

MINERS CONDEMN KU KLUX KLAN

Progressives Crush Lewis Support of Masked Night Shirts

SOVIET RULE RECOGNIZED BY BRITISH

Action Held Up Until Now Thru
Fear of Haste

(Special to The Daily Worker)
LONDON, Feb. 1.—Great Britain today recognized the Soviet Government of Russia. The MacDonald cabinet met today and after its conference, recognition of Russia was announced in a Foreign Office communique.

Feared to Be Hasty.
Before and since his accession to the office of Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald had consistently stood for early recognition by Great Britain of the present regime in Moscow. Action had been postponed for a time, however, due to the wish of the newly established labor government here not to appear hasty.

The foreign office communique said that the Moscow government had been notified that De Jure recognition had been accorded Russia.

O'Grady Goes to Moscow
James O'Grady, who was in charge of negotiations at Copenhagen, with Maxim Litvinoff, assistant commissar of foreign affairs in the Russian government in 1920, regarding an exchange of war prisoners, and subsequently went to Russia with an English relief force, will be the first British ambassador to Moscow.

M. Rakovsky, now in London, is the Soviet ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Simultaneously, it said, the British government will be glad to receive a Russian charge d'affaires in London.

SERIOUS HOUSING SHORTAGE FACING NATION'S LABOR

Growing Home Dearth
Since War Started

Here is the first of a series of articles on the growing problem of housing facing the nation's workers. This series will take up all the varying phases of this knotty question and present the program for the way out of this capitalist chaos. Contributions from our readers on this question are invited. Send in your views, the local conditions you are facing. Write plainly. Address: THE DAILY WORKER, 1640 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

Perhaps no other problem confronting the working masses today involves as many difficulties as does the housing question.

In no other difficulty faced by the workingman are there so many hardships involved. All the ills of low wages, unspeakable living conditions, complications of race and nationality, child labor and lack of education manifest themselves in ugly relief as the background of the terrible conditions arising from capitalist control of the houses of the working class.

Since the declaration of war, in 1914, there has been developing a great dearth of homes for the working masses. Taking fifty of our largest cities, we find that the housing shortage is so great that it would take at least ten consecutive years of building, at about 25 per cent above the normal rate of construction, to make up the serious deficit. It is estimated that at least a million and a quarter new building operations will have to be launched in order to check the shortage in these fifty cities. For the entire country, at least five million new building operations are needed, since these fifty cities con-

(Continued on page 4.)

SCRAPPING "THE MACHINE"



Reaction Is Going into the Discard at Indianapolis.

Wilson Cabinet Bugged In Oil Mess: \$250,000 to McAdoo; Gregory, too

(Special to the DAILY WORKER.)
WASHINGTON.—Cancellation of the stolen oil reserves of Teapot Dome and California is ordered by a 120 to 4 vote in the house on the Walsh resolution already approved by the Senate.

The quagmire of the Doheny oil scandal, which has wrecked the reputations of the Coolidge and Harding cabinets, rose about the feet of leaders of the Wilson administration in the sensational hearings before the senate oil committee this afternoon.

William G. McAdoo, son-in-law of Woodrow Wilson and Secretary of the Treasury in the Wilson cabinet and Thomas W. Gregory, former attorney general, and the man selected by Coolidge to follow the present graft trail, also Coolidge knew of his oil connections, were publicly named by Edward L. Doheny as paid retainers of his corporation.

Doheny Gave \$250,000 to McAdoo.
Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was the price McAdoo received, "all told from our company," declared the multi-millionaire freebooter to the senate committeemen.

The quarter of a million was paid for services alleged to have been rendered shortly after McAdoo left the cabinet.

"He still represents us in Mexico," said Doheny.
As for Wilson's attorney general, Doheny said that "our company and a half dozen others employed Mr. Gregory to represent them before the president in regard to getting permits to drill oil wells in Mexico."

Coolidge Ditches Gregory.
These revelations showing that Coolidge selected a Doheny man to investigate Doheny graft amazed even some of the more hardboiled senators in the committee. Reports at the White House were that Gregory would be withdrawn as special government oil council.

The disclosure of the rewards heaped on McAdoo so quickly after he left Wilson's cabinet come at the moment Rear Admiral Grayson is denying visitors to his father-in-law and late chief, who is said to be dying.

With the Party of Lenin By C. E. RUTHENBERG

THE scores of Lenin Memorial meetings, which are being held under the auspices of the Workers Party, and the great audiences of workers who are attending these meetings, prove the wide influence which the great leader of the world proletarian revolution had won even in the United States. Hundreds of thousands of workers, who, even tho not sufficiently conscious of the class struggle to fight with the Communists as yet, instinctively feel that the Russian Revolution stands for a new and better life for the workers. These workers, who are today paying tribute to the memory of Lenin, will tomorrow be in the ranks of the party of Lenin in the United States—the Workers Party. The great audiences at the Lenin meetings are the best evidence of the future triumph of Leninism.

PLAN A FOOT TO GET OREGON TO DESERT CALLES

U. S. Oil Interests Seek
Split in Mexico

(By The Federated Press)
WASHINGTON, D. C.—Discovery that Oregon is handicapped by his support of Calles, who is "an extreme radical, literally a bolshevist," is made by the Washington Post, organ of the administration and the Sinclair oil interests, in an editorial printed Jan. 30. Despite the stand taken by Hughes in defense of Oregon, this editorial seems to threaten a reversal of policy unless Oregon shall disown Calles and the policies for which the Oregon government stands.

"Calles," says the Post, "has made mischief sufficient to condemn him in the eyes of natives and foreigners alike. The governments of Yucatan and other native states have been made practically communistic by Calles, and the confiscation of property is one of the basic features of those governments."

"Gen. Estrada, de la Huerta's chief lieutenant in the field, has a large following, and is strongly opposed to the agrarian policy of the Oregon administration. He has taken the field against the policy of confiscation without compensation."

"If the revolutionists under de la Huerta are fighting bolshevism, and if foreign-owned property in Mexico, is still being confiscated, the people of this country will not regret the passing of Oregon, if he should be overthrown."

The immediate occasion for this feeling is found in the fact that the Mexican minister of agriculture has recently declared null and void the titles of some millions of acres of properties forcibly taken from their owners by Porfirio Diaz and given to favorites or foreigners.

Russ-Roumanian Conference
MOSCOW.—The Russ-Roumanian Conference for the conclusion of a trade agreement has been inaugurated at Odessa.

For Recognition of Soviet Russia!

BACKERS OF LASH SUFFER BIG DEFEAT

Negro Delegates on Floor in
Fight Against Reaction

By JOHN FITZGERALD
(Staff Correspondent of The Daily Worker)

TOMLINSON HALL, INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Feb. 1.—With a thundering chorus of Ayes the convention voted its condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan as an enemy of organized labor and voted down the proposal of the President John L. Lewis machine to permit members of the United Mine Workers to belong to the hooded order, whose purpose is the subjection of the foreign-born and the flogging of radical workmen.

The fight on the Klan was led by the progressives, as they have led every other forward looking measure since the convention doors swung open. And the fight for the Klan was led by Van H. Bittner, Lewis' right hand man, whom he used in the breaking of the miners' union in Kansas, Alberta, and in Nova Scotia, and in the disruption of the strike in the coke regions.

Bittner presented the report of the resolutions committee which recommended that the convention cancel the clause in the constitution forbidding members of the United Mine Workers from belonging to the K. K. K. His speech was calculated to placate the enemies of this anti-foreigner organization and at the same time to reverse the anti-Klan policy of the union.

Colored Delegates Defend Race.
Several colored delegates took the floor in fiery opposition to the night riding enemies of their race who are denying all rights to human beings with black skins, wherever they have the power.

There were encouraging shouts from the delegation. The United Mine Workers has led the American labor movement in the program of equality to all workers in the mines, regardless of the color of their skins and the heritance of black men in the West Virginia marches were fresh in the minds of many in Tomlinson Hall.

Hessler Speaks in Vain.
A voice for the Klan tried in vain to turn the tide against the brotherhood of the lash. The voice was from John Hessler, one of the lieutenants in the Lewis army.

His speech had all the earmarks of a Klansman's, tho he would not affirm or deny the suspicion as to his own membership in the terror society. But a skeptical murmur arose when he tried to tell the convention that several thousand members in his district were Klansmen.

Hessler was a member of the resolutions committee that sought to save the Klan. But his speech was in vain.

The sentiments of the convention were expressed when John Hindmarsh of Illinois rose and shouted: **Denounced as Strike Breakers.**
"The Klan is a strikebreaking institution!"

"When the Ku Klux Klan wants to take off its mask and work in the open, then it will be time to change our constitution and let the miners join," declared John Bates, of Williamston, Pa., leading the anti-Klan forces.

Hearty cheers greeted every denunciation of the Koo Kooos and cries of protest or ominous silence was the delegates' answer to every attempt of Van H. Bittner and John Hessler to legitimize the hated order. The United Mine Workers of America is vigorously on record against the Ku Klux Klan, in spite of the Lewis machine.

(Continued on page 3)

The Miners Must Save Themselves

THE coal miners of this country are facing a desperate struggle.

Tens of thousands of miners are out of work. Other tens of thousands are working only part time. In many coal fields the miners and their families are already suffering great hardships because the mines do not give the miners regular work or are closed down altogether.

Twice in five years the half-million coal miners have had to strike—and suffer all that a strike means—in order to defend themselves against attacks on their standard of living and the working conditions they have won. Each time the government has been against them.

Another great strike threatens April 1st. The miners will have to fight again for a wage scale that will give them a decent living and to safeguard their union.

The bad conditions in the mining industry are not the result of a temporary situation. Unemployment, short pay checks, fights over wages, fights against the attempt of the operators to destroy the union, will be part of the life of the miners as long as present conditions continue in the coal industry.

The situation in the mines is due to the greedy struggle for profits by the coal operators. It is due to management which aims first to make profits for the bosses and doesn't care what happens to the workers in the mines. One hundred miners were killed by the operators while the convention was in session.

The coal industry was overdeveloped during the war. It is because of this fact that unemployment and short time for the miners—which mean less for the miner and his family to live upon—are now the order of the day in the coal industry.

The coal operators will not remedy the conditions they created in the coal industry thru mismanagement. They cannot, without sacrifice of profits. They will never do that. They would rather sacrifice the miners.

The Lewis machine refuses to face the situation and to make the fight which will save the miners. It would rather expel individuals who propose progressive measures and even whole districts from the organization. It spends the money of the miners for the benefit of the machine rather than for organizing the unorganized territory.

The miners themselves must take up the job. They must adopt a program and fight for a program that will solve the immediate problem of unemployment and solve the whole problem of the bad conditions of the mining industry.

The following program will save the miners from the hardships of unemployment; it will change the conditions of the mining industry:

1. Immediate legislation by Congress to compel the coal operators to pay regular wages to unemployed out of their profits.
2. Immediate legislation by Congress establishing the six-hour day and five-day week in the coal industry.
3. Immediate nationalization of the mines.
4. Sending of a delegation by the Convention to Congress to make these demands and fight for them and a fight of the whole miners' organization for this program.

The passage of a law compelling operators to pay wages to unemployed will immediately relieve the suffering now existing in the coal industry. The six-hour day and five-day week will help solve the unemployed problem and standardize production in the coal fields. Only nationalization of the mines will bring a permanent solution of the problem of over-development and mismanagement by the operators.

Miners! This is a real program for the coal industry. This is a real program for the coal miners.

Nationalization! The six-hour day and five-day week! Immediate unemployment relief from the coal operators! A delegation to Congress to demand passage of these laws! This is your program. Make the fight in your Convention. Get something real out of the Convention for the miners.

The miners must save themselves.

Daily Worker Exposes Crime of Seating Delegate From One-Member Miner's Locals

(Special Correspondence to the DAILY WORKER.)

TOMLINSON HALL, INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Feb. 1.—One of the many diabolical schemes used by the President John L. Lewis machine to defeat the progressive element in conventions is to seat delegates from one-member locals, William Feeney, Secretary-Treasurer of Provisional District No. 4 (Fayette County, Pennsylvania, coke region) is such a delegate. He "represents" Local 849, Albany mine, near Brownsville, Pa.

Feeney used to belong to Local 593, Charleroi, but it is said that several years ago he circulated false statements concerning William Guiler, one of the members, and transferred his membership to Local 849 for fear of being expelled from Local 593.

This action was certainly a good thing for Local 849 for without Feeney it would be a dead one. Secretary Green's reports show that Local 849 paid as International tax for the ten months ending Dec. 1, 1923, the sum of \$5.00 which is exactly the amount required from one member at 50 cents per month. It is said that Feeney claims to have eleven exonerated members in his lead one. Secretary Green's

(Continued on Page 3)

CHICAGO CLOTHING INDUSTRY KEEPS ITS OWN JOBLESS

Unemployment Prevention, Not Insurance

Unemployment prevention and not unemployment insurance is set up by the recent agreement in the Chicago men's clothing industry, according to John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin, in an address to the Chicago City Club forum. Commons is chairman of the board of trustees of the unemployment funds established jointly by the organized employers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Commons emphasized the fact that there are as many unemployment reserves as there are individual firms of employers. The only exception is the provision in the agreement for pooling the unemployment funds in the case of a hundred or so small contractors in the industry. Each clothing concern sets up its unemployment reserve as a liability on its books exactly as it would set up a reserve for dividends. There is no mingling of funds whatever as there would be in a mutual insurance scheme. This is the case also with the employees of each firm. Their contributions which are exactly equal to those of their employer, namely, 1 1/2% of their wages, are merged into the house fund so that those employees who may have steady work in a certain house contribute toward benefits going to those who do not have steady work in that house.

Unlike British Plan. This principle of unemployment reserves instead of unemployment insurance is the peculiarity of all American plans as distinguished from European plans. Commons stated under the British compulsory system which now covers 12,000,000 workers the employers contribute to a common fund which is then distributed to the unemployed in any part of the country with the result that the employer who furnishes steady employment is taxed for the benefits going to employees of firms which do not give steady employment.

Unemployment Penalizes Boss. In all the American plans where no one employer contributes to any other employer's funds each employer can keep his reserve intact by furnishing steady employment and need not contribute to any reserve at all if he has no unemployment. Hence, said Commons, the American plans should properly be named unemployment prevention rather than unemployment insurance. This idea appears in the Chicago agreement in the provision that when a house fund reaches a certain amount the premiums cease both for the employer and his employee. The idea, he asserted, is to furnish an inducement toward establishing employment rather than relief for unemployment.

Lewis Machine Fights Against Six Hour Day More Vigorously Than the Trained Corporation Lawyers

(Special Correspondence to the Daily Worker)
TOMLINSON HALL, INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Jan. 31.—The official family of the United Mine Workers of America today threw the six-hour day to the winds and went to bat like loyal lieutenants of the coal operators to wage war against the efforts of the representatives of the rank and file on the floor of the convention to insert a clause in the proposed wage scale providing for a shorter workday.

The coal operators need not worry so long as John L. Lewis and the present officialdom control the destinies of the organized miners of America. What care they for shorter hours? Their hours of labor are not set by the constitution. Unemployment means nothing to them. While the coal-diggers toil in the mines and worry about the security of their means of livelihood, the officials are enjoying life and making hay while the sun shines.

At the previous convention of the organization the delegates by an overwhelming vote instructed the scale committee to fight for the six hour day, but not one official whisper has been heard about it since. This time the six hour day will not even be used as a trading point. It is ditched in advance. The officials want nothing but retention of the present wage scale and the concurrent termination of all contracts in the bituminous fields.

A referendum joker is inserted whereby any agreement secured shall be submitted to the rank and file for ratification. If the steam roller methods of John L. Lewis during this convention are a criterion of his treatment of the referendum it is only an insult to the intelligence of the union members.

The stage was set for the report of the scale committee after listening to James J. (Babbit) Davis preaching co-operation between coal miners and operators at the morning session. Mr. Davis claimed that there were 244,000 men too many employed now in the coal industry. Not the shortening of the workday but the elimination of these men from the industry was the solution of Mr. Davis for the problem of unemployment and the chaos which exists. And that is also Mr. Lewis' solution. Where are these coal miners to go to? Have they no right to a living? One would not think so judging by the speeches made by the members of the scale committee, who defended the report.

Frank Farrington, the new found friend of John L. Lewis, when called on to report for the scale committee warned the delegates that the report would not satisfy those who held "extreme and impossible" views. After preparing the ground for disapproval he submitted the following document:

Report of Scale Committee.
To the Twenty-ninth Consecutive and Sixth Biennial Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, Greetings:
We, your Scale Committee, to whom has been delegated the duty

Send in Your News

The Daily Worker urges all members of the party to send in the news of their various sections. Every Party Branch should appoint its own correspondent and make him responsible for the news that ought to be sent in to The Daily Worker. The Party Page should be the liveliest page in The Daily Worker. Help make it so. Address all mail to the Editor, The Daily Worker, 1640 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

Daily Worker Presents the Facts in the Howat Case

(Special to The Daily Worker)
TOMLINSON HALL, INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Feb. 1.—The attempt of President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers to destroy Alexander Howat was ably seconded by Governor Allen, of Kansas, father of the Industrial Court Law, which was passed early in 1920, with the object of destroying the power of Unionism in Kansas.

This Law gave to a so-called "Court," appointed by the Governor, the authority to change and fix up the miners' wage agreements to suit itself. Officers and members of a union engaging in a strike were made liable to fine and imprisonment. An injunction was also issued prohibiting strikes.

The Kansas miners fought the Industrial Court Law in the 1920 election campaign, and engaged attorneys to try to get it declared unconstitutional by the courts. But shortly after the passage of the Law in 1920, the Convention of District 14 adopted as a policy in reference to this law, that if it became necessary to strike in violation of this law, as many strikes should be called as necessary to protect the interests of the miners, and the Convention pledged the full support of the Kansas miners to their officials in case the latter should be prosecuted under the Industrial Court Law for carrying out this policy.

Howat for Rank and File. After the passage of the Industrial Court Law, there were several strikes of the miners but the Law was not invoked against them for nearly a year and a half, until May, 1921. At that time, Howat had ordered a strike against a coal company which failed to pay to one Carl Michmash, some \$200 claimed by him on the grounds that he had attained the age of nineteen and was entitled to a man's pay. The company disputed the young man's age and the case has been in controversy prior to the passage of the Industrial Court Law. The case had already been settled according to contract procedure and young Michmash had won his case but the company would not pay the money claiming it had new evidence to show that he was younger than he claimed. But the company failed to present this evidence and Howat finally in May, 1921, called a strike which soon resulted in the money being paid to Michmash.

Allen now got busy with his Industrial Court Law and the anti-strike injunction issued as a part of the same policy. Howat was sentenced to jail on various counts and on Sept. 30, 1921, began to do his time, which totaled up to sixteen months before he was finally released in January, 1923. Vice-President Dorchy was a fellow prisoner of Howat's.

Howat Kills Slave Law. The day that Howat went to jail, the strike against the Industrial Court Law began, and twelve days later, Lewis revoked the charter of District 14, and appointed provisional district officers to administer the affairs. His telegram revoking the charter said in part, "I am compelled to take official cognizance of the present extraordinary situation existing in District Fourteen. The laws of the United Mine Workers are being flagrantly disregarded and the ruling of an International Convention is being deliberately flouted." Later, Lewis claimed that the strike was not in reality against the Industrial Court but in reality to support what Lewis claimed was defiance on the part of Howat of the instructions of the Convention to order that the men return to work.

When the Kansas miners did not abandon their strike against the Industrial Court, the charters of most of the locals were later revoked, and Howat and his fellow-officers were expelled for life. District 14 was "reorganized" under the direction of International Organizer Van Bitner. Some five thousand members of that district did not get back in time to vote in the 1922 District elections, where officers were elected to take charge of the District which received back its autonomy Jan. 1, 1923.

After Howat's final release from jail early in 1923, he went on a speaking trip in the Pittsburgh coal district, the anthracite region, and the mining sections of northern West Virginia and eastern Ohio. A proposed visit to Nova Scotia was stopped by action of the Canadian authorities who refused to allow Howat to enter Canada on the grounds that he was a dangerous agitator. Several meetings in various sections were broken up either by the Lewis machine, or by the authorities or by both in conjunction. On the whole, however, the trip was highly successful, and thousands of miners heard Howat speak, receiving him with great interest and enthusiasm.

The progressive element in the Labor movement give Howat and his fellow-officers and the Kansas miners credit for killing the Kansas Industrial Court Law, and for preventing the introduction of similar laws in other states. Lewis' attack on Howat while he was being persecuted by Governor Allen of the infamous Industrial Court Law fame is one of the blackest marks ever placed on the name of a labor organization. The progressive element maintain that in the controversy with Lewis, Howat was right, and that there was no excuse whatever for the action of Lewis under the circumstances.

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the shorter workday was not a complete solution for it, but it was the best temporary solution short of the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the substitution of workers control and ownership of the means of wealth production. The officials of the miners union have no sympathy for this kind of language. It means the emancipation of the working class from labor fakers as well as from the capitalists and the labor fakers are well off under this system.

Secretary Green, the wheel horse of the administration, wound up the discussion as usual by playing on the emotions of the audience, appealing for brotherly love and then threatening the opposition with punishment if they did not stop that opposition. The vote was taken, the Green oratory had its effect, the report of the scale committee was carried, the six hour day was buried and another day of the convention of the United Mine Workers of America came to an end.

Greedy Sharks Fight Bill Cutting Employment Fee

By MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD.
(By The Federated Press)

SAN FRANCISCO.—At the last session of the state assembly the Fellow law was passed limiting the fees of private employment agencies to 10% of the first month's pay. The agencies, which had fought the bill hard, have now attacked its constitutionality, and a test case is pending before the state supreme court. Meanwhile the employment sharks are making hay while the sun shines.

A recent case of extortion was revealed by an ex-service man, Marion J. Noble, who secured from the Business Men's Clearing House, a private agency, a job paying \$125 a month. He had signed what he thought was a registration card, only to discover that it was a contract to pay from 30% to 35% of his first month's salary, according to promptness of payment. Learning of the Fellow law, he paid the agency instead \$12.50, or 10%. The agency is now bringing suit against him for the difference, \$31.25. Noble says he took his case to the state labor bureau, and was advised to pay the difference and take a chance on its being refunded if the law is upheld by the supreme court.

Unemployment is rife in California, and the employment agencies are reaping a harvest. The test case in question was decided against him in the lower court, and then appealed by them. A former law limiting agencies' fees was declared invalid.

Sidney Hillman, Sick in Chicago, Tells of Lockout

Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, is sick at the Morrison hotel here. Hillman came to Chicago to confer with local officers of the union on various organization matters and became sick Tuesday; since then he has been confined to bed.

Hillman told a reporter for the DAILY WORKER of the lockout of 25,000 clothing workers in New York City. The clothing manufacturers have reduced the prices they paid to contractors for work, and the contractors in turn tried to shift the cut in prices to the workers. When the workers refused to take the cut, the contractors locked them out. Since Hillman came to Chicago, about 10,000 men were locked out by the coat contractors.

"The lockout is both against the manufacturers and the workers," Hillman said. "The workers have shown that they will not take a cut in wages and the contractors will be forced to either do the work for the new prices or deal with the manufacturers."

"Until the contractors decide to center their attention on the manufacturers, it is a waiting fight for the workers."

Call Ex-Giants and Wizards of Ku Klux Klan to Testify

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 1.—Luther Nickels and Scott Woodward, counsel for George Peppy, Republican contestant of the seat of Senator Earle B. Mayfield of Texas, today asked the senate committee investigating Mayfield's election to subpoena a number of present and former officials of the Atlanta Palace of the Ku Klux Klan to testify to alleged Klan contributions sent into Texas to aid in Mayfield's election.
Those for whom subpoenas were asked by Nickels and Woodward, follow: E. Y. Clarke, former Imperial Giant; E. J. Simmons, former Imperial Wizard; N. N. Furney, described as "Cashier of the Imperial Palace," at Atlanta, and E. J. Jones, an official at the Atlanta Palace.



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LIBERTIES UNION DARES MAYOR TO HALT MEETING

Coming to Wilkesbarre to Defy Fascism

The forcible breaking up of a Lenin Memorial meeting at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., by a local post of the American Legion, brought a protest yesterday from the American Civil Liberties Union, wired to Mayor Dan E. Hart, and the announcement that another meeting would be held in the same hall on Feb. 10 "to test the right of free speech."

The Union called upon Mayor Hart to furnish police protection. Otherwise attorneys for the Union "will endeavor to secure it from the courts or from Governor Pinchot."

The Union's attorneys are contemplating damage suits against the officers of the Legion post and also starting proceedings for criminal assault. The telegram asked Mayor Hart to confirm or deny press dispatches which quoted him as inciting the raid.

In a statement to the Civil Liberties Union, Harry Winitzky, business manager of the "Freiheit," a radical New York Jewish daily newspaper, who was the speaker forced out of Concordia Hall "at the point of rifles," denied that he said anything against the American government or the Constitution, as reported.

"In fact, I did not speak at all," Winitzky said. "The meeting had just begun, and the chairman was introducing me, when a dozen Legion men, armed with rifles and led by a police sergeant, marched into the hall. The sergeant demanded to see a permit for the meeting. When I told him a permit was not necessary, he said he would disperse the meeting anyhow to avoid a riot."

"The armed Legion men then drove the audience into the street, where about seventy-five other Legionnaires, many of them armed, forced the people at the points of their guns to take their hats off to the flag."

Winitzky refused to salute the flag under compulsion. When the Legion man in charge of him put down his rifle, Winitzky removed his hat. He had police protection to the railway station. According to Winitzky's statement, Mayor Hart told him he did not incite the raid or approve of it.

Fifteen Hundred Garment Workers Out in Montreal

(By The Federated Press) MONTREAL.—There is a lockout in force in the clothing trade here. About 1,500 men's clothing workers are affected. The Clothing Contractors' Association gave notice of a cut in wages, and when this was refused by the union, the employers closed their shops. Some 90 contract shops and 35 to 40 smaller inside shops are said to be involved. The lockout affects both men and women workers, comprising coat, vest, pants and button hole workers.

Conferences are now in progress between the union and the employers. Lazarus Marcovitz, member, general executive board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and manager of the Montreal board, is in charge of negotiations on the union side.

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Left Wing Was Bulwark of Union, Say Expelled Members, Replying To Attacks of Perlstein's Machine

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is now reaping the bitter fruit of the disruption carried on by the General Executive Board, headed by Sigman and Perlstein, in their campaign of expulsions, disfranchisements, and discriminations against the left-wing members.

Emphatic protests from the membership have been going in almost every day to the officials. These officials are now trying to justify the expulsions by renewing the absurd charge that the left wing interfered with organization work. In Justice of Jan. 25th, they say: "Had the organizing work among the dressmakers of Chicago proceeded along regular and normal lines, we are confident that by this time there would be but few of them outside the union."

But every member of the union knows that the "regular and normal" lines were broken up in Chicago by Perlstein, under orders from the G. E. B. Not alone were expulsions resorted to, but even the shameful expedient of co-operating with the employers in getting members thrown out of the shops, deprived of their jobs, denied the right to make a living!

Charge Yanofsky Lied Attempting to justify themselves before the protesting membership, the officials bring slanderous charges against their victims. In Gerechtigkeit of January 25th, Editor Yanofsky says:

"They (the expelled) were detrimental in the shops where they were allowed by the union to work. They undermined the prestige and authority of the union. . . . What could the union then do but take them off the job? Now they are raising the cry that the union left them without bread. . . . People who cannot see the thing a little deeper may really think that the union here committed a terrible crime. What, to deprive people from making a living? And this has caused a good bit of restlessness among the members who cannot understand that if these people would not have been taken out of the shops these shops would have become non-union."

This charge against the left-wing workers is a vile slander, and the Chicago membership will all know that it is not true. Perlstein himself would never dare to make such statements in Chicago. The truth, well known in Chicago and which should be known throughout the country, is that those workers taken from their jobs were not only among the best workers in the union, but were also leading fighters for the union in the shops. Some of them were shop-chairmen or served on price committees until taken from their job, and they maintained union conditions, held the organization together, and supported the authority and prestige of the union. Not one single act can be cited by Yanofsky or anyone else to prove otherwise.

Reaction Failed. The fact is that the reactionary officials have failed miserably in their duty of building up the union and making it a powerful weapon for the membership, to improve working conditions, and Yanofsky and those who tell him what to say are merely adding another shameful act to their long record in an attempt to shift their own responsibility onto the shoulders of the left-wing members. The present deplorable condition in the ladies garment trades is the direct fruit of the policy of the General Executive Board in destroying the rights of the membership, in expulsions, disfranchisements, and discriminations in the shops. Those responsible for that policy are responsible for its results. The membership of the I. L. G. W. U. will not allow them to evade this responsibility.

If the officials really want to organize the industry why do they carry on their disruptive campaign? The left-wing members expelled in Chicago were the very men and women who, in the past, have been the most active organizers and strike leaders and who, at the very time they were expelled, were carrying on the organization campaign. Perlstein himself is on record to that effect and the entire Chicago membership knows that it is so. It was the left-wing members who assumed

the most responsible work in the last organization campaign and carried it out, not hesitating before hardships and arrests. The results were good and promised to organize the entire industry in Chicago. But the expulsion campaign, inaugurated and carried out by Sigman, Perlstein & Co., put a stop to it all.

Militants Want United Front. The left-wing militants appealed for peace for the sake of the organization campaign. They had given the officials loyal co-operation. They declared themselves ready to go to any lengths to preserve and strengthen the union. But the only answer they received was that the officials will carry out their expulsions even if they will remain with but seven members in a local union.

Convincing proof that full and complete responsibility for the whole situation rests upon the officials, and that the left-wing elements have always been ready to do everything possible to settle all controversies, is contained in a statement recently issued by a group of union cloak makers. These are not radicals or left-wingers, they are just honest union members who want peace in the union. The statement follows:

Rank-and-File Tell Facts. We, the undersigned, have formed ourselves into a committee to attempt to bring about a settlement of the controversy between the officials of our union and the expelled members. This committee was formed at the request of Vice-President Meyer Perlstein who made the statement at the meeting of Local 5 that those who are speaking for the expelled should go to them and make them give up issuing the circulars that they have issued lately, and that he would reinstate them back on their jobs, and if he won't do it he will have Biallis do it. He further agreed that a conference should be arranged by the undersigned, including the expelled and Perlstein for the purpose of establishing peace in the union.

This conference was agreed to by the expelled members and the conference was called for Dec. 11th. Perlstein left for New York two days before the conference without making arrangements for the reinstatement of those expelled from the shops. This conference was delayed owing to Perlstein's absence until Dec. 28th. In the meantime, we prevailed upon the expelled not to issue any circulars in the hopes that Perlstein would carry out the statement he made to Local 5, namely, that he would reinstate these men back on their jobs.

We have approached Biallis and called his attention to the statement made by Perlstein that if he won't reinstate them, he would have Biallis do it. And he refused to act on the argument that this is an International case and he does not want to interfere with it. We have appeared before the Joint Board and were not admitted. The committee composed of the undersigned and formed upon Perlstein's suggestion at the meeting of Local 5 met with Perlstein previous to a joint conference. We reminded him of his promise to reinstate the expelled back on the job. His answer was to order us out of the office and threatened us with the same punishment as he inflicted upon the expelled.

LOCHRAY TELLS ABOUT NEBRASKA FARMER POLITICS

Party Like Minnesota's Planned, He Says

While in Chicago attending the annual meeting of the Federated Press, William Lochray, editor of the Mid-West Labor News, of Omaha, stopped in the DAILY WORKER'S office, and talked about the plans of the Progressive Party of Nebraska for the special convention, which it is calling February 22, at Grand Island.

The call was sent out by the executive committee of the party, said Mr. Lochray, and the purpose of the convention is to nominate a full ticket for the political campaign of 1924, and, if possible, the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party, after the structural model of Minnesota's.

Mr. Lochray believes that the Farmer-Labor movement has an excellent future in Nebraska. The wheat that has made the state famous, are in great distress. Many are being driven from the land and their failures are finding their reflex in the crashing of Nebraska banks.

Lochray said that he, personally, and many of his colleagues are in accordance with the program for a moratorium on the mortgage debts of all working farmers which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party is promulgating. The need for this was never greater in Nebraska.

The editor of the Omaha labor paper said that the "Progressive People's Party," which has been meeting at that city, was not to be taken seriously. He called it the property of Roy Harrop, a Ford booster, who had been organizing Ford clubs thruout Nebraska, and he said that, since Ford's support of Coolidge compelled the party to scrap the automobile manufacturer, it no longer had much excuse for existence. In fact, he declared, the Progressive People's Party did not even have the status of an officially recognized party under Nebraska laws, because of its insignificance.

One-Man Locals Exposed

(Continued from page 1.) But such a claim does not agree with the facts.

The Albany mine has long been operating non-union. Albany is on the edge of the great non-union coke region. A year ago the coke region strike was called off by the International Union, even though there were some seventy local unions, and by the International's own admission—nearly three thousand men are still out; the coke region men claimed that many more were still on strike. Certainly a strike of only eleven men is not being continued. If these mysterious eleven men are on strike in Feeney's local, are they getting relief? If they are not on strike, why should they be completely exonerated month after month?

The rank and file have the right to know who elected Feeney a delegate, and who is paying his expenses. A local which can pay per capita on only one member can certainly not pay a delegate's expenses. Is the International standing the expense? Do the miners wish their funds to be used to bring delegates from one-man locals, to vote with the machine and defeat the wishes of the real rank and file delegates?

Feeney, the Prize Straddler. The coke region, a former stronghold of non-unionism, came out practically solid in April, 1922, and remained so until after the Cleveland Agreement. The coke region operators refused to recognize the union and the strike was continued until called off, January 18, 1922. The coke region is now in the same old unorganized condition.

Feeney's efforts thus came to naught. In fairness, it must be said that this does not prove that Feeney cannot organize. One of the chief reasons for losing these regions was the Cleveland Agreement, which took away from these sections the powerful backing of a nation-wide signing of contracts with the Consolidated Coal Company, the Hillman Company, and other companies of some of their mines, without compelling them to sign at the same time for their mines in the coke region, or in other non-union territories. The neglect of relief in the coke region was also a great blow to the strike.

After the Cleveland Agreement, the International and District No. 5 organizations failed to furnish adequate relief, and Feeney went on the war-path. He helped to organize two outlaw mass meetings of miners to raise relief. He proposed to run for President of District No. 5 against the Administration candidate, Fagan.

But Feeney's rebellion soon subsided. He withdrew from the race for President, and spoke for Fagan. He is now a staunch supporter of the machine, which belongs to the coke region workers he helped to organize.

Feeney—Expense Account Artist. In the twenty-two months period—from February 1, 1922, to December 1, 1923, Feeney has drawn from the International treasury, according to Secretary Green's reports, \$5,280 salary and \$5,868.72 expenses, or a total of \$11,148.72. This is at the rate of \$506.76 per month. He lives in Charleston, where he usually gets his breakfast and supper at home, and travels by train to Brownsville, where his office is. The round trip fare is \$1.60. Feeney has done very little traveling thru the coke region, either during or after the strike. Fayette County, in which most of the coke region lies, is well supplied with railroads and trolley lines. You can go from one end to the other for a couple of dollars. To make an expense account of some ten dollars per day under these conditions requires therefore no small degree of imagination. In the six months, February 1, 1922, to August 1, 1922 (the strike began April 1), Feeney received \$800 salary. This seems strange, in view of the general understanding that the coke region organizers were working during the strike only for their expenses. In

GARMENT WORKERS LAUD DAILY WORKER'S FIGHT ON FIRETRAPS

"I am sure that the DAILY WORKER, in its fight against firetrap public schools, and efforts to get a seat in a safe school for every school child, has the hearty approval of every member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Chicago," said Hyman Schneid, general organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

accord with the program for a moratorium on the mortgage debts of all working farmers which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party is promulgating. The need for this was never greater in Nebraska.

The editor of the Omaha labor paper said that the "Progressive People's Party," which has been meeting at that city, was not to be taken seriously. He called it the property of Roy Harrop, a Ford booster, who had been organizing Ford clubs thruout Nebraska, and he said that, since Ford's support of Coolidge compelled the party to scrap the automobile manufacturer, it no longer had much excuse for existence. In fact, he declared, the Progressive People's Party did not even have the status of an officially recognized party under Nebraska laws, because of its insignificance.

ALL AGREEMENTS IN BITUMINOUS FIELDS TO EXPIRE TOGETHER

TOMLINSON HALL, INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Feb. 1.—The convention of the United Mine Workers adopted the report of the scales committee authorizing a new contract at a wage not less than that now prevailing. Agreements in all bituminous districts must run concurrently, and expire at the same date, the report declares. No outlying district will be allowed to conclude an agreement till after the Central Competitive field has concluded its agreement.

The six-hour day program was abandoned in the committee's report. Frank Farrington, president of the Illinois miners, arguing that if costs were increased in union fields the trade would go to the non-union fields. The alternative idea of organizing the non-union fields was not considered by the machine.

Conservatives engineered the scale committee report but the clause making agreements expire concurrently was a concession to the progressives' strength. (More Scale Committee News on Page 2.)

this six months Feeney's expenses were the liberal sum of \$1,362.45. Feeney likes to refer in his speeches to his poverty, but it is said that some ten months ago, shortly after the coke region strike was called off, he made a cash purchase of a \$6,300 house in Charleston. It would certainly be surprising if, out of \$500 per month, one could not purchase a house as well as a few other conveniences.

Feeney is also able to "pass prosperity around" to the members of his family. His son, Frank, to whom he referred in the convention with the utmost feeling as his "boy," but who is a full-grown man, has long been assisting him in the office. In the convention, International Board Member O'Leary admitted that he had appointed Frank, but where Frank gets his salary of \$200 per month does not appear.

Crawfish Organizer. Feeney's disappointment at not being able to make the race for President of District No. 5 has been softened by an appointment, not election, by rank and file) as Secretary-Treasurer of Provisional District No. 4. Feeney has been drawing, on the average, \$506.76 per month.

But, if organizing results are what Feeney wishes, the situation is not so satisfactory. Secretary Green's report shows that in this report. In the next four months, since August, the number of tax-paying locals decreased from thirty-three, in the preceding six months prior to fourteen. The amount of tax decreased, from one report to the next, from an average of \$146.15 per month, to an average of \$100.25 per month. At this rate, how long will it take Feeney to disorganize the coke region?

Henry Ford Wins WASHINGTON, Feb. 1.—The house naval affairs committee today favorably reported Henry Ford's offer for Muscle Shoals.

Backers of Lash Suffer Defeat in Miners' Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

Lewis stands on the subject of the Ku Klux Klan. After the report was voted down the convention went officially on record in favor of retaining the anti-Klan section of the constitution.

Lewis Owes Much to Klan. The Lewis machine owes much to the Klan for the Klan is co-operating in the program of crucifying the radicals which is one of the main businesses of the United Mine Workers' officialdom.

The Ku Klux Klan has done all in its power to injure the progressive delegates who are fighting the reactionary machine in the miners' organization. Like Mussolini's Fascist the Ku Klux Klan takes the official stand that it is friendly to conservative unionism but violently opposed to radical unionism, which in the case of the miners means to all efforts to improve working conditions and link up the miners' union with the rest of the labor movement.

New York Gets Ready for Huge Lenin Meeting

New York's monster meeting in Madison Square Garden Monday evening will be the climax of the series of Lenin Memorial meetings which have brought out scores of thousands of workers in the greatest series of demonstrations the labor movement of this country has ever seen.

Speakers will come from a thousand miles to testify to the surpassing greatness of the departed proletarian leader. C. E. Ruthenberg and William Z. Foster will be followed by Moissaye Olgin, Ludwig Lore, Benjamin Gitlow and others. The Russian Symphony orchestra will play revolutionary airs and the latest moving pictures of Lenin in action will be shown.

Sunday's meetings in many cities were announced in yesterday's issue of the DAILY WORKER. Meetings held Monday and later are as follows: New Haven, Conn., Hermanson Hall, Feb. 6, at 8 p. m. Stamford, Conn., Feb. 7, at 8 p. m. East St. Louis, Ill., Tuesday, Feb. 5, at 8 p. m. Valler, Ill., Thursday, Feb. 7, at 7 p. m., T. R. Sullivan, speaker.

The OPEN FORUM, meeting every Sunday night in the Corinthian Hall, 17th floor Capitol Building, 159 N. State St., announces the speaker for Sunday, Feb. 3rd, to be Manuel Gomez, a well known writer and lecturer on Mexico.

The subject will be "The Revolution in Mexico."

Freiheit Dance Tonight A dance will be given by the Freiheit Singing Society and Mandolin Orchestra tonight at the Roosevelt Hall, 3437 West Roosevelt Road. Everybody welcome.

Our branch assembled at a special meeting expresses its unbounded grief and sorrow at the death of the greatest of all leaders LENIN. Let his spirit and his ideal life be a guiding light of the all-world proletarian in their struggle for emancipation from the capitalist yoke.

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Minneapolis, Minn. Feb. 5, Tuesday, 8 P. M., Courthouse Assembly Hall. Pittsburgh, Pa. Feb. 7, Thursday, 8 P. M., Allegheny Carnegie Music Hall, Cor. Federal and Ohio Sts.

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The Russian Investigation

The Senate investigation of alleged Soviet Government activities in the United States against the government seems to have lost fire. For a few days it appeared that the sub-committee presided over by Borah would really get down to the bottom of things and present a comprehensive report to the Senate in order to enable it to debate the Borah Russian Recognition Resolution with some degree of intelligence.

It appears now that there is a danger of the country being spared the pleasure of a near-intelligent debate in Congress on the Russian question. There is an attempt being made to have the committee discontinue its hearings. There can be only one reason for the effort to stop the sessions of Borah's sub-committee. The State Department has presented its case and it is the consensus of opinion amongst the members of the sub-committee and the interested observers that the evidence submitted by Hughes was very weak. The documents and general material presented by the State Department's agents were handled much more poorly than by some second-class city attorneys in their prosecution of Communists. This unquestionably will be the decisive reason for discontinuing the hearings if the committee decides to do so.

Samuel Gompers has made a formal request upon the sub-committee to be permitted to state his case against the Communists. Some committee members were at first reluctant to accede to Gompers' request for fear that it would become too evident that the decisive reason for the administration's refusal to resume friendly relations with Russia was its fear of the effect a new Russian policy would have on the American labor movement. The government is particularly interested in perpetuating Gompers' control of the American Federation of Labor, and many of its leading figures dread Russian recognition because they feel that it would hurt the prestige and domination of the labor lieutenants of capital in the organized working class movement.

Gompers, however, was granted permission to appear before the committee. Should hearings be resumed the capitalist press will, without doubt, give the widest publicity to Gompers' counterfeit charges against the Communists in America and against the Soviet Government. It will then be pertinent to ask whether the Senate sub-committee in its desire, to get the fullest information about the horrible crimes that are supposedly committed by American Communists, at the behest of the Soviet Government, will agree to allow representatives of the Workers Party to state the Communist case at the hearings.

If the Senate is to be given all the facts obtainable then the Communists will have to be heard. Otherwise, the charge of bias against the sub-committee will be irrefutable, especially in view of the fact that Gompers, Lewis, and others, will have had the opportunity to misrepresent the Communist program and activities.

Democracy From the Inside

Millions of workers and farmers who formerly were subjected to the blessings of Capitalist Democracy are now living under the pall of open, brutal capitalist dictatorships—Fascist governments.

Within the last two years the tendency to discard the mask of fraudulent democracy has been so greatly enhanced that the official apologists of the capitalist order have had the devil's own time trying to build up a philosophy of excuses for the rousing welcome the big employers have accorded the new Fascist governments.

Perusing some of the most inspired apologetic literature we came across a rather instructive and somewhat unusually honest explanation. In its last Monthly Bulletin, the National City Bank gives the real why and wherefore of government to-day and of capitalist democracy. To quote in part: "Democracy had run itself into the ground, and in sheer desperation the public welcomed any authority that promised to be strong enough and patriotic enough to give good government. After all, the most important service of government is that of maintaining order and protecting industry and private business. If democracies will learn this lesson they will be greatly benefited by the experience."

Here we are told the real function of government today by those who are on the inside. We are indebted to the National City Bank for its frank statement of what capitalist democracy really is. No Communist could ever put the issue more squarely and define the role of government today more clearly.

Any working man knows precisely what "protecting" industry and private business" means to him in his every-day life and work. Injunctions, severe prison sentences, low wages, intolerable working conditions, smashed labor organizations and broken strikes are the only fruits the workers have gathered under the rule of capitalist democracy.

Poor Team Work

There is a sad lack of co-operation between Brother Meyer Perlstein and S. Vanofsky, editor of Justice, official organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers.

Perlstein has been weeping all over the pages of the Chicago Tribune because of the disruptive work of certain shekls, he alleges, are employed by bosses and to the activities of these persons he ascribes the failure of the organization campaign here.

Comes now Brother Yanofsky, ex-anarchist, and a recent convert to Gompersism, and lays the blame for the organization debacle on the radical elements, thus giving the lie direct to his payroll colleague.

In this difference of opinion between two alibi artists we take a neutral position, i. e., we consider both of them very clumsy liars.

The truth of the matter is that following the expulsion of the left wing elements the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Chicago has lost its fighting spirit.

Of this invaluable asset of a union the left wingers had a monopoly.

Deprived of their activities, aid and advice the Ladies' Garment Workers Union is becoming a typical Gompers union—devoid of initiative, destitute of leadership, with its officials blaming everything but their own reaction and inefficiency for the failure to accomplish the primary function of any union—organization of the industry over which it claims jurisdiction.

The left wingers, the most active ones at least, have been deprived of membership in the union and we await with considerable curiosity the next Sigman-Perlstein-Yanofsky alibi for the continuation of the retreat the Ladies' Garment Workers will be forced to make until the officialdom recognizes the fact that functioning unions are not built up by high-salaried incompetents but by militant workers whose devotion to revolutionary theory and practice is the best index of their loyalty to the working class.

The Profits of Prohibition

In the little side show of an investigation now going on in New York, the investigation of the Anti-Saloon League, much light is being shed on prohibition as an industry. We have long known that the enforcement of the prohibition law has been the butt of politics and has enabled the present capitalist administration to build up its machine thru the disposal of handsome patronage. We have long suspected that our most strenuous prohibition advocates were giving vent too lightly to moral indignation over the ravages of liquor. We have often wondered how much they were paid by those who had the price and the desire to pay for these moral outbursts.

The New York investigation of William H. Anderson, the cyclops of the National Prohibition movement, has fortunately let us in a bit on this secret. We now have a confession, and it must be a true confession, since Mr. Anderson has always advertised his high regard for morals, from this leader of the Prohibition league that some mysterious stranger gave him \$20,000 in cash. Mr. Anderson grudgingly further confessed that he was operating his prohibition campaign on a basis of splitting commissions. Of course, the reason for his being so well treated is to be found in the fact that his work was satisfactory.

These are but a few of the myriad of facts yet to be disclosed proving that prohibition under capitalism, like most of the other movements for the uplift of the working men, is run on the basis of making profits. Most of the professional prohibition agents are engaged in their game in order to amass the profits formerly secured by the manufacturers of sundry liquors. There is only one way of removing the many evils of the use of liquor to which the workers are subjected. That way is to take the profit out of prohibition and not the present capitalist method of transferring the liquor profits to the field of our new and flourishing industry—the industry of prohibition enforcement.

Soviet Russia has shown the way. In Soviet Russia the profits have been taken out of the manufacture of liquor and the enforcement of prohibition. In Soviet Russia there are no professional prohibition agents. In Soviet Russia the bootlegging industry is at its lowest ebb and does not flourish, as in the United States.

Let no one be disturbed. Anderson and his tribe will continue preying upon the gullible. It is in the interest of the capitalist class and its guardian angel, the government, to have such professional fakers draw the red herring of morality, decency and other vagaries, across the trail of the class conflicts in order to mislead the workers.

The Leland case will undoubtedly make Hollywood more amenable to suggestions from the Christian persons who are worrying themselves sick over the open immorality said to flourish in the Los Angeles suburb. Testimony in the Leland suit would indicate that it is the lack of concealment that is objected to.

Serious Housing Shortage Menaces Workers

(Continued from page 1)tain only a quarter of our total population.

The Bigger the City, the Worse the Suffering

Mr. George Gove was the Director of Investigations of the New York State Housing and Regional Planning Commission, which has just completed a thorough survey of the housing crisis in the Empire State. In discussing the housing shortage with the writer, Mr. Gove said that his commissions investigation definitely indicated "that the larger the city, the more serious is its housing problem, and the more difficult is it to meet the housing demands of the great mass of people." High rents, taxes, and transportation all play their part in aggravating the housing difficulties here.

Thus the best picture of the housing crisis, which is national, the best view of the shortage of homes from all important angles, can be obtained from a review of the conditions in New York.

Millions of Workers Not Provided For

According to the latest official census figures, there are 6,566,636 people living in New York City. Last June there were, in New York City, 103,387 tenement houses, having 1,056,870 apartments. These apartments house 4,353,520 people. If one should entirely disregard the fitness of the houses inhabited by the mass of workers, and even assume that the shanties in the squalid alleys and the wretched hovels now inhabited by the workingmen, are satisfactory homes, then there would be still a lack of housing facilities for at least 2,213,116 people.

At the hearings, conducted by the New York Housing Commission, it was shown that these figures translated themselves into a lack of homes for no less than 165,903 families. One of the most experienced social investigators in New York, who has had many years of contact with the working class districts, and who has appeared before the Housing Commission, told me that the situation was really much worse. Said Miss B.— "At least five times this number of people are today compelled to live in houses whose conditions cannot be endured for a long time. Many families are forced to double up in apartments built for half the number of people, because they cannot find rooms that they can afford to pay for."

In many sections of the city the housing conditions remind one of the miserable shacks that crowd the raw mining camps and the congested steel and oil communities. Testifying before the commission, President Harry R. Ely, of the Federation of Tenants' Associations, cited a case where no less than forty-two tenants occupied one tenement in three, eight hour shifts for sleeping.

Vacancies Decrease Steadily

The number of houses available for occupation by the mass of workers is decreasing steadily. At the same time the population of New York City is increasing at the rate of about 250,000 a year. One of the most comprehensive investigations of the rising shortage of homes for the great mass of workers was made by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. This institution, which is one of the strongest champions of the big interests, and whose service to the employing class no one can question, made its report public last November, to the effect that: "Inquiry among apartment house renting agencies in this city, as to rents following October 1, indicated a continued shortage of medium and low priced apartments, and no reduction in rents, which generally average 9 per cent higher than a year ago."

The additional construction in the last few years was admitted by Dr. Lindsay, representing the wealthiest New York landlords before the Housing Commission to be of no benefit to the average worker who could never attempt to pay more than \$10 to \$12 for a room. Besides, the Commission looked into the character of about 200 of these vacancies and found that "most of the tenements visited had been vacant for a long period and were either abandoned as unfit for use, or held for higher rental than prevailed in the neighborhood for similar apartments."

Interviewing several worker-tenants in the Bronx, Harlem, Chelsea and East Side districts, I proposed the following questions and met with replies which shed startling information on the critical stage the housing shortage has assumed for

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the working people in the metropolis: Q.—How many vacancies are there in your section today? A. (Mrs. G—y, Bronx).—"I don't know of a single one. For some time I have been looking out for a friend of mine to get new rooms for her family. The other day I saw a room-to-let sign and tried to get the flat. The janitor told me that he has already promised about twenty other people a chance to look it over."

Mr. T—h, a worker having a family of seven, and occupying a four room apartment on the East Side, told me: "I haven't seen a new house built in my neighborhood for at least ten years. I would like to move into larger quarters, but I can't afford to spend car fare to ride to work, and it is next to impossible to find anything better in the neighborhood. Besides, as a new tenant, I would have to pay more for the same number of rooms. I am already paying the limit."

That this condition prevails throughout the city was established by the testimony of Tenement House Commissioner Frank Mann, before the Housing Commission, as shown below:

Q.—Now take Manhattan. 972 vacancies in the old law tenements, as of March, 1923, compared with 2,883 vacancies in the old law tenements, as of April, 1920; is that right? A.—April, 1922, yes; 2,883.

Q.—Showing a much more serious condition, so far as vacancies for moderate priced apartments in Manhattan is concerned, in March, 1923, than in April, 1920; is that right? A.—Undoubtedly; so far as lower rental apartments are concerned, there are practically none to be had. They are practically all occupied.

Q.—These vacancies, in old law tenements, as a matter of fact, are the least desirable, are they not? A.—Of course, they are the least desirable. I am under the impression, and I maintained years ago, that, if normal conditions had continued to prevail, the time would come when nobody would live in the old law tenements."

Mass Death of Houses for the Workers

There has been going on a good deal of building construction in the last two or three years in New York, the shortage of houses from which the great mass of wage earners is suffering is increasing. It has long been the consensus of opinion amongst the most competent social investigators that the maximum the average family can expend for rent is 20 per cent of its total income. Analyzing the effect of new construction on the housing situation in New York State, the Commission concluded that: "Only a few instances were reported of rents in new construction at less than \$15 per room, or \$45 for a three room apartment. Assuming 20 per cent of the income for rent, and also on the basis of average rentals paid, construction at this minimum rental is beyond the means of most of the 69 per cent of the population with family incomes below \$2,500 a year."

Protect the Foreign Born!

The new construction is helpful and available only to about 8 per cent of the population whose income is \$5,000 or more. The Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce found from an investigation of the rent situation confronting 600 families of the workers in the eight leading industries of the Borough that less than 3 per cent of the newly built houses is "within the renting power of persons earning up to \$60 a week, and that there was none available in Brooklyn in 1922 for a person earning less than \$45 a week."

Why the Shortage? The fundamental cause of the housing shortage in New York and in the other centers of the country is to be found in the private capitalist control of the housing facilities of the great masses of workers. The capitalists find it necessary to maintain a huge army of unemployed workers, an industrial reserve army, in order to maintain what their defenders have chosen to call "an economic equilibrium in wages," in reality, the lowest wages workers can possibly be compelled to accept. Likewise, the capitalist landlords are now bent on maintaining a huge reserve army of tenants, of workers being forced to pay the highest, outrageous rents for houses that should long ago have been condemned as unfit for habitation. The profit hungry landlords are not willing to invest money in building homes which the workers can afford to pay for from their low wages.

Director of Investigations Gove summed up the whole situation very well to me when he said: "We must supply three-fourths of our families with homes at \$500 a year or less. This can't be done under speculative enterprise. The landlords haven't done it and won't do it. Speculative enterprise is filled with waste. The whole competitive system is filled with waste. This present system has given rise to the fly-by-night speculator, who is out only for enough money to swing a deal, buy and transfer houses, boost the rent, raise the prices, and quit."

(The second article will deal with the terrible effects of the living crisis on the workers' families.)

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