

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

Special Magazine Supplement

# THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION  
February 2, 1924. This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

## PARLIAMENTARISM

By JOHN PEPPER

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THE Communist Party of Italy called upon the Communist deputy Bombacci to resign his place, and declared that Bombacci is no longer worthy of the confidence of the Party and of the working class.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria expelled the Communist deputy, Dr. Nikola Sakaroff from the Party and called upon him to resign his place.

These two recent events within the Communist International bring up again the question of Parliamentarism. The opponents of participation in the bourgeois parliaments will try again to find arguments against the tactics of the Communist International. They will tell how Bombacci behaved as a lackey in parliament and not as a revolutionary, that at the occasion of the discussion on trade relations between Italy and Russia, he praised Mussolini and forgot all proletarian pride. The opponents of participation in parliaments will tell with anger how Nikola Sakaroff in the parliament of the counter revolution in Bulgaria showed himself a renegade, that he slandered shamefully the heroic September uprising of the Bulgarian workers and peasants.

One swallow doesn't make a summer. One or two renegades do not make a winter, do not necessitate the revision of the tactics of the Communist International.

### New Communist Experiences

The Communist International has always made a sharp division between opportunist parliamentarism and revolutionary parliamentarism. It criticized the opportunist parliamentarism of the Social Democrats and at the same time it built up the tactic of revolutionary parliamentarism. Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks were the first party which exposed and showed their contempt for the practice of opportunist parliamentarism, but at the same time they waged the first fight against all Syndicalist, I. W. W. and so-called left Communist elements which rejected parliamentarism as a matter of principle.

The situation in the Communist International today is such that all the great Communist parties participate in the various election fights and in the various parliaments. The German, the French, the Cheko-Slovak, the Italian, the Bulgarian, the Polish Communist Parties—legal or illegal, and the countries which are at greatly varying stages of development all have their Communist fractions in parliament. The French Communists have proven that they have understood how to use their places in parliament against imperialism and the Ruhr invasion for practical anti-militarism. The Polish Communist fraction in parliament has become one of the most important legal expressions of the illegal party. The German Communist fraction of Parliament at the moment of dissolution of the Communist Party issued its declaration in the Reichstag, the real revolutionary slogan: "The Communist Reichstag fraction calls upon the workers to prepare for the decisive struggle. The uprising of the working class is the only deed that can save the German people. In the struggle against military dictatorship we will prepare the armed uprising, and the victory of the proletarian dictatorship."

The various Congresses of the Communist International and the implacable fight of Lenin in his various writings against revolutionary phrase and for revolutionary realism have clarified theoretically the question of parliamentarism. The practice of the various Communist parties proves that a revolutionary parliamentarism is possible and that Dombal in Poland, Paul Froelich in Germany, Marcel Cachin in France, in their fight in parliament have become the real followers of the parliamentary activity of Karl Liebknecht and the Bolshevik fraction in the Russian Duma. Individual comrades such as Bombacci in Italy or Sakaroff in Bulgaria can fall victims to parliamentary cretinism. But the Communist International and its most important

parties are today free from both, from parliamentary cretinism and anti-parliamentary cretinism.

### The Historical Role of Parliament.

What is the Communist conception on parliamentarism?

We all know today that the parliament in all lands is a tool of the capitalist class. The parliaments were revolutionary institutions as long as the bourgeoisie itself was revolutionary. Cromwell's parliament, the Federal Congress and Constitutional Convention of the American revolution, the French Convention, were institutions of the young, revolutionary bourgeoisie against feudalism and monarchy. The capitalist development itself has turned the bourgeoisie from a revolutionary class to a reactionary class and has thereby transformed the bourgeois parliaments from tools of suppression of feudalism into tools of oppression of the working class.

Professor Charles A. Beard in his historical studies denounces the "Fathers of the American Constitution" because there was no worker or poor farmer among them, but they were the representatives of the rich and the capitalists. Professor Beard is right. But he is wrong when he

fringe and democracy as being in reality only the cloak which hides the rule of the finance oligarchy.

We must make it clear to the masses that when they elect the Senators democratically they put the power into the hands of the trusts, that when they elect Coolidge president thru universal suffrage they only set up the dictatorship of J. Pierpont Morgan.

But it is not enough to show the masses that Congresses and parliaments are nothing but tools of mass oppression and mass deceit, but we must also show that the workers and working farmers can never attain to rulership thru parliamentary struggles, and that the rule of the laboring masses must construct new political institutions. The political form of rule of the workers and farmers is not Congress, but workers' and farmers' councils. The bourgeois method is elections based upon geographical divisions; the proletarian method of election has its basis in economic organization, the factories, mines, mills and farms.

The historical task of the Communists is to help to destroy the political tool of the capitalists, the parliament, and to build up the political

product of historical development, and as it was built up on the one hand by Socialist elements which abandoned the Second International and on the other hand by former Syndicalists, I. W. W.'s and anarchists it was inevitable that both mistakes, the leftist and opportunist are again being committed within the Communist International. Against anti-parliamentary as well as against parliamentary cretinism, the only weapon is revolutionary Marxism, which reckons with the illusions of the masses, but does not become a victim of the illusions of the masses. Revolutionary Marxism has established the tactic that we must participate in parliaments because that is the best method to expose the parliaments and to destroy the illusions of the masses concerning them. This Marxist, realistic method has separated the small leftist groups of revolutionary phrase in Germany, England, Holland, Bulgaria, from the Communist International. But, the same ruthless Marxist method eliminated the opportunists of parliamentarism from the Communist International, those who tried to adapt themselves to their capitalist colleagues, as for instance Frossard

### The Bosses' Idea of a "Good American"



The Kind of Worker Who Is Never Called "A Red."

does not understand that in the period of the American revolution it was not the working class which had not yet come into existence or the backward provincial farmers, but the capitalists, who economically and politically represented the real revolutionary class.

In our present period, in the period of the decay of capitalism turned into imperialism, the parliaments are everywhere the outspoken tools of the worst counter-revolution. The English House of Commons, the French Chamber of Deputies, the German Reichstag and the American Congress are in equal measure nothing else than enemies of the workers and working farmers. All these parliaments are so much the more dangerous enemies of the oppressed and exploited because they appear in the mask of democracy, universal suffrage and they awaken in this way the deceitful illusion among the workers and farmers that they represent the instrument of the rule of the masses. We Communists must therefore combat all these "democratic" parliaments, as the worst and most dangerous enemies of the workers. We must expose universal suf-

tool of the workers, the Soviets. **Anti-Parliamentary and Parliamentary Cretinism**

The question now is, how can we attain this aim?

We find two great obstacles before us. First the government organization of the capitalist class, which defends parliamentarism with force of arms. Second the illusion of the masses which consider parliaments as organs of democracy.

In the working out of the correct proletarian tactic on the attitude toward parliamentarism two mistakes are possible. The first mistake (and this mistake has been made by the leftist Communists and the I. W. W.) is that we do not reckon with the illusions of the masses and we boycott the parliaments because they are capitalist institutions. The second mistake is (and this mistake was made and is made today by the Socialists) that we share the illusions of the masses, that we consider the parliaments as tools of real democracy and we content ourselves with working in the parliaments for reforms within capitalism. As the Communist International was not born complete and thru one act, but as it is a

in France, Bombacci in Italy, Sakaroff in Bulgaria.

### Anti-Political Tradition in the United States

Here in the United States we are facing a more complicated and difficult situation in the question of parliamentarism than in the other countries.

The greatest mass organization of the workers, the American Federation of Labor has been preaching for forty years an anti-political ideology to the masses. Its slogan is that Congress and the government should not interfere in the affairs of the workers and the workers shall take part as little as possible in politics. The American Federation of Labor is an opponent in principle of every independent Labor Party because it claims that the Labor Party would subdue the trade unions.

The I. W. W. has in fact the same attitude towards politics as the American Federation of Labor, except that it translates Gompers' words into a revolutionary language. Gompers sets all his hopes on the direct economic opportunist action of the trade unions in collaboration with the capi-

(Continued on page 8.)

# Political Activity in the Trade Unions

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE

THE lack of a working class political viewpoint apparent in the American trade union movement, to say nothing of revolutionary political vision and tactics, is a source of great concern to everyone who realizes the important part the trade unions must play in the tremendous changes that are taking place in the capitalist world.

Disgusted with the reactionary character of official trade union policies, the belief has gained ground among the revolutionary elements that the American trade union movement is generally anti-political, and that where it is not, its activities serve only to strengthen the hold of the capitalist class on industry and government.

## Two Points

In this article, I want to prove two things.

First, that the American trade union movement, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, instead of being anti-political, or even non-political, conducts intensive and very complicated political activities.

Second, that, while judged by revolutionary standards, these activities are either of a mild reformist or positively reactionary nature, they are not entirely the result of the conspiratorial machinations of evil geniuses in the form of trade union bureaucrats, but are also conditioned by the social, economic and political milieu, in which the trade unions have developed.

## Early Political Thinking

The earliest protest movements of which American history advises us, conducted by the feeble trade unions of that day, were against executive and judicial tyranny, and took on a political form. The right, first to combine for protection and then to strike, was gained by the early unions only thru political agitation and action, as McMaster clearly shows.

The campaign for free and compulsory education resulting in the establishment of our public school system was an early movement in which the trade unions of that time formed the most active section.

The Owenite agitation again attracted the support of the trade unions and it was these organizations that furnished the nucleus of the movement. The Knights of Labor was more a political than an industrial organization and in every wave of protest that has swept the nation since that time the trade unions have taken a leading part.

## No Anti-Political Tradition

There is, therefore, no anti-political tradition so far as the trade unions of the United States are concerned. There is a plentitude of confusion of thought and a disposition to follow what appears to be the line of least resistance, such as the support of liberal candidates on the capitalist party tickets, but this is no evidence of any anti-political bias.

## Reasons for Present Methods

It seems to me that one of the principal reasons for the ineffective and non-working class character of the present political activity of the trade unions is to be found in the fact that in the United States, owing to conditions which can not be detailed in an article of this length, the trade unions never have been able to convince the ruling class that they have a right to exist; that they are a permanent part of our social structure, and must be recognized as such; this fact is made clear during every period of stagnation in industry bringing widespread unemployment. The national associations of employers no sooner see an overstocked labor market than the cry of "wipe out the unions" is raised. In no other great capitalist nation is this condition found. The recent open shop drive is only the most recent evidence of this attitude.

It is a little too much to expect that such an extremely feeble trade union movement should develop a powerful political movement.

## American Ideology

Altho a very large percentage of the union membership is of foreign birth and extraction, not citizens of the United States, the ideological basis of trades union organization is American citizenship. The right of franchise is considered the guarantee of political and economic equality and, in practice, this becomes for the trade unions, a hostility to any form of political activity based on the class struggle.

## Effect of Weakness

The weakness of the trade union movement and the constant and bit-

ter struggle that even the most conservative unions are forced to conduct, combined with this typical American viewpoint, makes the leadership hesitate to place in the hands of the employers what they, the leaders, believe to be an effective weapon—ability to charge and prove radical tendencies.

Demanding, as American citizens, a mythical, but, to them, very real thing known as the American standard of living, these officials view with a holy horror, absolutely incomprehensible to the average revolutionist, any act or utterance that would make it difficult to defend their loyalty to American institutions.

## Concrete Rewards

In many sections of the trade union movement favorable working conditions, high wages and job control are obtained quite as often by political deals and trades as they are by the economic strength of the unions.

To the building trades in many cities the appointment of building, plumbing, electrical and health inspectors favorable to the unions is a matter of vital importance. In municipal elections such issues as these will arouse the greatest interest in the unions and any form of political activity that would alienate the union's friends in either the democrat or republican parties is frowned upon. The labor union government of San

able or hostile measures, and many times finds it necessary to secure the passage of resolutions for or against certain measures and even to organize demonstrations against them. Last year in New York the labor unions sent a veritable army of representatives to Albany to protest against the enactment of bill's menacing labor organizations.

## Ease of Betrayal

The officials entrusted with the responsibility of passing on laws or candidates for labor to oppose or support develop a high degree of skill in political maneuvering; they often betray the interests of the labor movement and certainly nothing could be easier with the present level of political consciousness among the rank and file; the wonder is that it does not occur more often.

## Progress

To one familiar with the lack of cohesion and common program in trade union political activities, the organization of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, was an advance step for the trade union movement.

It has no class character—quite the reverse—its program is hopelessly inadequate, but for the first time thousands of local unions, scores of central bodies and dozens of state federations of labor, found themselves

italist class, and there is no more important task for the Communists in the trade unions than to assist this development by activity based on knowledge of the strength and weaknesses, the ignorances and prejudices of the membership of the American labor movement.

## Of Strategic Importance

There is no better starting point than propaganda for a wholesale desertion of the parties of the employers, based on a wealth of concrete instances of betrayal, both by candidates and labor officials, for a farmer-labor party controlled by the unions and farmer organizations.

With this idea of a class party every honest unionist is in sympathy, altho he may be held from fear for it and participation in it by fear of losing some immediate advantage.

In addition to these fears he must reckon with the bureaucracy which now has abandoned all pretense of ruling by consent of the rank and file. Control of the unions today is a machine-like process comparable only to the manner in which the capitalist state maintains power. The bureaucracy in no way expresses the desire of the membership for expansion of political activity, but opposes it.

## Great Opportunities

With this as a beginning, however, and with the growth of the movement itself, the bars are down for political agitation of a far more fundamental character—for Communist propaganda—impossible when the only political issue discussed is the extent of the friendship of republican or democrat candidates.

## Extension of Party Activity

Party activity in the trade unions from now on must take on more of a Communist character—it must be more political. We have won the sympathy of the left wing with our slogan of amalgamation and the work for this objective now is largely of an organizational character—the mobilization of our sympathizers in the fights against the sabotage and terror of the bureaucracy.

## Our Task

The defeats of the railway men in particular, on the industrial field, has given impetus to political thinking. The shopmen know that it was the capitalist government that beat them.

To drive this lesson home with all its corollaries is the task of the Communists, and a task that our previous campaigns have made not easy, but possible.

## Lenin and American Films

"The art of the cinema is the most important of all arts for the Russian people," wrote Premier Lenin not long before his death. So great was the value he placed on the film as a direct appeal and an education for Russia's backward masses that at one end of his work room was given up to a white screen flanked on both sides by big long book shelves, with the projecting apparatus in the opposite corner. In a box beside the machine were three of the latest films, in the showing of which he delighted.

It is interesting to note that two of the films were American. The first was a detailed picture of Henry Ford's Detroit factory, showing the most modern time and labor saving methods. The second was entitled "Ivan in America," and pictured an ignorant Russian immigrant gazing from between the decks at the Statue of Liberty and New York's towering battlements of steel and stone. Then Ivan goes to Niagara, which introduces scenes from the electric power houses, such as Lenin wished to install in Russia, and on thru the Pittsburgh steel mills and the Pennsylvania coal mines to Washington, where Ivan stands awestruck before the capitol and White House. Then he goes West to Montana's copper mines and on to California, with all its oil fields and water power plants. There are scenes too of Minnesota's grain fields with the very latest agricultural machinery, and grain elevators and scenes of fruit growing in Washington and Oregon and of cattle raising and horse ranches and sheep, poultry and cotton. The latter series Lenin liked especially, saying "Russia is still a land of peasants; it is from the land we must live; mining and electrification and factories must come later."

The third film was a historical presentation of the chief events of the Bolshevik revolution.

## A GOMPERS' DREAM



Wait Until He Wakes Up.

Francisco, under Abe Ruef and P. H. McCarthy, is a case in point.

## Defensive Activity

There is again the necessity for securing neutrality from the police force during strikes, the ability to "spring" arrested strikers, immunity from prosecution from various necessary activities a hostile administration could make much of, etc.

Much of the political activity that secures the privileges mentioned is altogether valueless, much of it positively harmful, but political activity it is, none the less.

## Organs of Political Expression

The state federations of labor and the central labor bodies—city central councils—are the political organs of the American Federation of Labor. They have no executive power under the laws of the A. F. of L., but in political matters they are allowed considerable latitude. They are the only bodies thru which the labor unions, as such, find organized political expression and are important because of this fact.

## Constant Activity

In many cities the political activities of these two bodies are of an intensive nature. The state federation of labor watches all legislation proposed at the state capitals, keeps the union membership informed of favor-

uniting on a program that gave them a national political viewpoint and a common program, mild and ineffective as it was and is.

## Effects Apparent

The burden of carrying out this program falls upon the most advanced groups in the American Federation of Labor—delegates to the central bodies and state federations of labor—who are always the most active and the best informed of the union membership. Because of the disillusionment brought by the war, the bankruptcy of the farmers, with whom most state federations are in close touch, the evident failure of the local "reward and punish" policy in national politics, the idea of divorce from the capitalist parties is sympathetically entertained by central bodies and state federations, nor has the Gompers' machine been signally successful in sabotaging this new development. Political consciousness is growing in the trade unions and the idea of their non-political character—never entirely true—must be revised.

## Important Development

For Communists this is an interesting and important development. No working class movement without clear political vision and understanding ever can become a menace to the cap-

# THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION By JAY LOVESTONE

**I**N THE great emphasis that many are now putting on the acuteness of the agricultural situation there is a danger that the developing industrial crisis may be overlooked.

It is true the collapse of agriculture has been so phenomenal and on such a mass scale that one naturally tends to fall into the groove of forgetfulness and disregard, momentarily of course, the growing depression enveloping our basic industries, other than agriculture.

## Our Cloudy Business Skies

Business is beginning to taper off. Our business horizon is far from being cloudless. Slowly but surely, a thickly-gathered storm is threatening to swoop down upon the millions of industrial working masses.

The latest summary of the general business and financial conditions in the country made by the Federal Reserve Board is a veritable eye-opener. It once and for all dispels the myriad of fake prosperity rumors and optimistic outbursts that the bankers have so assiduously spread in the last six months.

In December, the production of basic commodities has shown a further decline. The index of production in the basic industries has reached the low point of the year, declining as much as four per cent within the month. Operations were greatly reduced in the cotton, woolen, lumber, petroleum and sugar industries. The consumption of cotton by textile mills, according to the latest figures of the Department of Commerce, fell by almost 75,000 bales in one month. Relative to 1913, the production of bituminous coal fell from 117 in December, 1922, to 101 in the corresponding month of 1923.

The production of merchant pig iron, the unfilled iron and steel orders, the production of lead, and the manufacture of leather have all shown a marked decrease in December.

## Increasing Unemployment and Depression

The Federal Reserve's index of employment also showed a decrease in December. The fall in the number of workers employed indicated a further decline of one per cent in the month and was four per cent lower than in the Spring. The workingmen engaged in the manufacture of food products and railway equipment were the heaviest sufferers. In the month of December, the Pennsylvania Railroad discharged 7,360 shop craft workers alone. Today, this railroad has approximately 25,000 of these workers less than it did a year ago. The building contracts awarded in December, were also smaller than in November.

Railroad shipments continued to fall in December and reached a point slightly lower than in December, 1922. The loadings of coal and grain were also smaller than last year. This Federal Reserve Board Report goes on to say: "The volume of wholesale trade showed more than the usual seasonal decrease and was at about the same level as a year ago." This is a significant conclusion, for it indicates that business is definitely tightening up and that caution and preparedness are getting the better of unfounded optimism. The sale of

shoes and dry goods went down badly in December. The retail trade which usually shows a large increase in the Christmas season did not show so big a rise this year.

In the four weeks following Christmas, the earning assets of the various Federal Reserve Banks declined by \$360,000,000. This fall was greater by about \$150,000,000 than in the between December 12th, and January 16th, "to a point \$264,000,000 lower than at the peak in October."

These facts are very plain. They tell a stirring tale. They indicate that our much-heralded prosperity has long ago turned corner and is now swiftly heading for oblivion. When the basic industries of the country and agriculture suffer a continuous condition of decline for some time, the banks react, the trade situation reacts, the workers are discharged from their jobs. The cold figures of corresponding period of the preceding year. This fall is still continuing. By the middle of January, "the volume of reserve bank credit outstanding was below one billion dollars for the first time since early in 1918." The loans made by the Federal Reserve Banks in the leading cities fell falling production and exchange translate themselves into the cold stare of starvation. Millions of workers and farmers then live in the

force business. Typical examples of such artificial methods to delay a serious depression overwhelming the country are the strained investments in the railway and building industries now being made by certain capitalists.

The reactionary Coolidge administration will do everything possible to avoid the country's being thrown into economic crisis before the November elections. Coolidge is continually conferring with the leaders of Employers' Associations and Chamber of Commerce to impress upon them the importance of their being lenient with creditors and of their continuing heavy investments. The recently announced program of new railway construction totaling nearly \$2,000,000,000 was inspired by White House influence. The same may be said for the last extra dividend of the United States Steel Corporation. The eleventh hour attempt now being made to prop up certain second class banks in the agricultural areas of the Northwest also falls in this category of artificial attempts to give new blood to our respiratory organs of our system of production and exchange.

The great depression of 1921, has taught the capitalist governing agents a great lesson. The serious rift in their fold growing out of the last

workers than a simultaneous acute economic crisis. It is the developing unemployment and slowing up of trade and the accelerated pace of economic disruption in the agricultural districts that are driving the city and country workers to political unity. The men at the helm of the government in Washington, do not feel sure of themselves. They do not know whether they will be able to ward off a serious halt in production before the end of the year. This is the real motive for their redoubled efforts to win over some of the so-called farm leaders like Frazier and Ladd. On this basis we may also look forward to some half-hearted remedial measures being considered by Congress in behalf of a small section of the working class that is the highly skilled layer of the masses. As a matter of fact, the present flood of immigration legislation arises from the plan of the reactionary Republicans to utilize the fraudulent cry of the protection of American labor as one of their main campaign slogans. In this fashion the big capitalists hope to sow dissension in the ranks of the industrial workers and prevent effective political co-operation between the farmers and the workers.

## Trouble Impends

Whether the employing class can muster sufficient strength to delay a general economic depression for the whole year is questionable. At this date no one can definitely answer this problem. But there are sufficient fundamental facts and data at hand indicating that the capitalists are confronted by an almost hopeless task.

The conditions in Europe are showing no signs of improvement for American business. Our exports for the last fiscal year are less than those of the preceding year. Our farmers are meeting with more serious competition in the world market than they have ever faced since the declaration of the war. At home, agriculture is falling behind in the development of more efficient productive methods. Our efficiency and skill in industrial production and the development of improved machinery in manufacturing, are outstripping the improvement in agricultural production at an ever increasing pace.

Under these conditions our capitalists can at best only hope to delay for a short period the serious economic troubles that are impending for the country. These economic troubles are pregnant with fundamental political changes. The employers realize this and they are working overtime preparing to meet the crisis.

## The Smoke of Depression



Stifling the Workers and Farmers.

bondage of misery, debt and disemployment.

## Great Political Significance

These straws on the back of our paralyzed Mr. Prosperity bear a political significance of the first magnitude. Because of our inability to export our surplus produce at prices sufficiently profitable to our capitalists, our industry is more and more becoming dependent on domestic demand. This demand is less than our producing power. Hence the general realization amongst our business men that hard times are on the way. Attempts are therefore being made to

economic depression has brought untold political losses to them. Their overwhelming majority in the Senate and House has been reduced to practical insignificance. Another wave of economic difficulties would in all likelihood widen the breach now menacing their party and would tend to disrupt their firm political hold on some key positions in the government.

With the agricultural crisis steadily becoming worse and an industrial crisis looming up on the horizon many reactionary political leaders are becoming panic stricken. There is no more powerful force making for unity between rural producers and city



Wm. J. Bryan Cursing Evolution

## Lenin on the Labor Aristocracy

"It is true that the jingoist and chauvinist-minded labor aristocracy in England and America constitutes the greatest danger for Socialism, the greatest support of the Second International, and the leaders and workers who belong to such a bourgeois International are guilty of the greatest betrayal."

## Liebknecht and Luxembour

Five years have passed. The smoldering memory,  
Which they, our martyred leaders, left to us,  
Has burst into a flame, tempestuous—  
A mental flame that crosses every sea.

These valiant strugglers in a foredoomed fight  
Have seared their mark on every rebel mind.  
A restless heritage they left behind,  
That fires our brains and gives our muscles might.

In every land, the folk of toil revere  
The names of those, who paid the total price...  
For striking at the ruthless ones, who steal  
The world and crush the toilers in their vise. . . .  
To us, their failure is a lesson, clear;  
An inspiration is their sacrifice. . .

## From "Smoke and Steel"

By Carl Sandburg

A bar of steel—it is only  
Smoke at the heart of it, smoke and the blood of a man,  
A runner of fire ran in it, ran out, ran somewhere else,  
And left—smoke and the blood of a man  
And the finished steel, chill and blue.

So fire runs in, runs out, runs somewhere else again,  
And the bar of steel is a gun, a wheel, a nail, a shovel,  
A rudder under the sea, a steering-gear in the sky;  
And always dark in the heart and through it,  
Smoke and the blood of a man.  
Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Gary—they make their steel with men.

In the blood of men and the ink of chimneys  
The smoke nights write oaths:  
Smoke into steel and blood into steel;  
Homestead, Braddock, Birmingham, they make their steel with men.  
Smoke and blood is the mix of steel.

# THE RUSSIAN IN LENIN

By LEON TROTSKY.

THE internationalism of Nicolai Lenin needs no special recommendation. It is best revealed by the irreconcilable break in the first days of the world war with that imitation of internationalism which reigned in the Second International. Upon the rostrum of parliament the official leaders of "Socialism" endeavored, thru abstract explanations in the spirit of the old universalists, to reconcile the interests of mankind. In practice this led, as we know, to the support of the rapacious fatherland by the working class.

The internationalism of Lenin from first to last, is no formula of reconciliation of national and international in words, but the formula rather of international action. This internationalism considers the territory of the world inhabited by so-called civilized mankind as a single, continuous field of battle upon which the individual nations and their classes wage a gigantic struggle against one another. According to this internationalism not a single question of importance permits of being forced within the national limit. Visible and invisible threads in fact connect this question with dozens of phenomena in all corners of the earth. In the estimation of international factors and forces Lenin was more than anyone else free of national prejudices.

It was the view of Marx that the philosophers had explained the world sufficiently, and he perceived his task to be that of reshaping this world. He himself, this inspired prophet, did not live to see it. The reshaping of the old world is at present in full swing and the one who has more to do with it than anyone is Lenin. His internationalism consists of estimating historical events practically, and intervening practically in their process upon a world-wide scale for purposes which effect the whole world. Russia and its fate represents only one element in this contest upon whose outcome the fate of mankind depends.

The Internationalism of Lenin needs no special recommendation. And yet Lenin himself is withal national in a high degree. He is deeply rooted in the new Russian history, absorbs it in himself, gives it the most pregnant expression; and it is just in this way that he reaches the peak of international potency and influence.

At first sight this characteristic of Lenin as "national" may be a surprise, and yet, at bottom it is something very obvious. To be able to lead such a revolution, unprecedented in the history of the nations, as the one taking place in Russia, it is obviously necessary to have an unseverable connection with the basic forces of the people's life, a bond which springs from the deepest roots.

Lenin embodies the Russian working class, the young class, which politically is perhaps, not older than Lenin himself, a deeply national class, for it comprises the whole of the preceding development of Russia; it holds in its hand Russia's fu-

ture; with it stands or falls the Russian nation. The absence of strict routine and conformity, or of falseness and convention, a decisiveness in thinking, daring in action, a daring which never degenerates into indiscretion—all this marks the Russian working class and Lenin as well.

The nature of the Russian working class which has made it at present the most significant force in the international revolution has been prepared thru the process of Russian national history, thru the barbaric cruelty of the absolute government, the insignificance of its privileged classes, the feverish developments of capitalism upon the dregs of the world

other great man of the world proletariat: Marx, in black frock-coat, on a rock. Certainly that is a trifle, but it would be impossible for a moment to imagine Lenin in a frock-coat. In a few portraits Marx is pictured in a broad, stiff shirt-front upon which dangles a sort of monocle. That Marx did not incline to vanity is clear to all those who have some conception of the spirit of Marx. But Marx grew up on a different soil of national culture, lived in another atmosphere. In the same way, the leading personalities of the German working class have their roots extending back, not into the village, but into handicraft and the complicated

the foreword to his "Critique" and in "Capital." Even if he had not been the founder of the First International, he would have always remained what he is. Lenin on the contrary lives entirely in revolutionary action. Had he not published a single book in the past, he would nonetheless appear in history as that which he is now, as the leader of the proletarian revolution, as the founder of the Third International.

A clear scientific system—materialist dialectic—is necessary for the execution of actions of such historical dimension, as Lenin had to perform. This materialist dialectic is necessary, but not sufficient. What is still needed is that secret creative force, which we call intuition, the capacity immediately to grasp a situation correctly, to separate the essential and important from the inessential and insignificant, to be able to imagine the missing parts of the picture, to follow up thoughts of others to their conclusion and principally those of the enemy, to weld all this to a uniform whole, and to strike the blow the moment that the "formula of attack" springs up in the mind. That is the intuition for action. In one way it is synonymous with what we call acumen.

When Lenin, his left eye narrowed, receives a wireless which contains the speech made in parliament by one of the shapers of imperialist history or a diplomatic note requiring an answer—a mixture of blood-thirsty slyness and polished hypocrisy—he resembles a devilishly clever peasant who does not let himself be confused by any words or deluded by any phrases. That is highly intensified peasant shrewdness, lifted to the point of inspiration, and fitted out with the last word in scientific thought.

The young Russian working-class was capable of accomplishing that which the peasant class desires to accomplish, that class which cultivates the hard, untouched clod of earth. Our whole national past served to prepare this very thing. But it is precisely because the working class acquired power thru the course of events that our Revolution has been able at one bound to overcome radically the national narrowness and provincial backwardness. Soviet Russia is not only the shelter of the Communist International, but also the living embodiment of its program and its methods.

In that unknown way in which the personality of a man is formed, which has not as yet been investigated by science, Lenin took from the national that which we needed for the most tremendous revolutionary action in the history of the world. It is precisely because the social revolution which for a long time past already had its international theoretical expression, now for the first time finds in Lenin its national embodiment, it is for this reason that he became in the real sense of the word the revolutionary leader of the world proletariat.

## The Christening of "Hull 18"

"Hull 18," we called her in the "ways—"  
Ten thousand tons of labor-cemented steel.  
Oh, how we loved her, from the very days  
When first we laid her resolute keel.

And now she is finished, and leaves our hands  
To be fitted out for the challenging sea;  
Soon, ready to meet the severe demands,  
Which she will answer, we'll guarantee.

Three shifts a day we sweated and toiled—  
We wrestled and fought with the trembling steel;  
In garments, ragged and burnt and soiled;  
'Mid heat and noise that made us reel.

And many were injured and two were killed,  
But this we couldn't heed,  
Because an ambitious master willed  
To sate his giant greed.

And now, she is ready to slide from the ways,  
And, into the water—splash;  
Soon, ready to thread the ocean's maze,  
Without any fear of its lash. . . .

The day's first shift is over now,  
And the sun is in the west;  
And strangers stand on the haughty prow,  
In lordly raiment, dressed.

They are friends of the master;—this we hear—  
They have come to christen the ship;  
To break a bottle and gaily cheer  
As into the water she takes the dip.

The bottle is broken by a maid—  
It is the master's daughter;  
The ship is skidding the greasy grade,  
And into the startled water.

I stare at my mates, who, on every side,  
Toward the time-houses crush and press;  
In some, I notice a glow of pride,  
In others, scowls of bitterness.

Resentment burns in many a breast  
As we punch the accursed clocks;  
And the sun, descending in the west,  
Our barren impotence mocks. . . .

stock exchange, thru the degeneracy of the Russian capitalist class and its ideology, the cheapness of its policy. Our "third estate" did not know these. The revolutionary tasks of the Russian working class acquired an all-embracing character, which included these. Our history in the past has had neither a Luther nor a Thomas Munzer, neither a Danton or a Robespierre. Just on that account the Russian working class has its Lenin. What was lacking in tradition was made up for in revolutionary spirit. Lenin reflects the Russian working class, not only in its proletarian present, but also in its peasant past which is still so fresh. This man whose leadership is least disputed in the working class, does not only outwardly resemble the peasant, but also has a good deal of the peasant about him.

In front of Smolny Institute stands the monument of an-

city culture of the Middle Ages.

Even the style of Marx, which is rich and beautiful, in which force and flexibility, wrath and irony, ruggedness and elegance go hand in hand, reveals the literary and ethical stratification of the whole preceding social-political German literature since the Reformation and extending even farther back. The literary and oratorical style of Lenin is amazingly simple, ascetic like his whole life. But this powerful asceticism has not even the shadow of moral preaching about it. It is not a principle, not a calculated system, and certainly not decoration, but simply the outward expression of an intensified concentration of the forces leading to action.

It is a frugal objectivity peculiar to the peasant, but on a gigantic scale.

All of Marx is contained in the "Communist Manifesto," in

# OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE THIRD PARTY

By MAX BEDACHT.

THE radical comrades won a great victory at the Convention of the Workers Party, was the joyful report made by the "Volkszeitung" to its readers on New Year's day. And a few days later a leading article crowned the brow of Comrade Lore with a laurel crown for this "victory" and added that the victory is still not complete and that difficult struggles are ahead.

And the discussion thus far in the "Volkszeitung" seems to represent the heavy blows of the opponent in this hard struggle against the theses of the Central Executive Committee.

May I remark that something more than an assertion of a report in the "Volkszeitung" is needed to make the world believe that the Finnish language group in alliance with Comrades Lore, Trachtenberg, Poyntz etc. are all at once promoted to custodians of radicalism in the Party. Particularly Comrade Poyntz who every time she regards her callous laborer's fists can suppress only with difficulty a fit of rage against the wicked intellectuals and "non-workers" in the Party.

The manner in which the discussion has been carried on up to now is not calculated to clarify the question. It creates confusion rather, and tends to discredit our Party in the eyes of the non-members.

The very least that can be expected of those taking part in the debate is that they shall get clear on the object of the debate. Comrade Berner is the only one who has done that. He comes to the conclusion that the majority of the previous Executive was in the right. Nevertheless, strangely enough, he is against their proposal.

A few of the participants in the debate, as for instance "Marius", formulate the sins of the Executive out of the inexhaustible realm of their imagination, and then, with a grand gesture they refuse absolution for these sins. Besides, the discussion is no "free for all fight", but an earnest Party discussion, and Party comrades cannot and should not hide behind pseudonyms in such discussions.

## The Problem Before Us

What is the problem?

The November theses of the Party Executive are under discussion. Not only those paragraphs which specify the attitude of the Party towards an eventual Third Party, but also the analysis of the present political situation laid down in the theses. The conclusions of the author and exponent of the theses are built upon this analysis. Either the opponents of these theses have something to advance against this analysis. In that case where is their own analysis? Or they accept this analysis and in that case they must admit that we have a difficult problem to solve. The authors and exponents of the November theses propose a solution. The opponents condemn this solution. But the problem remains. Where is the solution which the opponents of the November theses propose? Either one has sufficient understanding of the problem so as to be able to solve it in a better way than the one proposed, and if so well and good, out with it. Or perhaps one has no such understanding and thereby one forfeits the right of criticism.

Here is the situation:

During the start of the forward development of capitalism in the United States in the exploitation of the natural resources and markets of the country there were always enough crumbs which fell for the pigmies from the tables of the giants of the capitalist class, so that the pigmies submitted more or less willingly to the political leadership of the giants. But the giants have now reached the peak of imperialist development and their group interests collide more and more with the group interests of the pigmies. This period of capitalist development gives rise to independent political movements of the various lower strata of the capitalist class. These movements are produced from very real special interests of capitalist groups, special interests which in the political program of the imperialists, not only find no provision for themselves, but are even directly disregarded for the sake of the imperialist group interests. No one of us claims that these small capitalist special interests can be the ground for a real, advanced political party. On the contrary. But the vehemence with which these political special interests

seek to assert themselves is a proof of the incipient inner decay of the ruling, the capitalist class.

This decay in turn is the prerequisite for the assumption of political power in society by the working class. We are therefore interested in this decay not only as complacent onlookers but we must help to hasten the process of decay. We should not confine ourselves to interpreting history, but our task is to make history. Wherever there is a possibility of furthering the inner process of decay, yes, the inner dissolution of the ruling class, it is our duty to take a hand at it. Naturally none of us has the illusion that the ruling class will of itself collapse from this decay. But the continuation of this decay brings the development of the deciding factors of the social revolution, "the formation of the proletariat into a class" which stands up independently and in the end fights the class struggle inexorably to its logical conclusion under the leadership of a Marxian, revolutionary party.

Thus the growth of the political self-consciousness of the workers goes hand in hand with this inner dissolution of the ruling class. The process of dissolution within the capitalist class of the United States manifests itself concretely, partly in the stubborn movement which aims at the founding of a Third Party, while the political awakening of the working class finds its expression in the movement for a working class party in alliance with the poor farmers.

These two phenomena appear in parallel lines. No, parallel is not exact. Yes, simultaneously, but not beside each other. Rather with each other and in each other. That makes our task harder. But then, politics is not so simple. It's all very well to sit home and lay out the formula: Here the working class—there the capitalist class. But in actual reality it is absolutely impossible to find a solution of the political problems of the class struggle on the basis of this formula.

It shows a very praiseworthy instinct for antiquities when our comrades dig up again the Lassalean formula discarded and buried fifty years ago, of "one reactionary mass".

And so we have two simultaneous tendencies before us. The tendency of the lower middle class to emancipate itself from big capital. And the tendency of the working class to emancipate itself politically from the whole capitalist class. These tendencies seem to run into each other inextricably. There may be difference of opinion among us over the question of whether it is part of our task to further the first tendency and assist at the formation of a Third Party. But, with the exception of a few incurable "lefts", we are unanimous on this, that it is our task to further the tendency of the working class to emancipate itself from the leadership of the capitalist class. But when the ugly reality insists stubbornly in presenting the working class to us, not as a pure, filtered and crystallized group with which and in which we can maneuver without having to come near any impure lower middle class person; and on the contrary, the working class and its tendency is permeated with the lower middle class and its tendency, what ought we to do? That is our problem. And here Comrade Wenderich lays down our duty categorically: Hic Rhodus, Hic Salta. Yes, we must do our part. But not like the cat before the hot porridge, to slink off finally because we don't like to risk burning our mouth. No, the porridge must be eaten. The question is not whether we should eat it, but how can we eat it without spoiling our stomach.

I don't want to dispute with Comrade Wenderich over his characterization of the great Peasants' Revolt when he off-handedly turns that heroic peasant movement against serfdom into a reactionary movement against the rising power of industry (power of industry in the Sixteenth Century???)

Nor do I want to dispute with him when he makes out the fight of the Boer Republic against the aggression of English imperialism to be simply a reactionary movement against a modern industrial state. (This conception certainly gives a wonderful argument for Noske's "Socialist colonial policy".) But I must advise him earnestly to read the theses of the Second Congress of the Third International over the agrarian question. I want to remind him and other "radicals" in this question that

Serrati and other "lefts" in that Congress made an opposition of principle against the intended "betrayal" by the Third International of the pure Marxian principles.

What is a Reactionary Movement? What then is all this outcry over the inherent reactionary character of all farmer movements? Have we really learned nothing from the Second International?

No class is reactionary in "principle" on the ground of its ideological stand, but only as a result of its class interests. Either the farmers are reactionary to the marrow because their class interests demand it—in this case what becomes of the advice that their salvation lies in solidarity with the working class? Or perhaps there is a community of interest between sections of the farming class and the working class. In that case what becomes of the talk of farmers being reactionary under all circumstances? How can you say, Comrade Lore, that sections of farmers are sympathetic towards our movement if there is no community of interest of some kind between sections of farmers and of the working class? But if there is such community of interests why could we not win over such strata to our movement? The essence of our attitude towards the farmers is not that they are reactionary under all circumstances, but that historically they are a class of the past and not like the working class, the class of the future. For this reason even with a revolutionary stand against the existing system, they could never assume the leadership and initiative of the revolutionary movement. The leadership belongs to the working class. But the revolutionary farmer groups must be won over to this leadership.

In this connection every comrade should read the excellent article of Comrade Pepper "The Farmers and the American Revolution" published in the supplement of the DAILY WORKER of January 19, as well as the article of Comrade Zinoviev for the "Daily Worker" published in the "Worker" of January 21.

And so the working class presents itself to us as an object for operation which is not clearly separated from all non-proletarian elements, but is pervaded with lower middle class politicians, and controlled by a capitalist ideology. The class separation, altho a social fact, is not a prerequisite of our operation, but should be its result. This separation must be first created politically.

## What Shall We Do?

How can we accomplish this titanic task? Quite simply the opponents of the theses say: We must agitate; we must educate the working class. We must make the farmers sympathetic. Correct. But how? Our party is no workers' educational society which "educates" the working class thru courses on national economy, but a political party which engages in political action. It is our task to teach the working class the art of swimming the waves of the sea of political class struggle. That does not mean, to introduce the workers to this sport theoretically, but we must throw ourselves into the waves before their eyes, and we must get them to jump in with us, we must put at the disposal of the working class our capabilities, our experiences, our energy, our fearlessness. And who will propose that we should leave the swimmer in the lurch in that very moment when he is in danger of sinking in the whirlpool of his petty bourgeois ideology? The working class in its mass does not learn thru theoretical propaganda, but in the school of experience. Either we are present where the school is and thru our activity as teaching fellow-combatants make it easier for the working class to assimilate its own experiences, or we resign as proletarian political leaders and Marxians.

The political situation presents us therefore with a concrete problem. Two simultaneous tendencies: A Third Party tendency under the lower middle class and a class party under the workers and farmers. And before us an election year which stimulates these tendencies immensely. At the extreme right of this group we find the lower middle class political leaders of a Third Party. At the extreme left are the Communists, the eventual leaders of the working class. And between the two, the unclear and confused mass.

The lower middle class politicians aim to drive the working class from its political wagon. The capitalist

ideology which controls the laboring masses favors them in this venture. The Communists must therefore fight against the lower middle class politicians for the souls of the workers and poor farmers in this mass which is not exactly definable. They therefore throw themselves into this mass and recruit their forces. They attempt to crystallize the workers' class party tendency, before it is drowned even if only temporarily, in a Third Party. The founding of the Federated Farmer-Labor party is the immediate result of this effort. This Party is only the beginning of this process of crystallization. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party does not solve the problem. It only creates a more advantageous basis of operation for the solution. It has put the whole left wing of the class party movement among the workers and poor farmers under the influence and leadership of the Communists and it has thus multiplied its force in the campaign for a class party.

This also determines the role of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. We cannot remain standing with it. In the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and thru it we increased our basis of operation by a great deal. New attempts must be made to crystallize into organization the class party tendencies among the workers and poor farmers. Not abstractly on the ground of theories and empty resolutions, but on the ground of real and true political group organization for the coming elections.

## The St. Paul Conference

Thus we come to the Conference in St. Paul on May 30. For our purposes it is unnecessary to speculate as to whether the Conference really takes place. There may be another Conference, or even a series of similar conferences.

As the two tendencies described are not exactly marked off and separated, both tendencies will find expression at every such conference. And the struggle at any such conference will take place between the Communists and the lower middle class politicians, the Communists as the conscious fighters for the working class party on one side, and the lower middle class politicians as the clearest representative of the Third Party on the other side, and the workers and poor farmers represented at the Conference form the object of the struggle. The Communists want a clear separation of workers and poor farmers from the Third Party, and in this way from the political leadership of the lower middle class. The lower middle class politicians in turn want a separation of workers from the Communists. The Communists are the only ones who exert themselves seriously to withdraw the working class from the political influence of all strata of the capitalist class and with time to make it impossible for the capitalist class to utilize the political power of the working class for its own purposes.

If we should be victorious in this fight at the Conference, because we succeed in consolidating the workers and poor farmers represented into a political united front on a class basis with a realistic class program, our problem is solved. But if the laboring masses and poor farmers there represented are still so much dominated by capitalist ideology that their indefinite longing for a class party is satisfied in the Third Party, if they therefore accept the political leadership of the lower middle class even if temporarily, what should we do in that case? Here begins our problem.

In a leading article of the "Volkszeitung" of January 17 we find that the writer of the article, Comrade Lore, without a doubt, is not opposed to having the lower middle class farmers and the city population made sympathetic thru the propaganda of the Communist movement. But that does not mean that we should enter together with them into a party organization, there to lose our identity. Comrade Lore, we do not discuss in order to force thru our views under all circumstances, but to draw out the best for our Party and for the movement. For this reason it should be the first comradely duty not to twist consciously and to represent falsely. I ask you what member of the Executive has made a proposal inside or outside this body, which even with biased interpretation could be made to seem that it called for our entering a lower middle class party, and within it to give up finally the idea

(Continued on page 8.)

# THE CLARA ZETKIN FACTORY By JESSICA SMITH

**B**EFORE the war, the only factories in Russia that made clothing were military, and in all Russia there were only a few of these. I have seen in Moscow a number of clothing factories for civil work, organized since the revolution, and found them modern, well-equipped buildings, fitted out with electric cutting and pressing machine equipment from America and Germany, and employing the most up-to-date production plans. I was anxious to compare with these one of the old factories that had existed before the war. Thru the All-Russian Clothing Syndicate, I secured permission and a guide to visit the "Clara Zetkin" factory, a private factory of the Mande-Raitz firm, founded some twenty years before the revolution, and called in those days the "Mars" factory. The son of the old owner, by the way, is now one of the financial experts in the State Clothing Syndicate, has worked with them faithfully for two years, and is one of the most valuable members of the staff.

The factory is on the outskirts of Moscow, a large group of buildings standing together and making a whole community in themselves. Inside the big gates we found the yard clean and well swept. The group of buildings looked a bit weather beaten, but in good repair. In the first was the manager's office. Here were remnants of by-gone splendor—a large, cracked peerglass faced the top of the stairs, with an ornate gilt frame in a rather disreputable state. I noticed, however, that everything necessary for practical use—windows, stairways, etc.—had been kept repaired, even the decorations had been sadly neglected. In the office of the manager the same thing was noticeable. The former director had evidently been a man of elegant, if not artistic tastes. There were remnants of it in the wall decorations, an absurd chandelier and several luxurious, but delapidated, chairs pushed back against the wall. In contrast, the present director's desk, a simple wooden affair, and a few ordinary office chairs, stood by the window, bearing witness to the Spartan simplicity of the new regime.

The director himself we found to be a plain, friendly man in the prevalent well-worn black leather suit of the Soviet worker. He formerly had been a skilled craftsman in the clothing trade, and was well acquainted with the practical end of the business. He had come straight from his work bench to the directorship without any special

training except the work he had done with his hands, but it was evident that he made a good administrator.

During the course of the conversation, the director had occasion to send out for some production and wage figures we had requested. The man who brought them was an aristocratic-looking old fellow in a brown suit, with a black ribbon on his glasses. He came in with a big ledger containing the wage records. We discussed wage scales with him and learned that the workers at that time were receiving on an average of 22.50 tavarne rubles (a ruble based on purchasing power and worth somewhat more than the old ruble—50 cents) to which was added 25 per cent or more every month, according to the amount of piece-work done above the required minimum. The man in the brown suit assured us that this came to more than before the war, when from 12 to 15 gold rubles a month was the average on military uniform work. This is in addition to the benefits in the way of medical care, cheap living accommodations, etc., now received by all organized workers in Russia. The increase of wages in this factory during the past year, he informed us, had been about 200 per cent. Later, we learned that our informant was the former director of the factory. When it was first nationalized, he had fled with the rest of the management, but, as he had applied to return to Russia, and was willing to work, they had taken him back as assistant director. He and the new director had now worked together without any friction for over a year.

In pre-war times 2,000 workers were employed in this factory. During the war 5,000 toiled on uniforms, working in two shifts. Later, when the factory was nationalized, they had cut down to 2,000. Recently, with the reduction in military work, only 1,200 workers are employed full time, 950 in the clothing department, the remainder at shoemaking. In spite of this cut, there is very little unemployment in the clothing industry, as many of the emergency workers were unskilled and have gone into other industries. Indeed, in the last month, the applicants for new workers have exceeded the number of applications for work.

Formerly the working day was 10 and 12 hours. With the present 8-hour day and the smaller number of workers, total output runs under the pre-war figure. However, they produced in those days a lower quality of goods. Now their uniforms are of a more complex pat-

tern, to secure greater durability. Altho total production is less, individual productivity has more than doubled over pre-war.

This has been due chiefly to the introduction of the American system of dividing work into a great many separate processes, which has been substituted for the old method of each worker tailoring a whole garment.

The director himself took us thru the various departments of the factory. It was not as light and airy or well constructed as the factories for civil clothing which I have visited, and they are still using the same clumsy machinery used in the old days, for they have not been able, as yet, to replace it with new. An interesting department of the plant was a machine shop, where a number of mechanics are constantly at work repairing machinery in order to keep it working at capacity. They have found this much more satisfactory than sending out for extra parts, or for outside mechanics, especially since the old machines are in such frequent need of repair.

The general atmosphere was not as efficient and "American" as in the Comintern factory, or the Moscow Experimental, which have the advantage of comparatively new buildings, fresh machinery and a fair number of American trained workers. Still they have done remarkably well at the Clara Zetkin. The workers seem a happy lot and turn out a high grade of work.

The director told us that when he had first tried to introduce the American mass production methods some of the workers had cursed and raged at him. In fact, a meeting was held to protest against giving up their old slow, wasteful, but familiar, process. At last, however, he convinced them, and now they are proud of their new way of work.

We were particularly interested in one room, where only women worked, all engaged in specialty light work. "These," said the forewoman of the department, "are our mothers." This special department is reserved for nursing mothers when they come back to work after the four months' leave of absence allowed for child-birth. These mothers, for nine months thereafter, work only six hours a day, (at full pay) and may go home to nurse their babies three times a day. The special department was organized for them in order not to interfere with the other work of the factory. They work on the very lightest operations.

"And these are our factory children, they told us, as we came upon

some young operators at work. These were orphans the factory had adopted at the time of the famine. The workers had fed them and housed them out of their own slender means, and now they had become skilled workers, employed four hours a day, and studying the remainder of the time in the factory school.

Most of the workers seemed to enjoy their work, and several of the older ones who operated special machines, stopped their work to explain the operations to us with parental detail. Several of the workers engaged on the more noisy and difficult machines were required to work only six hours a day.

One of the most interesting aspects of a Soviet factory is always the community life of the workers springing up around it. Near the factory one finds the community house, where living accommodations are secured at a very low rate, varied according to the salary. The Clara Zetkin has an unusually fine home, divided into small apartments, where most of its workers live. Here I found a fine day nursery, full of the younger children, who are kept while their mothers work, and are returned to them at night, fed, bathed and happy. Nearby was a workers' club, formerly an officers' club, run jointly by the workers of several factories in the district. Here there is a library, classrooms, and a large auditorium, where plays and entertainments are given every week.

From the living conditions of the workers, it may be seen how the new regime, thru all its difficulties and struggles, tries always to adhere to the principle of giving the workers the product of their work.

While the clothing plants might develop faster and state industry grow richer if they kept wages lower and reduced the worker's health, cultural and living advantages, the first call on the industry beyond the fundamental needs of production is always the welfare of the workers. It is not always possible to raise wages fast enough to keep pace with all the workers' needs, but it is a rule never to lower wages, and a standard once attained is adhered to. In the clothing industry, in spite of its comparatively recent development, the management is able to look after the needs of the workers, pay them comparatively good wages, and still run at a fair profit. As capital accumulates, or is received from the American workers thru the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, all the clothing industry employes in Russia will benefit by the improved standards which will then be possible.

## The Bankruptcy of Germany Told in Figures

Germany is bankrupt. The capitalist state is impotent, and cannot maintain any system. Recently the state was not in a position to pay its officials their salaries. They received only half of their pay with the promise that the remaining half would be paid later. The state railways, which have recently been separated financially from the German state, are equally bankrupt. The bankruptcy is not limited to the Reich and the business enterprises of the Reich: every individual state and every town is likewise bankrupt.

Production itself is involved in a most severe crisis. The number of unemployed among the six most important trade unions, according to the returns of the skilled trade unions, is as follows:

UNIONS	Membership in 1900	Entirely Unemployed (percentage)	Part time (percentage)	Total	Percent
Building workers	487	25.8		126	25.8
Wood workers	394	18.5	33.3	204	51.9
Metal workers	1152	18.9	77.1	1106	96.0
Textile workers	685	10.6	58.3	472	68.9
Factory workers	676	11.0	22.0	223	33.0
Printers	68	18.2	59.0	46	68.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>3462</b>	<b>17.2%</b>	<b>41.6%</b>	<b>2177</b>	<b>57.3%</b>

According to these figures, there are in the most important branches of production, already 57.3 per cent of the workers either unemployed or on part time. Production in Germany is laboring under the most severe crisis which can be imagined. This crisis is bound up in the closest manner with the bankruptcy of the state.

The present bankruptcy of the German state finances, which is becoming so plainly apparent, is no new

phenomenon. The German state was already financially bankrupt two years ago. But this fact was concealed by the continually increased output of paper money. In the autumn of 1923, all possibility of further concealment came to an end as the landowners and peasants refused to sell their products in exchange for paper money. As a result, it became impossible to supply the towns with food, and the imperative necessity arose of creating a new currency which would be accepted by the peasants. This led to the creation of the Rent Mark, and put a check to the further covering of the deficit, and thereby to the concealment of bankruptcy by the unlimited issue of paper money.

The cause of the bankruptcy of the German Reich—apart from the for-

eign political and social relations into which we will not go further in this connection—lies before all in the absolute taxation sabotage of the German capitalist class. The total taxation paid by the German people reckoned in gold marks at the official course amounted:

In the year 1922.....	1,178.2
In the year 1923.....	
January .....	57.2
February .....	43.3
March .....	54.8
April .....	85.8
May .....	122.6
June .....	48.3
July .....	48.3
August .....	13.0
September .....	1.4
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>474.7</b>

Of these amounts the greater portion was derived from taxes on the working class (wage tax reductions) and on the "consumers"—(which, likewise, means in an overwhelming measure, the working class) in the form of taxes on the turnover of business houses and taxes on articles of consumption. The taxes paid by the

German capitalist class and German landowners together has not amounted this year, at the very highest estimate, to more than 200 million gold marks. It must also be remembered in this connection that, under the new regulations of the finance system of Erzberger, the greater portion of the expenditure of the various states and municipalities had likewise to be met out of the revenues of the Reich, so that the capitalist class has paid no state or municipal taxation worth mentioning.

How trifling the amount of this taxation is, can be seen by a comparison with the state income of France or England. The state income of France amounted in the years 1922 and 1923 to over twenty milliard paper francs, equal to about six or seven milliard gold marks; that of England to 900 to 1,000 million pounds sterling, equal to seventeen to eighteen milliard gold marks. After making the fullest allowance for the impoverishment of Germany, it is still inconceivable that the German people, numbering sixty million, could only raise taxes amounting to one fifth to one tenth of the sum raised by the people of France, numbering about one third less.

(From "Stupidity Street," By Ralph Hodgson)

The worm in the wheat,  
I saw in vision  
And in the shops nothing  
For people to eat;  
Nothing for sale in  
Stupidity Street.

Watch the "Daily Worker" for the first installment of "A Week," the great epic of the Russian revolution, by the brilliant young Russian writer, Iury Libedinsky. It will start soon.



# THE PANAMA CANAL

By IVAN GOLL

(Ivan Goll is one of the most brilliant writers of the younger school in Europe. Born in Alsace-Lorraine he had two mother tongues, German and French. He uses both languages like an artist. As a matter of fact he is both of the German expressionist school and the French futurist tendency. He has written poetry, literary and art criticism, plays. He has even written one playlet about Charlie Chaplin. Ivan Goll is one of the few expressionists who did not abandon revolutionary ideas once the war was over. He has been very active in the Clarté group in Paris and helped the magazine Clarté a great deal. We are glad to introduce him to our readers.)

THE centuries of the primeval forest still lay in the middle between the seas. The gulfs and inlets, cut out with golden prongs. With adamant hammer the waterfall shattered the resistant rocks.

The trees swelled into the sensual noon. They had the red flower stains of lust. Hemlock shimmered and hissed on high stalks. And the slender grape-vine danced with wide-open hair.

Like green and blue lanterns the parrots scurried thru the night of bushes. Deep in the slimy underbush a rhinoceros burrowed. The tiger came toward him in a brotherly manner from the stream.

The sun circled fiery in the golden sky like a merry-go-round. Life was a thousandfold and eternal. And where death came to putrify: new life sprouted with double brightness.

The old century still lay among the people of the earth.

## II.

Hereupon came the long, slow worker troops. The emigrants and the exiles. They came with struggle and with need.

With trembling torments men came and struck the booming bells of metal.

They lifted their arms as for a curse and rent the heavens in anger about their naked shoulders.

Their blood perspired in the earth. How many lean children, how many nights of anguish were squandered on such days!

The fists were uplifted like torches. Bent bodies. There was work. There was misery. There was hate.

Thus Spaniards turned once at the martyr's stake. Thus negroes once cringed on their knees, bound.

But these were the modern worker troops. Here were the holy, suffering proletarians.

They lived in barracks and huts of laths. Smell of fried fish and unsavoriness of spirits overflowed. The wooden beds struck against the coffins in the graveyard.

On Sunday an accordion longed for Italy or for Capeland. Some sick heart sighed for the thousand others.

They danced together with heavy, slow foot. They wanted to stroke the earth, the morning was forced to cry out under the axe. Then they sipped raspberry ices for five cents.

And again came the hundred days of work.

## III.

They turned the earth into a sick-bed. Red fevers spread out of the air. And the clouds of mosquitos whirled about the sun.

No tree rustled more. No flower-star bloomed more in this clay hell. No bird vaulted into the lost heavens.

It was all pain. It was all refuse and sulphur. It was all cry and abuse.

The hills tore their breast open in a dynamite-cramp. Out of dripping clefts howled the wolves of the steam whistles. Dredgers and cranes scratched up the lakes.

### THE POOR

By Carl Sandburg.)

Among the mountains I wandered and saw the blue haze and red crag and was amazed;

On the beach where the long push under the endless tide maneuvers, I stood silept:

Under the stars on the prairie watching the Dipper slant over the horizon's grass, I was full of thoughts.

Great men, pageants of war and labor, soldiers and workers, mothers lifting their children—these all I touched, and felt the solemn thrill of them.

And then one day I got a true look at the Poor, millions of the Poor, patient and toiling: more patient than crags, tides, and stars; innumerable, patient as the darkness of night—all broken, humble ruins of nations.

### PICCADILY

(By Ezra Pound.)

Beautiful, tragical faces—  
Ye that were whole, and are so sunken;

And, O ye vile, ye that might have been loved,

That are so sodden and drunken,  
Who hath forgotten you?

O wistful, fragile faces, few out of many!

The crass, the coarse, the brazen  
God knows I cannot pity them, perhaps, as I should do;

But oh, ye delicate, wistful faces,  
Who hath forgotten you?

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The Land for the Users!

People died in this endless graveyard. They died everywhere with the same torment.

Out of the men escaped the mad cry to God, and they reared themselves like golden pillars. Out of the women were precipitated pitiful, pale children, as if they wanted to punish the earth with so much misery.

They had come from the whole earth to serve as slaves. All the dreamers of golden rivers. All the desperate from a life of hunger.

The righteous and the truthful were there, those who still believed in the sympathy of fate. And the dark clumsy ones and the criminals, those sunk deep in the blight of their shame.

But the work was only a subterfuge. That one had twenty embittered generations in his heart to avenge. This one had to strangle the syphilis mother in his blood.

They all cried in struggle with the earth.

## IV.

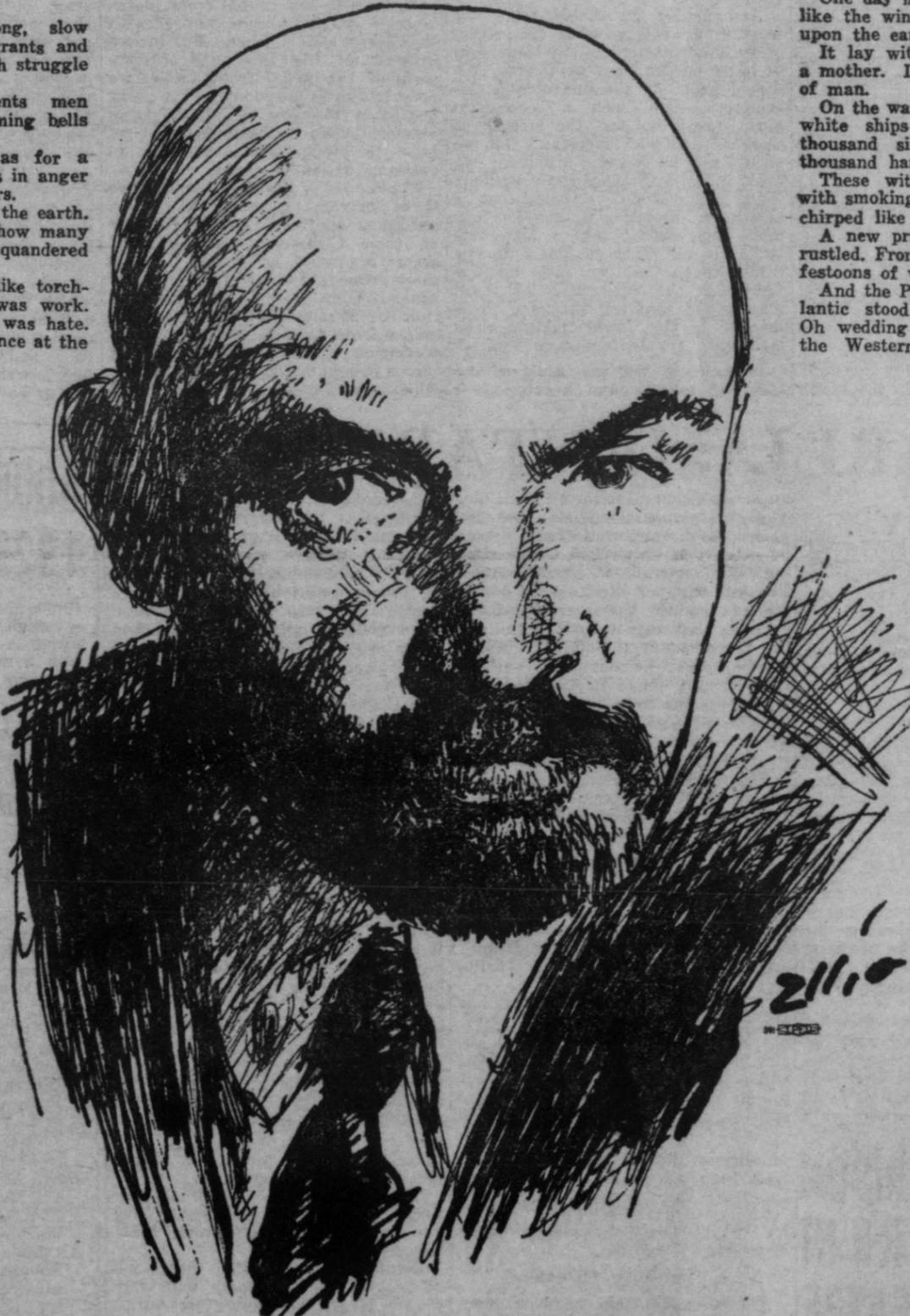
But they knew nothing of the Panama Canal. Nothing of the endless fraternization. Nothing of the great gate of love.

They knew nothing of the spanning of oceans and of mankind. Nothing of the radiant revolt of the spirit.

Each one saw a swamp drying up. A forest burning down. A lake boiling up of a sudden. A mountain kneeling down into dust.

But how should he believe in the greatness of mankind! He did not mark how the cradle of a new sea arose.

## Nicolai Lenin



Founder of the First Soviet Republic.

One day however the locks opened like the wings of an angel. Thereupon the earth groaned no more.

It lay with open breast just like a mother. It lay chained in the will of man.

On the wave-steps of the ocean the white ships clambered down. The thousand sister ships out of the thousand harbors.

These with singing sails. Those with smoking funnels. The pennants chirped like captured birds.

A new primeval forest of masts rustled. From ropes and cables crept festoons of vines.

And the Pacific Ocean and the Atlantic stood joined in a holy kiss. Oh wedding of the white East and the Western evening star. Peace, peace, was between the brothers and sisters.

Now mankind stood astounded at the center of the earth. From the seething cities, from the buried deserts, from the glowing glaciers arose the salute.

The world squadron came steaming up. The blue sailor bands played. Joyous flags from all countries fluttered.

Forgotten was the sodden work. The spades of the proletarians were buried. The brick barracks were torn down.

Over the black worker troops the waves of freedom struck together. For one day they also were mankind.

But on the very next day new need threatened. The merchant ships with heavy corn and oil left their poverty standing at the water-side.

On the next day there was again misery and hate. New chiefs shouted to them at new work. New slaves damned their abysmal fate.

On the next day mankind strove again with the old earth.

(Translated from the German.)

### JOHN M. CHURCH

(By Edgar Lee Masters.)

I was attorney for the "Q"  
And the Indemnity Company which insured

The owners of the mine.  
I pulled the wires with judge and jury,

And the upper courts, to beat the claims  
Of the crippled, the widow and orphan,

And made a fortune thereat.  
The bar association sang my praises  
In a highflown resolution.

And the floral tributes were many—  
But the rats devoured my heart  
And a snake made a nest in my skull!

Watch the "Daily Worker" for the first instalment of "A Week", the great epic of the Russian revolution, by the brilliant young Russian writer, Iury Libedinsky. It will start soon.

### Jitneys at Akron.

AKRON, O., Feb. 1.—Jitney buses replaced street cars in Akron today. T. J. Savage, city "bus boss," directed the first fleet of 126 jitneys.

Akron's 25-year traction line franchise providing a five-cent fare expired at midnight. The railway company refused to renew the agreement, holding out for a new franchise which would provide a seven-cent fare.

### Amalgamation means strength!

#### Form Military Alliance

PARIS.—A treaty between France and Checko-Slovakia was signed here by Poincare and the Checko-Slovakian foreign minister. The treaty guarantees an "understanding" between the military general staffs of both countries.

Work Daily for "The Daily!"

# OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE THIRD PARTY

(Continued from page 5)

tity of the Workers Party? Not only was such a proposal never made, but the so greatly disgraced old majority of the Executive combated energetically even the desire of the close allies of Comrade Lore to give up the identity of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party within a greater Labor Party. It declared again and again that the Labor Party in itself is not our aim, but that it must simply create more favorable conditions for the organization of the proletariat as a class. And for this reason our task after the founding of the Labor Party is not solved. And an organized left wing in this Labor Party will make our task considerably lighter. This left wing is the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

If at any time the Executive or any one of its members made a proposal such as the one intimated by you, it would have been your urgent duty, Comrade Lore, at the deciding session of the Executive not simply to give a few shabby moments to the whole object of discussion, as you did, but you should have sounded the alarm, by immediately bringing up accusation against the treacherous Executive before the Communist International. You did not do that, because no such proposal or similar proposal was ever made by anyone at any time. To make this assertion however, at this time in the debate, to say the least, is not a wholly irreproachable tactic for a guardian of pure Communist principles.

## The Compromise Bugaboo.

In the discussion there is constant talk of compromise with the lower

middle class. Who has ever made such a proposal? Concessions are proposed. But not concessions to the lower middle class; only concessions to the working class whose minds are unfortunately still filled with lower middle class illusions.

No compromise with the lower middle class is proposed. But also no flight from the great mass of workers and poor farmers, simply because they have not yet freed themselves from all capitalist ideology.

Furthermore, we should do everything, to snatch the workers and poor farmers from the leadership of the lower middle class and to separate them from the lower middle class. If we do not succeed in doing this we will at least not permit the lower middle class to separate us from the laboring masses thru our own free and voluntary abdication.

And finally we should warn the workers in this case of the results of their submission to the leadership of lower middle class politicians. We should prophesy the unavoidable deception, which such a leadership must result in for the masses of workers and poor farmers. But we should not be merely prophets; we must in the first place have a policy. Thus, we must do everything that is necessary, in order to convert our momentary defeat into a later victory, but we must not flee. To flee would mean that we give up the fight for the leadership of these masses and that we surrender these masses to the lower middle class leadership for better or for worse.

In fighting for the souls of the laboring masses and revolutionary

farmers we can not expect to be victorious immediately in the first encounter. Therefore, after we have shown up the lower middle class sufficiently, we will declare that we will not desert the laboring masses despite their mistake which in our opinion they have made. We will support their candidates and so prepare the school of experience for the workers, which will complete what our propaganda has not completed, the destruction of lower middle class illusions of the laboring masses. We will therefore support the lower middle class politicians, in the words of Lenin, as a rope supports a hanged man.

To see a compromise with the lower middle class in the proposed tactics of the Executive, or even an attempt to dissolve our party in a lower middle class party shows a great lack of understanding of the problems before us or it shows an opposition to the united front tactic. Nobody wants a compromise with the lower middle class. But in the interest of the successful achievement of the united front tactics we must make concession to the petty bourgeois ideology of the laboring masses. Only in this way can we hope to overcome this ideology in common action.

The tactics of the united front have their dangers, especially for such comrades who fear too strong a test of their Communist fundamentals. Such comrades at times convince themselves that their stand is more radical, more pure in principle than that of the opponents of concrete united front tactics. But the characterization of the right elements of the Communist Party of France, which was hostile to the united

front, the characterization made by Comrade Zinoviev at the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International in February applies to these comrades in our Party. Zinoviev said there that the right wing of the French Party fought against the united front ostensibly to prove the purity of their principles. In reality, however, these comrades had so little confidence in this purity that they feared to appear in a united front with non-Communist workers, because they were not certain that these workers will not be able to distinguish them from non-Communists.

The problem before us is not a compromise with the lower middle class, but the question of how we Communists can free the masses of workers and poor farmers from the influence of lower middle class ideology and leadership. Our answer is, thru political action. This answer of the supposed "Lefts" is, thru political "propaganda." It is not very hard to decide.

But until this decision has been definitely made, we should confine the discussion to party comrades. We should guard against sowing mistrust outside against our party and our movement. Have those who with such self confidence have raised the accusation of reformism stopped to consider what they would do if the decision goes against them? By what means will they restore the confidence in the Party among those outside of the party, the confidence which they now destroy with such a light heart, so as not to miss the opportunity to score a run in the race, and not because they want to find the right thing for the Party, but to be "right" in any case.

## PARLIAMENTARISM

(Continued from Page 1)

talists; the I. W. W. sets all its hopes on the direct economic revolutionary action of the industrial unions in the struggle against the capitalists.

Against this counter-revolutionary and revolutionary anti-political attitude of the American Federation of Labor and the I. W. W. the Socialist Party never opposed a consistent revolutionary political tactic. The right wing of the Socialist Party (the Victor Bergers, Morris Hillquits and Meyer Londons) have degraded and narrowed political activity into election campaigns and into parliamentary activity. The election campaigns were not utilized by them to mobilize the masses, but as a means to grab seats in Congress. The proletarian participation in Congress they did not use for revolutionary propaganda or for awakening the class consciousness of the working class, but as a means to secure small, insignificant patchwork reforms within the capitalist system.

The left wing of the Socialist Party was justly disgusted with the shallow opportunist tactics of the right wing, but out of its disgust it did not develop the correct tactic of revolutionary parliamentarism, only

an anti-parliamentarism on principle. The right wing Socialists have replaced the direct action of the masses by miserable opportunist action of individual members of Congress. The left wing of the Socialist Party did not adduce the correct lessons namely, that direct mass action in the factories, in the unions, on the streets, must be combined with a revolutionary stand in Congress and in the various state legislatures, but it rejected parliamentarism entirely without criticism, and it ridiculed all election campaigns.

The Communist Party in America, has arisen out of three elements: the American Federation of Labor trade unionists, I. W. W.'s and left wing Socialists. All these three groups were opponents of political action altogether, or were against parliamentarism. It is therefore no wonder that the young Communist Party became a prey to anti-parliamentary cretinism and rejected all parliamentary activity.

The Workers Party of today, has theoretically correctly solved the question of political action and has also allotted to election campaigns and participation in parliament their proper place within general political activity, at least in theory. But in

ary fire of Ralph Chaplin, never to have felt his dreams and desires broken on the wheel of greed. And so the poems lost some of their meaning and effect.

### A Symphony Departure

The Chicago Solo orchestra consists of twenty five instrumentalists, conducted by Eric De Lamar-ter. Small concert orchestras are no new thing in Chicago, for the Little Symphony, George Dasch, director, has existed here for several years. The difference is that Mr. Dasch's orchestra plays standard symphonic music, cut down for small orchestras, while De Lamar-ter's will play only music written for small instrumental combinations.

The orchestra played, for the first time on any concert platform, a "Symphony in Miniature," by David Stanley Smith, dean of the Yale music school. What little we heard of it sounded like a good modernist string quartet, amplified by the addition of a few wind instruments.

### New Rhapsody Heard

Another brand new composition was Leo Sowerby's rhapsody for small orchestras. This is a sin-

gularly beautiful work, a study in musical dusk and mystery.

The program ended with a serenade and a waltz by d'Indy. They are both small, light, and lively things.

Someone has suggested that small orchestras of this kind will supplant large symphony orchestras. Perish the thought! The Solo orchestra is an organization capable of producing worth while and valuable effects, but the sonority and the fire of a full orchestra are lacking. A sort of glorified chamber music is its field, and outside of this graceful and delicate form of art, it has no business to go.

### And the Thief Escaped.

OTTAWA, Feb. 1.—Prof. John Sharp saw a chicken thief prowling about his barn early today. Garbed in his night gown and armed with a lantern, he gave chase. Up into the haymow of the barn ran the thief, the professor with his lantern in pursuit. Finally Sharp got close enough to hurl his lantern at the intruder. The hay caught fire, burning the barn, causing a \$10,000 loss—and the thief escaped.

Get unity thru the Labor Party!

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## CHAPLIN'S PRISON SONGS HEARD IN CHICAGO THEATRE

Set to Music by Max Oberndorfer

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN

Ralph Chaplin's "Night in the Cell House," "Prison Reveille," and "Prison Nocturne," set to music by Max E. Oberndorfer, were sung by Raymund Koch, baritone, at the first concert of the Chicago Solo orchestra at the Blackstone theatre on January 31. The poems are cleverly set. The words are chanted, rather than sung, and the orchestral accompaniment reflects skilfully the poignant protest of the working class poet against his iron cage.

Mr. Koch, one felt, was not sincere in his interpretation. He seems never to have felt the revolution-