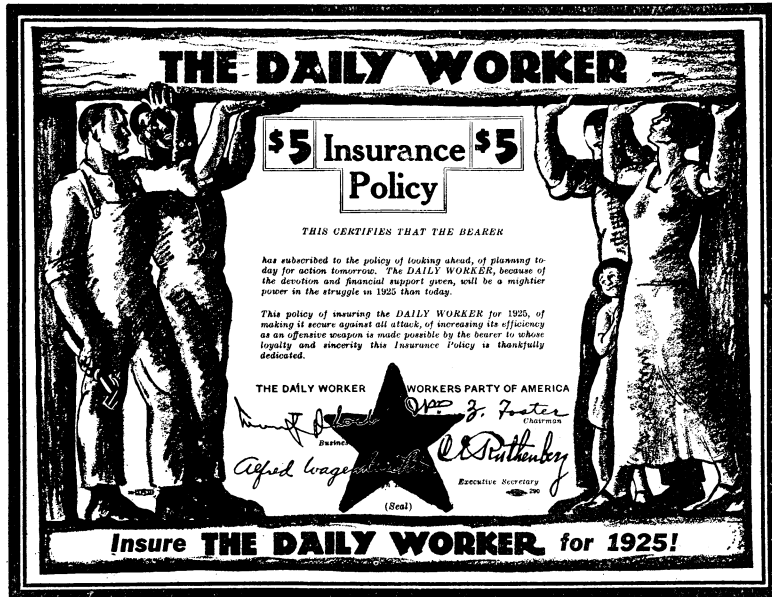


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Symposium In a Cell--Leavenworth

Teddy's Correspondence

Confidential Letters of An Earlier LaFollette

By Thurber Lewis

THE private correspondence of Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, the result of forty years of personal friendship, has been given to the press as prepared by Lodge prior to the latter's death. It is hot stuff. The manner in which the letters were dressed up for publication indicates that the correspondence was very much "edited" by the late Senator from Massachusetts. But despite the pruning there are disclosures made that must come with surprise to those naive enough to think there is nothing wrong with American politics.

More than anything else the letters show the way in which the big political interests wean dynamic personalities like Roosevelt's from wilful political individuality to the point where they serve as tools for the political machine.

The first letters speak of the move to take Roosevelt out of the governorship of New York and boost him to the vice-presidency of the United States. The big insurance companies represented by Payn, the State Insurance Commissioner, and the large corporations affected by the franchise tax, represented by Senator Patt, wanted to be rid of Roosevelt because he hadn't learned to behave.

At a meeting of the New York delegation to the Cleveland Republican Convention in 1900, called to pick the vice-presidential candidate, Roosevelt refused the nomination three times. Chauncey Depew, who was the chairman, adjourned the meeting. Roosevelt was taken aside and given a talking-to. When the session was reopened Roosevelt accepted the nomination.

On June 2nd, 1903, Lodge wrote to Roosevelt: "The opposition to you among the capitalists is confined to a group of Wall Street and Chicago people, but even in Wall Street there is a large body of men who are with you, and I do not find here on State Street any manifest hostility on account of your merger case, rather the contrary."

Roosevelt's attitude toward labor is shown in the same letter from Lodge to Roosevelt—"I was talking to Gardner Lane of Lee, Higginson & Co., where they are all for you, and he is strongly for you. He talked with me most earnestly about the importance of our carrying the country next time."

"But he said one thing which seemed to me not without importance. He told me that when he was in Chicago some of the railroad men there were afraid of a general strike and asked him with great anxiety if he thought you would enforce the law as Cleveland did if there was any interference with the carrying of the mails. He said he told them that he had no doubt as to what you would do, but that, of course, he could not speak with authority and he wanted to know what I thought. I told him there was no earthly doubt that if there should be a strike and an attempt to interfere with the running of mail trains, you would enforce the law as rigidly as Mr. Cleveland and a good deal more quickly." (Cleveland, it will be remembered, was the first American President to use troops to break strikes.)

That Roosevelt's anti-trust campaign was sheer bluff is made clear by the following extract from a letter by Lodge: "The country will certainly not forget your attitude toward the big corporations. That is impressed on the public mind and will give us great strength at this polls."

The comment of Chauncey Depew, in an interview yesterday concerning the Lodge-Roosevelt correspondence, throws a bright light on Roosevelt's real attitude toward corporations: "As for Roosevelt's war on corporations, that was more fiction than fact. Roosevelt, while apparently the most aggressive, audacious and radical of statesmen and politicians was at heart a conservative."

The letters show that Lodge, for years the leader of the big business interests in the Senate, kept a watchful eye on Roosevelt through his career. Lodge's influence contributed not a little to the training of Roosevelt as a champion of American Imperialism abroad and a protector of the interests of capital at home.



"NO MONKEY BUSINESS ROSIE. I WILL NOT HAVE VAMPIRES IN MY SHOP."

this ought not deceive any one as to the real nature of the C. P. P. A. which should be determined not by the words they utter but by the real group and class interests that represent. And what the C. P. P. A. and the LaFollette movement really represent are the class and group interests of the rich farmer, small and medium capitalist and the reactionary, high-salaried labor bureaucrats. These have nothing in common with and everything against the real interests of the industrial workers and poor farmers.

At this meeting in February, there may develop differences of opinion, mainly on the point: Shall the new bourgeois party be organized now or later? The Socialists (who have lost their own party and are now looking for a new one) and some of the farmer-laborites will probably press for the formation of the new party now. Both these groups need badly a new national organization in order to save the remnants of their political standing. On the other hand the progressive labor fakers of the Johnston type are not so anxious for the immediate formation of a new party provided they can maintain their political alliance with LaFollette for joint action. The fact that the chiefs of the railroad brotherhoods and the Gompers crowd, too, are rather cool towards the idea of forming a party immediately will no doubt exert a restraining influence upon the decisions of the February meeting of the C. P. P. A.

LaFollette himself and his little group in Congress are, as usual, hesitant to the point of cowardice, halfhearted and diplomatically wise. It is still problematical whether or not LaFollette will urge the immediate formation of a Third Party. The probabilities are in favor of the following course of action or, rather, inaction. The February meeting will pass a resolution declaring in principle for a Third Party, but will postpone the formation of such a party at least until after the next congressional election. Meanwhile the C. P. P. A. will continue its so-called non-partisan tactics of participating in the primaries of the old parties to secure the nomination to Congress for "progressive" politicians of the LaFollette type. But irrespective of the outcome of the February meeting, whether they form a party now or later, the C. P. P. A. will remain substantially what it was, an alliance between progressive labor fakers and LaFollette politicians to exploit the power of the workers and poor farmers in the interests of hostile classes and groups.

Break With and Fight Against the C. P. P. A.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America has already made known its attitude toward the C. P. P. A. and its February meeting. It is an attitude of merciless struggle against the petty-bourgeois domination in the labor movement of the C. P. P. A. and the LaFollette movement. The Communists of America organized in the Workers Party view this C. P. P. A. combination as another attempt to fool the masses and to prevent them from actual struggle against their enemies the capitalists. The Workers Party calls upon the American workers and poor farmers to break with the C. P. P. A. and the LaFollette movement and to join with the Communists in a real struggle for real demands.

Just now the most burning issues in the life of the labor movement are: to resist wage cuts by strikes, to fight against child-labor exploitation, to secure relief for the unemployed, to rally to the defense of the militants in the

Michigan case and all other prisoners of the class war and generally to unite the workers and poor farmers around the banner of class-struggle, under the leadership of a revolutionary political party of the working class. The Workers (Communist) Party of America is the class party of the American workers and poor farmers. It is the only party in the United States willing and able to rally the workers, to join with them in actual struggle against capitalist exploitation.

Don't go to the February meeting of the C. P. P. A.— This must become the slogan of every class-conscious labor organization, because to participate in the C. P. P. A. is the same as rendering aid and comfort to the enemies of the working class.

Propagate the United Front of workers and poor farmers—is another practical and effective slogan for every militant fighter in the cause of labor, because only through such a United Front with the Workers (Communist) Party will the masses be able to resist effectively the new attacks of the capitalists upon the labor movement.

Instead of talking Third Parties, call upon the masses to rally immediately around the already existing working-class party, the Workers Party. Instead of following LaFollette, Johnston and Hillquit into subjection to your capitalist masters, follow the lead of the working-class militants, the Communists, and fight against your masters. Because the road to working-class victory is the road of struggle, and this is the road proposed by the Workers (Communist) Party.



"SILENT CAL," WORRYING ABOUT ANYTHING ELSE BUT THE C. P. P. A.

Let us take the Teapot Dome and other scandals which for a time threatened to upset the republican administration. No more brazen orgy of grafting was ever unveiled in the United States. Officials of the government were caught red-handed accepting money in return for favors rendered at the expense of the government. Yet, in the recent elections the government responsible for this graft carnival was returned to office with one of the biggest pluralities in the history of this country and those who exposed the corruption buried underneath an avalanche of votes. It is true that the return to power of the republican party was due to other reasons than mass approval of its grafting propensities. The point is that the corruption with which it was associated was completely lost sight of in the more vital issues that were pushed to the front during the election campaign. The masses refused to be horrified over the graft exposures.

A few examples will prove what a rotten cesspool of corruption the capital of capitalist America is. We will begin with the Harding administration, though the previous regimes could put up as good or as bad a record.

Albert B. Fall was made secretary of the interior in the Harding administration. He had charge, among other things, of the naval oil reserves in California and Wyoming, the latter being known to fame as the famous Teapot Dome. These oil reserves were formerly under the control of the navy department, but Mr. Fall had better "connections," so they were turned over to him.

Shortly afterwards Fall leased the California reserve, number one, to Doheny and the Teapot Dome to Sinclair. Nothing very wrong about that. But it was divulged that Doheny sent one hundred thousand dollars in a satchel to his friend Fall and Doheny gave him \$25,000 and a large number of cattle. The moralists exploded on hearing this and the Democrats thought they saw a chance to get back into office. They were disappointed.

The Teapot Dome investigation followed and the public was treated to the juiciest feast of scandal it was ever its good fortune to see spread before it.

Before the deluge of oil was cleared away hundreds of reputations appeared to be ruined, but in reality nobody was seriously hurt, except those who bungled their roles. One of those was Archie Roosevelt who turned out to be a miserable weakling, who went back on his gang. He had a job as vice-president in one of the Sinclair oil companies, but his real duties were taking care of Mrs. Sinclair's poodle dog, accompanying her to the movies and purchasing traveling reservations for her husband. The big thieves, Fall, Doheny, Sinclair, Shaffer of the Denver Post and others got a lot of good publicity out of it and are still enjoying themselves in the wide-open spaces of "free" America.

William Gibbs McAdoo was discovered to be on the Doheny payroll and to have used his influence as Wilson's son-in-law in order to enable Doheny to rob Mexico. For this service he received large sums of money. He was honored by half the Democratic party with the nomination for the presidency. A religious row and not his connections with the Doheny money bags spoiled his chances of being in the White House today, by robbing him of the nomination.

When Denby, former secretary of the navy, and one of those responsible for putting so much oily temptation in the way of Albert B. Fall, arrived in Detroit after being removed from office thousands met him at the railway station and gave him a reception such as is given only to conquerors. The crowd thought he was kicked out for doing just what they would have done if they had the chance.

The financial dealings of Jess Smith read like the work of a highly imaginative fiction writer. He dealt in millions, had a desk at the department of justice from which he directed his grafting operations. This graft he shared with Harry M. Daugherty, head of the department of justice—when Jess was not around. Jess was not a member of the cabinet, but he peddled a good line of graft and was master of his trade. As such he enjoyed the distinction that all professional men fall heir to.

Jess Smith dealt in liquor permits, prison pardons and other commodities. His woman was not treated properly by other members of the gang, to wit, the Daugherty boys, after Jess died, so the story of the Smith-Daugherty operations came to light.

It is true Daugherty got kicked out of the cabinet as a result of the investigation. It is equally true that he was unpopular, but not because he was a grafter. His hostility to labor, particularly his action in securing an injunction against the striking shopmen at the behest of the railroad barons, put him on the verboten list of the organized workers throughout the country.

The capitalists, of course, did not like the way he allowed himself to be exposed as a member of the Smith grafting circle and they would punish an ordinary politician for such deviations, but Daugherty was a valuable tool of theirs and they could not forget his services to them during the railway strike.

Daugherty was kicked out of the cabinet, but he is back in Washington again, and on the calling list of President Coolidge, the same man who dismissed him from office.

We also have Forbes, who is now on trial in Chicago for having performed the disappearing trick on millions of dollars appropriated by congress to take care of the wounded war veterans. Forbes entered into deals with contractors to divvy up on contracts for the building of hospital. In his spare time he shot craps with the wife of another grafter, while



TWO DRY CONGRESSMEN DISCUSSING THE HIGH COST OF GRAFT

bottles of Haig and Haig looked down from a bureau on their innocent pleasures. The other fellow, the lady's husband, got jealous and squealed on Forbes. Judging by the number of bankers who have taken the stand as character witnesses for Forbes, shooting craps with other men's wives may become a popular form of indoor sport in capitalist social circles from now on. Forbes, boon companion of the late President Harding, is setting the fashion. Nobody, outside of the wounded veterans and those who might have been let in on Forbes' graft, seems to be excited.

Then we have another tale of graft, with a Boccacian touch, in the revelations of the fascinating Mrs. Scott, wife of a Michigan congressman. Army officers and gambling figured in her testimony. A burned hole in her kimono was what caused her husband to let the public in on a little diversion. The burnt hole was caused by the lighted end of a cigarette. An army officer was at the other end of it. Graft, illegal transportation of liquor, drunken prohibition officers—this is the tale unfolded by witnesses to life in Washington. Graft is the order of the day. It is getting monotonous.

So much so indeed that we can barely sum up sufficient energy to read the latest graft scandal from Kansas, where the governor was caught selling pardons. His son accepted a check for over one thousand dollars for delivering the governor's pardon for Fred W. Pollman, paroled forger, and former bank president. The governor said his son was "indiscreet." He was.

This article started with two low criminals in a detective bureau. They were pikers. It is possible the police officer who finally called up their bondsmen only got a ten dollar bill for his pains. The policeman who steps on the running board of your flivver and threatens to arrest you for violating some city ordinance may change his mind on receipt of a five spot. But it takes more and more as you go up until the cost of getting a big gun like Fall do something for you knocks you cuckoo. Modern grafting like modern industry is done on a large scale. Only the cockroach grafters deal in fives and tens.

Communists know that under a system based on robbery, "clean" government is neither possible nor should the workers be interested in it. The more corrupt and rotten the capitalist government, the easier it will fall. Capitalism is interested in clean government, because that means efficient government. But nevertheless, capitalism, having the curse of Cain on its brow finds its own government corrupted and seduced by members of its own class. The Dohenys and Sinclairs corrupt the Falls, who are charged with the duty of conserving the resources of all the capitalists.

Let them rob and steal from each other! We will not call a halt. Our duty ends with making whatever propaganda we can out of the corruption that is exposed daily in capitalist governments. We are interested in showing the workers how thin is the veil of virtue with which capitalism seeks to hide its foul face.

The robbery that we are interested in putting an end to is the robbery of the workers by the capitalists. When that aim is achieved and the workers have accomplished their historical mission of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing their own rule on its ruins, then we will be interested in "clean and honest" government.



A WORKER VISITS WASHINGTON

NEXT MONTH

The March issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY will be something to prize and keep. It will tell

The Prison Story of the Wobblies

Written by an ex-convict

Illustrated by an ex-convict—

some of the finest drawings that have appeared in any American magazine.

Negroes in American Industry

By William F. Dunne

In this article, "Bill" Dune deals with the growing importance of negro labor in America industry, and voices the common interests of all workers, whites as well as blacks, in a strong, militant and all-inclusive labor movement to fight against capitalism.

Other features will be:

What Kind of Education is Workers' Education?

By Max Bedacht

The Background of Leninism

By Manuel Gomez

Ten Years of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers

By Rose Wortis

History of the Russian Communist Party

By Gregory Zinoviev

Alexander Bittelman's translation of this remarkable work by president of the Communist International is in itself sufficient reason for the reader to resolve not to miss a single issue of the WORKERS MONTHLY. Another large installment will be printed in the WORKERS MONTHLY for March.

From Anarchism to Communism

By Jay Fox

(Editor's Note.—Jay Fox was the principal proletarian leader of the anarchist movement in America for the past 30 years. Emma Goldman represented the petty bourgeois wing, and in recent years devoted herself merely to lecturing upon sex, the drama and such subjects. Jay Fox joined the Knights of Labor in 1886 and went through the big stock yards strike of that year in Chicago. The Haymarket "riot" of 1886 made him a revolutionist. He was a militant worker in the Blacksmiths and the American Railway Union. He edited numerous anarchist publications and was arrested in 1901 in connection with the assassination of McKinley. In recent years he took an active part in the I. W. W., the Syndicalist League of North America, the T. U. E. L., and the Farmer-Labor Party. He joined the Workers Party in 1924.)

THE continued attacks by Emma Goldman upon the Russian Revolution impel me to review my own evolution prior to and since that eventful day in 1917 when the workers and peasants of Russia made the first serious rend in the armor of capitalism. At the age of sixteen I became a student of the militant revolutionists that gave up their lives for the cause at Chicago in 1887, Parsons, Spies, Fisher, Engel and Lingg. From these courageous comrades I imbibed the teachings of Anarchist Communism and since their crucifixion on the cross of gold have been a follower of that social philosophy.

The Chicago Anarchist Martyrs had split off from the Socialists, upon seeing the impossibility of the pacifist tactics of capturing the capitalist system with the capitalist ballot. They eschewed politics entirely, contending it was a waste of energy, and concentrated their whole attention on the economic field. They believed in revolutionizing the unions through which they hoped to destroy capitalism by revolutionary means.

Saw a Weakness in Anarchism.

As time went on and my practical experience broadened I began to see the weak points in the Anarchist propaganda. Spontaneous revolution arising out of some big strike would no doubt upturn the system; in fact, I saw no other feasible way to do it. But once the workers got control of industry, how was the revolution going to protect itself against the counter-revolution that from without and within would set upon it? Surely an army of defense would have to be organized. Without such a defense the workers would be slaughtered and the remnants driven back to slavery. I felt it would be harder to hold than to make the revolution. To make revolution is a matter of days; to hold it a question of months and perhaps years. In such a condition, to depend upon spontaneous defense would be foolish. My experience as a trade unionist had taught me that men must have organization and leadership or they rapidly fall back upon individual defense and are quickly routed by organized and disciplined opponents. Organized defense would constitute a revolutionary government and Anarchists were opposed to any kind of government. Really, I felt we would have to modify our principles in this regard, and I found that those comrades who had trade union experience were inclined to agree with me. I had studied the history of the Paris Commune and learned how it went down to defeat with the slaughter of 20,000 brave defenders through lack of proper organization. The Communards spent their time holding elections and parliamentary debates while the Versailles troops were marching on Paris.

Watched the Bolshevik Tactics.

For many years this flaw in my social philosophy tormented me. Thus, it may be easily conjectured with what intense interest I watched developments in Russia. I saw that the Bolsheviki immediately set up a revolutionary government and assumed leadership of the revolution. They knew what the revolution meant in order to be a workers' revolution. They left nothing to chance. They organized the Red Army and sent it forth to smash the hordes of the counter-revolution; and the Red Army must remain as a necessary defense of the revolution so long as white armies are camped across the border ready to destroy the Workers' Republic and hand the 160,000,000 of liberated workers back to the slavery and tyranny of capitalism.

For the first time in the history of the world a group of workers came into their own. They drove the parasites from



"BY CRACKKEY, I GUESS THEM ANARCHISTS AINT SO 'ONERY AFTER ALL!"

their palaces. They ejected the masters from the mills and factories and the landlords from the land. They cast the yoke of capitalism from their necks and the capitalists of the world, with true class instinct, clamored for the suppres-

sion of the "Red Russian madmen"; and the capitalist governments sprang to the assistance of the counter-revolution with men, money and munitions. But at every point of attack they were met and routed by the Red Army of the revolution.

Upheld Conduct of Revolution.

With the coming of this epoch-making revolution and its terrific struggle for existence, I learned that my early doubts were well-founded, that no revolution could live without a powerful organization of defense. A study of the Russian revolution has been of infinite value to me as a revolutionist, and far from joining the reactionaries in the counter-revolution, because some Anarchists were imprisoned, I raised my feeble voice in its behalf. I felt it would be a criminal betrayal of the revolution to attack the Bolsheviki because they were not conducting the revolution according to my pet theory. And then I did not know that if I and my comrades were at the helm we should not find our theories unworkable and be compelled to modify them in order to cope with the situations arising out of the conflict. I am sure we would not sacrifice the revolution on the altar of unworkable theory. That the Bolsheviki had put over the revolution and were



ISAAC GOLDSTEIN, DEALER IN SECOND HAND CLOTHING,
MOVED TO TEARS BY EMMA GOLDMAN'S RECITALS OF
BOLSHEVIK BARBARITIES

heroically defending it, I accounted sufficient to merit my applause—all I could contribute from this distance.

Saw Great Movement Coming.

I knew that the greatest event in history was taking place, that the age-long dream of the social revolution was in process of being realized, and whether or not the Bolsheviki would be able to put their full program of Communism into effect, the revolution would have a tremendous effect upon the world. Revolutionists everywhere would be enthused and heartened by this wonderful achievement out of which a great new movement must arise that will sweep over the

world like a prairie fire. With such a movement I would surely ally myself, for I knew it would be based upon the practical knowledge gained in the Russian struggle. Sentimentally I was drawn to the old movement, but as a practical revolutionist I knew my place was in the new one. I use the word "practical" advisedly. It is the duty of revolutionists to draw upon all the knowledge available in the preparation of their plans for propaganda and for the final struggle. Old movements crystallize around time-honored dogma and refuse to modify their tactics in the face of new experience.

The Communist International.

The new movement came fresh from the blood-soaked soil of new Russia, a vigorous young giant destined to convert the world to the ideal of Communism. The Communist International is the ripe fruit of the revolution, having all the experience and prestige of that great accomplishment behind it. Thus it is the most practical of all movements for the emancipation of labor. It is rallying the workers of all nations to its folds. It raises the cry: "All Power to the Workers," and it has a most efficient program for the fulfillment of that aim. It emphasizes the fact that the source of all power is economic and roots itself in the workers' and farmers' unions. But is not a one-way organization. It insists that since political power is reflected economic power, it cannot be isolated and ignored.

Under capitalism, political power is the watchdog of the exploiters. It keeps the despoiled workers from consuming the wealth they create; it entangles the toilers in a network of law and kills those who rebel; it suppresses strikes and all forms of discontent; without it capitalism could not exist; it is part and parcel of imperial industrial capitalism, and as such cannot be ignored by the workers seeking to overthrow the system. The Communist Party, however, is not deluded with the social-democratic idea that this power can be captured at the ballot box. On the contrary, they keep constantly before the workers the fact that the final overthrow of capitalism must take the form of a revolution. Communist action on the parliamentary field is a tactic to weaken the enemy; a means of propaganda; a method for counteracting the capitalist propaganda so widely distributed at election time.

United Front and Union Tactics.

Finding the workers' organizations divided while the master class is an international unit, the Communists propose the very practical and sensible idea of a united front. Why not all workers' organizations get together and agree upon a line of action wherein they can go forward in one solid phalanx to meet the united front of imperial capitalism? The Communists are ready to jump in and take part in any line of attack that will lead towards the goal of a workers' world.

Workers are not always convinced by mere words. They have been lied to too often. They like the fellow worker who will reinforce his words with action, who will jump in and help in the daily struggle against the boss. To such a one they will be in a mood to listen when he suggests ways and means to abolish permanently the system of which the boss is a necessary part. Thus the Communists have adopted another very sensible tactic, that of joining and taking an active part in the trade unions with the view to imbue them with the revolutionary ideal. The trade unions are the most important of all existing economic organizations, in fact, the only ones that can carry over into the new industrial society.

Therefore, the necessity for the Communists to educate the membership and wrest the unions from the leadership of the capitalist henchmen who now largely control them.

Dictatorship a Necessary Protection.

The building of a workers' society is decidedly a workers' job. And having made the plans and cleared the ground, who should run the job? Instinctively the answer comes: "The workers." Here, then, we have the "terrible" Dictatorship of the Proletariat. During reconstruction the ex-capitalists and parasites should not be given a chance to sabotage the work. Let them help if they will, but this is our job. We have suffered for centuries to get to it and we are not taking any chances. The Dictatorship is right. No power to the parasites.

The Soviet System of representation is much more representative than bourgeois "democracy," now becoming so popular amongst the imperialists of the world. And of the Workers' State, so absolutely necessary during the period of transition from capitalism to Communism, I have no fear that it will imbed itself and become permanent. The State cannot permanently operate industry. It can only function as the tool of the masters of industry; and its duty is to defend the possessors of wealth from the dispossessed. When society will be readjusted on a Communist basis and all will be possessors, when there will be no economic classes in society, then the state will be discarded, its function will be gone. And if Anarchists and other radicals who echo the capitalist slogan: "Down with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," will but study the evolution of the Russian revolution, they must agree that the Dictatorship is a most essential tactic.

Emma Goldman: Traitor.

But, unfortunately, many prominent revolutionists are blinded by the prejudice of party. Their party is not conducting the revolution so they are against it. They seem to think more of their group and its theories than of the social revolution. They damn the Bolsheviks with more venom than do the bourgeoisie. And it grieves me to learn that Emma Goldman and other prominent Anarchists are among the worst enemies of the revolution. How they can reconcile this outrageous conduct with their revolutionary pretensions is beyond me. Up until the revolution their records as rebels were good. But as soon as the revolution got under way they went over to the Mensheviks and capitalists, outstripping them in counter-revolutionary ruthlessness. While claiming to be revolutionists they attack the revolution. Such inconsistency has no parallel in revolutionary history.

That they would not agree in detail with the conduct of the revolution is but natural. There was much that I wished might have been different. But how could I tell if it were possible to have things different than they were? Since the revolution was an entirely new experiment, at best I could only theorize about the methods for putting it over. And since I never took part in a social revolution and cannot know anything about the practical details for conducting one, to set myself up as a critic and assailant of the Russian revolution would be the act of a jackass, with apologies to the ass, who most likely would know better.

When in Russia, Emma Goldman was ignored by the Bolsheviks. That is something she can never forgive. We in America who know her have no misgivings as to that. As the writer has well said: "She found the Bolsheviks past masters

in the art of deflating exalted egos." She is reported to be anxious to return to America. She would not have been deported had she begun her attack on Russia while here. Morgan's government would gladly have kept her to propagate



HECTOR HAS HAD A SOFT SPOT IN HIS HEART FOR EMMA GOLDMAN EVER SINCE HE HEARD HER LECTURE ON THE DRAMA WAY BACK IN . . . OH WELL HE HAS REALLY FORGOTTEN WHEN

the Wall Street stuff. As it is, the capitalist press is giving its front pages to her drivel cabled from England, and the brass check editors are commending her highly. "For once in her life," they echo, "Emma Goldman is right."

A Revolutionary Scab.

In her youth Emma Goldman was an agitator for the revolution. As she grew older she toned down and shifted to a discussion of ethical subjects and literature. She knew nothing about economics and wisely never attempted to discuss the subject; and her vague abstractions about freedom which she called anarchy would never hurt anybody. She never took an active part in the workers' struggles and thus had no standing in the labor movement. And now she has lost what standing she may have had in the revolutionary movement by her traitorous attacks on the Soviet Republic. Emma Goldman will be written down in Labor history as a revolutionary scab.

However, the vaporings of a few renegades won't hurt the Russian revolution. The Soviets have faced the world united front of capitalism for seven years and have grown strong in the fight. The Russian revolution stands out as the greatest achievement in all history. Revolutions have occurred before. The overthrow of governments is a common event. But never before have the workers of any country taken complete possession of its institutions and settled down to the task of making them over according to their ideals and their needs. That is the supreme event.

Long live the Soviet Republics and the men and women who created them! They have blazed the way. They have shown us how.

Long live the Communist International, the hope of the world revolution! It leads us on to proletarian victory.

When Workers Take Control!

IT will not be simply because the time is ripe—
because the Capitalist system has fallen of
itself. Not that alone.

THE Labor Movement must have also developed
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will to power.

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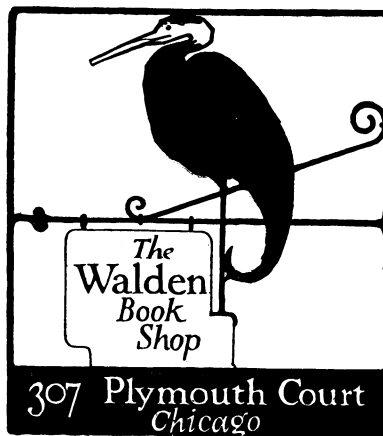
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