring them enthusiastically together under labor's banner. They might not have won this year, but they would have avoided betrayal, and won in another couple of

years with a real majority. Then the housing, unemployment, nationalization, colonial, disarmament program could have been put thru. Russia did exactly that, and has held the key positions for the workers.

**MACDONALDISM** still runs its course. When his crowd on the front benches of labor hypocritically question the tory government on Egypt, the Zinoviev forgery, Singapore, India, etc., the Tories simply point to the labor government's record as a precedent and that ends the discussion. However, there are signs of an awakening. The labor party executive committee has seen the writing on the wall, and reversed the decision forced on the last labor party conference by MacDonald and his crew during the excitement of new elections to parliament. The vote at the conference of 1,800,000 to 1,500,000 to expel Communists is now changed to a decision to refer the matter to the next conference.

Meanwhile the local labor parties have disregarded the last conference decisions and put up Communists as candidates for parliament. Expulsion has failed, and the C. P., among others, is now demanding an all-in-all conference of all labor and socialist and Communist organizations to make the labor movement a class movement of labor, and not of petit bourgeois careerism and liberalism.

**MEANWHILE** the Communist Party moves ahead. The Workers Weekly sells nearly 50,000 copies weekly; a national minority movement is being started, and shows signs of great support; the united front campaign in the unions and labor parties progresses rapidly; and with an intensive campaign on for the shop nucleus reorganization, the C. P. is becoming the kind of section of the International Communist Party that is needed in Britain.

## FAMOUS MOVIES AT GERMAN-AMERICAN HOME KENOSHA, WIS., TODAY

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

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

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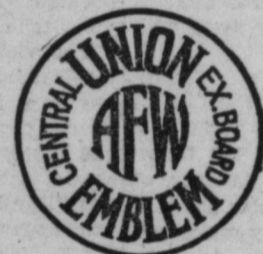
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