

TEN THOUSAND WORKERS DEMAND RECOGNITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA AT WORKERS PARTY PARIS COMMUNE MEETING,
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY

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Gudok

By Wm. Z. Foster

WHEN the Communist Party came into control in Russia, upon overthrowing the reactionary Kerensky regime, one of the tasks that it saw clearly before it in laying the foundations for a real workers' society was that of building a system of proletarian journalism. Tremendous strides have been made in this direction, and many new methods have been worked out which are of the utmost importance to the working class of the world.

Among the many splendid proletarian journals that have been developed since the revolution, the *Gudok* (The Whistle) takes high place. This daily paper is the official organ of the railroad workers. The union, which is industrial in character and numbers 815,000 members, has various other publications, including a Siberian daily with 22,000 circulation, and several monthly and semi-monthly journals. But its pride is the *Gudok* which ranks along with the *Pravda* and *Isvestia* as the greatest papers in Russia. Its circulation is 274,000 daily and it is constantly rising. That of the *Pravda* is 600,000 and the *Isvestia* about the same.

The *Gudok* was founded in 1920. At first it was subsidized by the government and issued free of cost to the subscribers. Its circulation was about 25,000. It ran up to 75,000 in 1921, but with the introduction of the New Economic Policy, when the *Gudok*, like so many other institutions, was put on a self-sustaining basis and the subscribers had to pay for it, its circulation dropped off about 50%. But since then it has rapidly picked up until it has reached its present gigantic figure. It is steadily extending its mass of readers, who are found not only among railroad workers, but in the ranks of the working class generally. Last year it produced a financial surplus after paying all expenses.

The *Gudok* is one of the most popular papers in Russia. Its organization, both in respect to the make-up of the paper itself and its connections with the masses, is magnificent. Labor papers of the world, especially dailies, would do well to adapt themselves, so far as is practicable under capitalism, to its revolutionary methods. The paper is not a mere trade

paper, though it is issued by the railroad workers' union. Its scope of activity covers the wide world of economics and politics. It informs the workers of the greatest political events and problems of the world, and it also digs down deep into the everyday life that they live.

The paper is thoroughly departmentalized. Ordinarily it has six pages, except once a week when it has a special double page in the Ukrainian language. Each of the pages is devoted to certain specific subjects. It will be well for us to glance at them briefly. The first page is devoted to news of the general social and political life of Russia and the world at large. The items are brief and to the point. The yellow journalism of capitalist papers finds absolutely no place in the *Gudok*. Page two is devoted to special articles on the general political situation, economic life, and Party affairs. This might be called the intellectual page of the paper, using the term intellectual in a



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EDITORIAL STAFF OF GUDOK AND WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

strictly proletarian sense. Many of the most brilliant Russian writers contribute to it constantly. There is also a splendid staff of foreign correspondents, 15 in number, who contribute on an average 60 articles per month dealing with every phase of world development.

Page three is devoted primarily to the trade problems of the railroad workers. These are handled in the most simple manner. This page is a very popular one. Like the others, this page is conducted as a distinct department. Page four is one in which the most strikingly revolutionary feature of proletarian Russian journalism comes to the fore. It is the page of the Workers Correspondents, or "Rabkor". Here is where the voice of the workers is heard on their daily life and problems. The *Gudok* has 10,000 of such correspondents, and letters come pouring in from them at the rate of 400-600 daily. They cover every imaginable subject. They are boiled down and re-stated briefly. They are the life blood of the *Gudok*, and as we shall see further along, are of great political importance. Such of them as are used are paid for.

Page five is another "Rabkor" page. Its special feature is to deal with the economic problems of the industry, with the actual running of the railroads. From all over Russia the workers pour in their suggestions as to how improvements can be made. Problems are posed on this page and the workers are asked to give their solutions for them. Valuable suggestions constantly come in. Sometimes these are of the very greatest importance. The technical experts of the industry watch this page closely. It is the mass of the

railroad workers taking an actual part in the technical direction and development of the railroad and they have much of value to contribute.

Page six is the most famous page of the *Gudok*. This is the page which the editors say is the real making of the paper. It is another "Rabkor" page and it is based upon the mighty flood of letters that constantly pours in from the workers in the shops and on the roads. It is the so-called "Life Page." It is devoted to criticism. In this criticism the sky is the limit. All that is necessary is that it be true. Here all the worst features of the railroaders' life are

brought forth. It is the sensation page of the *Gudok*. If there is a tyrannical foreman he is bound sooner or later to see his name in the *Gudok* and to have his conduct condemned. If he is a Communist who by his conduct fails to lend credit to the Party he will be called to order by a "Rabkor" in the *Gudok*. If he is an old time specialist who is still inclined to sabotage the operation on the railroads his actions will soon see the light of day in the *Gudok*. If he is an engineer who takes more liquor than is good for him a fellow worker will check him up in the *Gudok* about it. In fact every abuse on the whole railroad system, no matter from what source it comes, is criticized scathingly by the workers in their beloved paper. The effect of such criticism is tremendous in eliminating sabotage and petty tyranny of all sorts. Many of the letters which contain criticism of importance or of a humorous character are turned over to expert writers who play them up in cartoons, poems, jokes, articles, and every conceivable way to make them readable and effective. The workers are intensely interested in the "Rabkor" system in general, but they follow the "Life Page" of the *Gudok* with special avidity.

The "Rabkor" system is not only the foundation of modern Russian newspapers—the *Pravda*, *Isvestia*, and other leading papers also use it to a greater or lesser extent—but it also has profound political significance. It is one of the many marvellous institutions that the Russian Communist Party has developed to sink its roots deep into the masses of the proletariat. Through the "Rabkor" system the masses,

hitherto voiceless, give some degree of expression to the deep social currents that are surging among them. All the Russian leaders follow carefully the workers' letters in the newspapers. These show them what the masses are actually thinking and feeling. Often they get the most valuable leads to political policies. The "Rabkor" system is also playing a highly important part in raising the efficiency of Russian industry. The valuable suggestions of the workers and the feeling of responsibility for the operation of the industries which the "Rabkor" gives them, has done marvels for increasing production. And the merciless exposure of saboteurs by the workers' correspondents has been decisively effective in eliminating these pests from Russian industry. It is a bold individual indeed, who, surrounded by workers who will "write him up" if he goes wrong, dares to venture upon a campaign of sabotage. Within recent months, realizing the Nemesis-like character of the "Rabkor" system, counter-revolutionary elements have embarked upon a campaign of murdering workers' correspondents who have either exposed them or are likely to do so. A number of such cases have been reported especially from the villages. The "Rabkor" system connects up the masses with the newspapers and enables the Communist Party to bring its message all the more forcefully to them. It is a great connecting organ between the Communist Party and the masses, through which the Party receives vitally necessary impulses from the proletarian masses, and through which it communicates to them its own revolutionary spirit and intelligence.

The editors of the *Gudok*, like the leaders of the Russian Party in general, are keenly aware of the tremendous importance of the "Rabkor" system and they spare no effort to develop it. In January of this year the *Gudok* held a national convention of its "Rabkors". There were 321 delegates. They came from the "Rabkor" committees, which exist at all the 208 division points on the 28 railways of Russia. Some came all the way from Siberia. All the railroads are



NUMBER OF RABKORS ON THE VARIOUS RUSSIAN RAILWAYS

covered with the network of committees, which bring the paper to the masses most effectively. The convention elaborated plans for the still further extension of the "Rabkor" system in all its ramifications and to make the *Gudok* more than ever the real mirror of the aspirations and experiences of the railroad workers. Elaborate charts were presented the convention showing the rapid development of the *Gudok* and the "Rabkor" system which is its foundation. By the end of 1924 there were 5870 intermittent and 4423 regular correspondents. The most careful analyses are made of the make-up of these correspondents from the standpoint of age, sex, occupation, Party membership, etc.

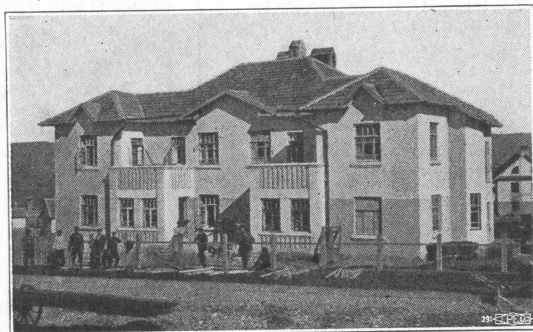
A feature of the workers' journalism which is common in all industries but especially well-developed among the railroad workers are the wall papers. These are big poster-like affairs containing articles, designs, cartoons, etc., made up by the workers and posted on the shop walls. Many of them are extremely beautiful. The workers are intensely interested in them. They deal with the immediate problems of the factories and the news of the workers' lives. On the railroads there are 2000 of such wall papers regularly appearing. At the convention of the "Rabkors" prizes were offered for the best specimens of these wall papers. An interesting one was composed by adult workers just learning to read and write. The simple messages composed by these workers just emerging from the darkness of illiteracy were touchingly beautiful.

The Russian railroad workers are very proud of the *Gudok*. And well they may be. It is a magnificent specimen of proletarian journalism, and it is just entering upon an era of much wider development and effectiveness. It is a type which the workers of the world can well study. When it is compared with the pitiful sheets gotten out by the American railroad unions, it stands out as a mountain against a lot of molehills. Speed the day when the railroad men of all countries will be equipped with as splendid intellectual weapons as the Russian *Gudok*.



GROWTH OF RABKOR SYSTEM FROM JUNE, 1923, TO DECEMBER, 1924

ists like Lord Curzon who would object to the truth about Soviet Russia. Having found otherwise they are now striking back at their traducers with right goodwill. In defending themselves they have had to defend Soviet Russia, the Red International of Labor Unions,



NEW TYPE OF RUSSIAN WORKERS' HOME
(From Report of British Trade Union Delegation.)

World Trade Union Unity and to some extent even the Communist International.

It may be beside the point but it appears that these staid British trade union officials have somewhat enjoyed doing this.

It is difficult to say what part of the report has caused the most consternation on the part of the enemies of the working class in England and America. It is full of surprises even for the sophisticated Communist, who finds revolutionary statements couched in language that gives no inkling that the author of them had the least idea of their dynamic character.

It must be painful as the very devil for those who looked for denunciation to find instead a recital of amazing facts followed by conclusions that remind one of the New Republic but which systematically demolish every pet lie and half-truth tenderly nursed by the capitalist, socialist and reactionary trade union press:

For example, we find on Page 17 this "General Conclusion" of the investigations of the Soviet governmental system recorded in the first chapter:

Finally, the delegation is of the opinion that the Soviet system of representation and its scheme of constitutional and civil rights, so far from being undemocratic in the widest sense of the word, gives to the individual a more real and reasonable opportunity of participation in public affairs than does parliamentary and party government. In other respects, such participation is still severely restricted. For the system has as yet been kept under close control by its originators with the tacit consent of an immense majority of their fellow electors. This consent can be accounted for partly by the energy and efficiency with which these leaders carried the country thru one crisis after another, and partly by loyalty to the pioneers of the Revolution. But this permanence in power is a result of past circumstances, not of the present constitution. Under

that constitution there are certainly as great—and possibly greater—possibilities than elsewhere in respect of popular government, political peace, and social progress.

In these few lines the British Trade Union report manages to compliment the Soviet system, the leaders of the revolution and justify the revolution itself—spelt in the original with a capital R. But the highest praise is reserved for the system of government—the Soviet system first seen in the Paris Commune, again in the Russian revolution of 1905, and what we now know to be the living proof of the Marxian theory that the revolution would produce its own state form thru which the dictatorship of the working class would be expressed.

This, let me remind you, is like waving a red flag in front of an Andalusian bull so far as the second internationalists are concerned. Yet the British Trade Union delegation pays it the greatest tribute of which they can conceive. In so many words they say that the possibilities of social progress "are certainly as great—and possibly greater—than elsewhere."

Elsewhere includes the British Isles, so this is praise indeed. It takes a good deal to get this sort of an admission from natives of a nation in which neither king nor nobility ever has been strong enough to rule without the yeomanry.

The Soviet government must be judged by results. This is the premise laid down on Page 3 of the Introduction. We deal here with the remarks of the delegation on this phase of the Russian question because, while in the report itself it is one of the first things taken up, in this article it follows logically after the conclusions already cited.

Another Marxian theory is that of "the withering away of the state" after the seizure and consolidation of power by the proletariat—after the resistance of the capitalist class and all its hangers-on has been smashed to bits.

The British trade unionists noticed this "withering process" which the dictatorship is undergoing, the "withering away" that the social reformists claim can come before the seizure of power and on which they base all their charges that the Communists are anti-Marxian, conspiratorial sectarians, etc.

This is the way the report describes what is happening to the dictatorship as the traces of capitalist power become ever fainter:

A reading of these reports, however, may suggest a conclusion, that is very probably correct, that the control by the Communists of the central authority is not so absolute as is claimed. The present tendency seems to be that the Communist organization is becoming more and more distinct from the Government, more and more a religion—a sort of State Church with an educational function. The governmental organs and the representative system are moving along lines that make their central control by a Communist caucus increasingly difficult. In

other words, recent developments are towards a "democracy" in the sense of a Government based on the expressed approval of the majority of the electorate, not merely on its tacit acceptance. . . . At the same time, the precautions intended to prevent . . . carrying revolution right around into reaction have been very carefully elaborated as a result of constant experiment and have so far been effective. . . . Meantime, the Russian Communists hope that the education of the younger generation into a collectivist creed and a civic conscience instilled with all the fervor of a religion will remove any risk of a relapse into reaction when the present precautions are relaxed."

The dictatorship then is accepted—accepted so well that it begins to lose some of its dictatorial character. "Moving along lines that make control by a Communist caucus increasingly difficult." I can almost hear the debate going on as the cautious compilers of the report discussed this phrase. "Don't you think we should add 'and unnecessary,' old chap?" "No, we don't want to show too bloody much favoritism, do you think?"

Thus they wrote, these very sincere investigators of the greatest event in human history, with the thought of the insular British public always in mind.

They saw both the dictatorship and its "withering away" but they write of the Communists as a religious body and the beginning of Communist society as a tendency towards democracy—these are terms that the British working class, with its tradition of non-conformist preachers as leaders in the earlier struggles of the workers, can understand.

It is only when the report begins to deal with the All-Russian trade unions that the restraint relaxes and the delegates allow themselves to show some solid satisfaction in telling the achievements of the Russian workers in this field.

This portion of the report, relating with patient detail all there is to be said about the Russian unions, from the form of organization down to dues payments, from their study clubs to their political activities and position as the foundation of the Soviet power is probably the most remarkable study of trade unionism ever made. That as their investigation proceeded and the blazing facts presented themselves, the British Trade Union delegates felt a great upsurge of pride in the working class that has built this remarkable organization, cannot be doubted by any one who reads their report.

The facts presented justify the first sentences of the section on the All-Russian trade unions. It says:

A report on the labor conditions in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics must begin by pointing out that in Russia the workers are the ruling class. . . . For unless the reader bears this in mind thruout he will be misled by much in Russian labor conditions that at first sight seem very much the same as with us. Really everything is quite different. . . . No one who grasps this—and the report will, it is hoped, make it plain—will ever be misled by the lies he can read almost daily that the worker in Russia lives a life as limited as, and with even less liberty than, with us. . . . The workers are the ruling class of Russia, They enjoy the rights



YOUNG COMMUNISTS DRILLING ON THE RED SQUARE



PROTEST DEMONSTRATION BEFORE POLISH EMBASSY AT WASHINGTON

Communism on the Streets of America

By Earl R. Browder

DURING the month of March the revolutionary workers of the United States carried on three political campaigns of international significance. These were, first, the demonstrations against Abramovich, the agent of counter-revolution and the Second International, and in favor of Soviet Russia; second, the campaign to protest against the white terror in Poland and against the threatened execution of the Communist member of parliament, Lanzutsky; third, the memorial meetings on the death of Sun Yat Sen, and the fraternizing of the American and Chinese workers. All of these campaigns and demonstrations were highly successful, engaging tens of thousands of workers, and demanding the attention of a great many more. All of them dramatized, for the understanding of the most backward workers, the close interconnection of international political issues with the immediate bread-and-butter issues of the working class in America. All of them demonstrated the leadership of the Communist International in the world-wide struggle against capitalist exploitation of the working class and the oppressed peoples.

The Campaign Against Abramovich.

Two days after Abramovich landed in New York from the steamship Mauretania, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party issued a statement ex-

posing his mission in the United States, which was to mobilize sentiment against Soviet Russia by means of lies and slanders, to help obstruct the great world-unity movement of the trade unions now being led by the British and Russian trade unions, and to collect funds to carry on the fight against the first workers' government, Soviet Russia. The Workers Party called upon the working class to demonstrate its disapproval and anger at the dastardly work of counter-revolution of which Abramovich was the symbol.

The response to the statement of the Workers Party was instant and decisive. Within 24 hours a thousand workers in New York City had thrown back the lies of Abramovich into his face in the New Star Casino meeting, in a memorable demonstration of solidarity with Soviet Russia. In city after city, from New York to San Francisco and up into Canada, the workers everywhere demonstrated their resentment at the slanders and attacks against Russia. The itinerary of Abramovich became, instead of his desired mobilization of the anti-Soviet forces, a living, flaming demonstration of international proletarian solidarity.

In the course of these demonstrations the workers who engaged in them (and there were thousands), received many political lessons. Not the least of these was the spectacle of the alliance between Abramovich, his "socialist" backers,

international and inter-racial unity of the proletariat and the oppressed masses. In this world-campaign for a common front against world imperialism, we in America also took part, again demonstrating the growing consciousness and maturity of the American revolutionary movement and working class.

To the Central Committee of the Kuomintang (Nationalist revolutionary party) in Peking, the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party sent the following cable:

"Workers (Communist) Party of America in name of conscious proletarians and poor farmers sends condolences to toiling masses of China on death of great leader Sun Yat Sen. We pledge co-operation in continuance his great work for freedom of Chinese people from yoke of imperialism."

...Joint memorial meetings of workers of all races, Eastern and Western, were held throughout America, from New York to Seattle. Chinese, Japanese, Hindu and Negro, joined with the native American, German, Italian, Finnish, Jewish, Slavic and other workers in doing honor to the departed leader of the anti-imperialist struggle. It was the first extended fraternization of all these races that has taken place in America. This historic campaign was initiated and carried through under the leadership of the Communist International which is achieving the same process of unification of the oppressed masses all over the world.

Masses in America Stir.

There are two facts of great importance that emerge from the events of these three campaigns: first, the revolutionary movement in the United States is at last united, not only ideologically and in theory, but organically and in flesh, blood and action, with the international working class and with the oppressed peoples. Second, this unity, sealed in

common action and made clear to the masses through the public demonstrations, has stirred the American workers politically more deeply than has ever been done before. The political activity of the American movement has stepped out into the streets of America and commanded the support of mass sentiment of the working class.

These events here briefly reviewed took place with a background of unprecedented ferment within the masses of the American workers. They crystallized out of the struggle against capitalism in America, a struggle which is making clear to American workers, that it is not a battle within national boundaries, but that it is an international struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples against the monster of capitalist imperialism. This background of the American struggle, showing such mass movements as the officially recorded vote in the United Mine Workers' election, where Communist candidates were credited with more than one-third of the vote in a union of a half a million members; the heroic struggle of the Nova Scotia miners; the unprecedented polling of thousands of left wing votes in the carpenters' election, and the successful mass struggle against expulsions in that union; the national campaign in the machinists' union by the left wing; the battles in the textile industry; the great mass struggles of the needle trades workers against the employers and against the collaboration of their officials with the bosses—this background gives us the assurance that the active internationalism being shown by the American workers has deep roots. We have become a living, breathing, acting part of the body of the international working class, stirring and affecting in turn the still dormant masses of the working class in America.

Into the lives of the workers of the United States, there has been carried, with a richer and deeper significance than ever before, the glorious slogan: "Workers of the world, unite!"



DUNNE ADDRESSING CROWD OUTSIDE GARRICK THEATRE, CHICAGO, AFTER SOVIET SYMPATHIZERS HAD BEEN EJECTED FROM ABRAMOVICH MEETING BY POLICE

working class, and the eyes of world labor were on America.

* * * *

It should be remembered that the American Federation of Labor requested the International Labor Congress, meeting at Paris in 1889, to adopt the First of May as an anniversary to celebrate the victories of the Eight-Hour movement.

It should likewise be remembered that the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. was slowly strangling the militant spirit of the American unions.

* * * *

The officialdom dared not, at first, make a frontal attack on May Day and the Eight-Hour movement. But it began by limiting the May Day strike for Eight Hours to the

It was also enough for the capitalists to profit by in substitution for the day they feared and dreaded as a symbol of revolt, May Day. The American capitalist congress made common cause with the union bureaucracy and in 1894 made the First Monday in September a nice respectable "Labor Day"—a legal holiday.

All efforts within the Federation to repudiate this corruption of Labor Day by giving May Day and not the first Monday of September the approval of organized labor as its own Labor Day, failed. May Day was condemned by the bureaucracy as "European," "foreign" and "socialistic."

* * * *

How well the perversion of Labor Day has succeeded



MAY DAY ON THE RED SQUARE

Carpenters alone in 1890. Then, after the A. F. of L. had, in 1894, started a movement to repeat the struggle of the 80's and demand a universal strike for Eight Hours on May Day, 1896, the Gompers' group defeated the whole program and had the plan revoked. Thus was the fighting spirit and the definite aspiration of the American workers for shorter hours betrayed and murdered by the treacherous leadership of the American unions—the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie.

* * * *

But this did not complete the infamy of the class collaborationist union officialdom headed by Gompers. He continuously opposed any observance of May Day as International Labor Day, and profited by the fact that the old Federation had, in 1884, declared the first Monday in September as Labor Day. That day was "enough" for Gompers.

may be seen by observation of the class collaboration between the union bureaucrats and the capitalist government and its supporters at any Labor Day of recent years. It is sickening to the point of revulsion.

Examine, for instance, the Labor Day celebrated on September 1, last year—1924—by the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City.

The Council had "a committee of citizens outside of the labor movement" to co-operate with its own committee. The secretary of the Council invited President Coolidge to speak at the celebration, which was held at Fort Hamilton. He was busy receiving John L. Lewis and the heads of some railroad brotherhoods that day, but sent a message by carrier pigeon.

The celebration began with an airplane bombing attack engaging field artillery and anti-aircraft guns under the com-

Coke Miners in Revolt

By Arne Swabeck

"STRIKE!"—"Refuse to accept the wage cut."—The call went from camp to camp in many tongues and the miners in the heart of the coke region between Uniontown and Brownsville, Pennsylvania, dropped pick and shovel and came out from pit and shaft on Monday, March 16th, unorganized but ready to fight the wage cut. The coal operators had already prepared their battle lines.

Notices of this wage cut were posted by the W. J. Raney Coal and Coke company, the Hillman company and the Oliver Snyder Steel company in all their mines in this territory on March 14th, and the next few days the strike spread. At the Oliver camps it took about a thousand leaflets, "Strike Against Wage Cuts," well distributed by a few militant miners, but they come out to a man. Although the H. C. Frick company, the largest operator in the coke region, still maintained the old scale, the wage cuts made by the others mark one additional part of the encircling onslaught now being prepared; hitting heaviest in the unorganized fields and drawing constantly nearer to the central competitive field, the stronghold of the United Mine Workers Union. The coke miners have formerly borne the brunt of such attacks and experienced the class struggle in all its grim realities.

Almost everything within the coke region is company-owned. The soil with its wealth below the surface, the camps, buildings and all, on the lower slants of these black hills, the stores and supply depots are company-owned. During strikes the companies assume control over the public highways and decide who may pass. Naturally the few small so-called independent towns which have grown up where a number of camps are closely concentrated, are completely in the hands of the companies, politically and otherwise.

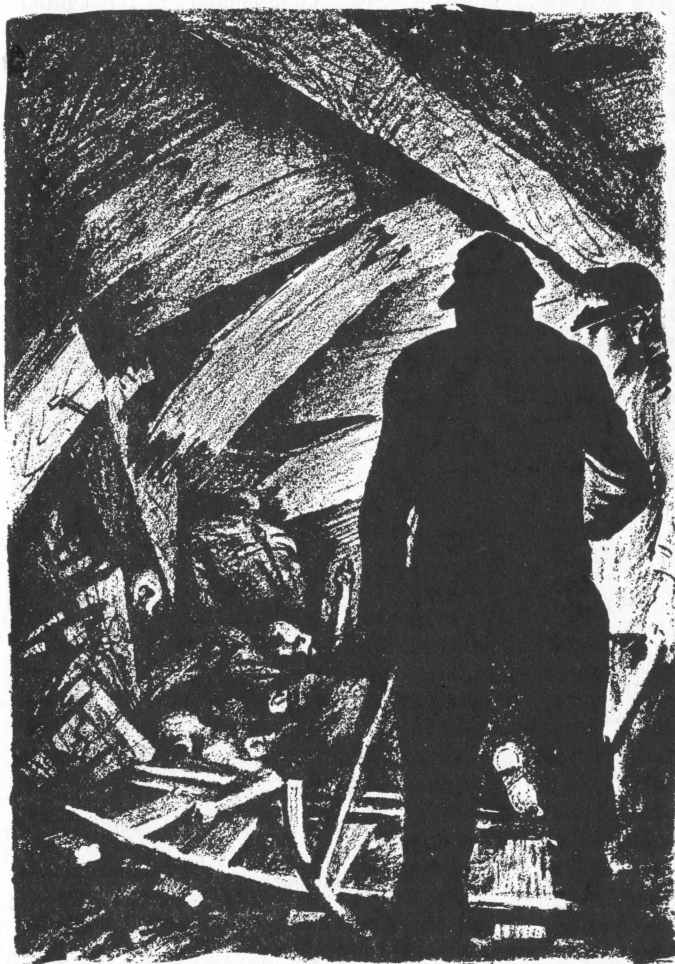
This iron-controlled field produces a high grade coke, supplying all the mills around Pittsburgh which crowd the banks for miles of the Ohio, Monongahela and Allegheny rivers. Between the hills lie dotted numerous of the old type bee-hive coke ovens, stretching their low-built structure for blocks with the rows of open fires resembling miniature open-hearth steel furnaces. Daily these ovens belch out smoke blackening everything in sight, while during night hours the radiant, flickering glare pierces the sky. The whole of this Fayette County coke region seems to have become accustomed to the conditions under which the miners live here, almost completely at the mercy of the operators. The company sets the price for their labor and sets the price for their necessities of life. It owns the homes in which they live and controls the form of education and amusement which they may enjoy. It demands that each applicant for a job in the mines or at the ovens undergo a physical examination to make sure that the buying of the labor power becomes a profitable investment. If any limbs are weak it is discounted at future possible claims for accident compensation.

Every company maintains an up-to-date blacklist system. Once a miner gets his name on the list his jobs will last just about as long as it takes to thoroughly compare records. In this manner one of the militants in this strike was kicked out of the mines eight times during a short period

last year. Firmly to solidify its control, each company has its own police force of deputized plug-uglies who are kept well supplied with arms and ammunition from its own store room in the office. Yet these miners have made many brilliant fights in the past. This soil, with applied labor power, not only produces coke but it also produces militancy and revolutionary ideas.

Strikers' Families Evicted.

When the miners went on strike in refusal to accept the wage cut the operators prepared for action. The "yellow dog deputies," the popular name for the coal and iron police maintained by the companies at the royal salary of \$3.00 per day, were posted at the mines, the ovens, the camps, and took possession of the highways, questioning anybody whom they thought suspicious. Following the usual ruthless policy and



MINER — CLEANING UP AFTER ACCIDENT: DOWN HERE WE'VE GOT TO KEEP ON CLEANING UP THE WHOLE GOD DAMNED TIME—UP THERE WE'D ONLY HAVE TO CLEAN UP ONCE.

the Lewis machine and labeled dual union, destructive, and so forth.

As the struggle went on, the coke miners completely lost faith in this whole machine. On several occasions they asked, through their established locals, that they be given a District charter and permitted to elect their own administration. But their requests were promptly rejected and they were kept under provisional government with an appointed member of the family of bureaucrats in charge.

In proof of how much these rank and file coke miners recognize the need of organization, at a monster mass meeting held on Labor Day, 1922, at Uniontown, Pa., they proposed to go back to work on whatever terms obtainable, and thus keep their organization intact, if sufficient funds were not available to continue the strike. But they were told to carry on and promised relief. So it went on until the betrayal was completed and the strike officially called off at the New Salem conference held January 18th, 1923, which was composed of officials appointed for the coke field, and officials representing the union. Still living in tents during the bitter cold winter, suffering repression and persecution, it took nearly three months before the coke miners finally surrendered. Their organization blew to the winds, and thus a splendid fight was turned into a dismal defeat through treasonable leadership.

While the experiences have been bitter, the lessons learned by the 45,000 coke miners have been valuable. Those who go among them say that they are as ready to organize as ever. Once again during this last strike they proposed to John L. Lewis that they be granted a District charter, but on the condition that they elect their own administration and support their own organizers. Once again it will receive the same fate as the former requests made. John L. Lewis will not consent to this field being organized unless he can control it through his own appointees.

The Parasite

I'm a happy-go-lucky son of a reckless brood:
Painter of smoke stacks, steeples, flag poles and sky-scraping cornices.
Give me a piece of rope and I'll climb to God-knows-where,
and dance a sailor's hornpipe a' top of it;
For I'm at home where the eagle soars, where the aeroplanes
purr and zoom.
Guess my thoughts as I clutch for dear life any windy after-
noon.
Here they are: "Stick it out old kid, you got to bring home
the bacon."
I never think of falling
Till I'm on my way.
One Blue Monday I fell a hundred feet, struck three roofs on
the way down, and landed neck deep in a pile of coal.
I dug myself out and walked home with this thought in mind:
"I'm off that Hungarian bootlegger for life."

Communists Work for Shop Committees.

Undaunted by these obstacles the militants, the Communists, are working diligently to crystallize the sentiment for organization. Smarting under the effects of this new wage cut, the coke miners have become willing listeners. The organization of shop committees as applied to the mines is being proposed, and here is how it is being explained by the militants.

All grievances arise in the mines, that is where the struggle takes place, and it is also where the working class forces must be united and organization begin. Each mine is naturally divided into various sections. Where the main entry is driven into the mine from shaft to shaft, crossing the coal vein, the butt entries branch out into the vein itself with the rooms laid out in which the miners dig the coal. Each such butt entry constitutes a section. Under the mine (shop) committee organization each of these sections would elect its own delegate, the committee thus becoming the direct representative of the men, responsive to their needs, expressive of their desires and responsible to them. All actions of the mine committee would be reported back directly to the men for them to act upon and easily understood by them, and thus the most close and intimate connection would be established. These mine committees would become the basic instrument of the power of the workers, controlled by them, increasing their militancy, solidarity and confidence in their ability to meet the struggle. The next development would necessarily be to connect these committees within each section of closely located mines and throughout the whole territory. The preliminary organization for the establishment of the union in the coke region would be brought into life and become the basis of the union once it was created.

The Communists are organizing shop nuclei and taking the leadership in forging ahead toward the complete organization of the coke miners to prepare them for the coming struggle.



READING ROOM IN RUSSIAN TRADE UNION BUILDING.

The Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League

By Manuel Gomez

LATIN America is imperial domain. Whether the United States or Great Britain shall exercise dominion over it is a matter that is still being fought out in the ceaseless struggle for oil, minerals, investment areas and markets. With astonishing ease, American capitalists are displacing their rivals from one stronghold after another. Wall Street, with half the gold of the world at its command, is conquering ever wider markets—nor are these markets being subdued by gold alone. Wall Street also sends troops, who conquer territory by the simple process of assault and occupation.

The correlation of forces is admirably expressed in the Monroe Doctrine, which, it should be remembered, is now something more than American foreign policy, having achieved for itself practically the status of international law. The unmistakable import of the Monroe Doctrine today is American protectorate over Latin America.

And what of the Latin Americans? What of the peoples whose countries are the objects of American imperialism, whose citizens are ordered about by U. S. marines and whose workers produce the wealth which goes to swell the treasure house of Wall Street?—their hatred for the “protecting” government needs no elaboration here. It is traditional. They look upon the sanctimonious invader as an enemy that must be driven out at all costs.

But they are weak and disunited. Hitherto American imperialism has been able to work its will on one Latin American country after another—Cuba, Nicaragua, Honduras, Panama, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Bolivia, Peru, Mexico—in isolated fashion, without experiencing any hostile action on the part of the nations not immediately involved. All of Latin America has long had a strong sense of natural Latin American solidarity but up to the present no unifying medium has existed to coin this solidarity into effective results for the struggle against imperialism.

To accomplish this purpose, to give international leadership to the struggle against imperialism in the west, the Pan American Anti-Imperialist League was created. The Pan American Anti-Imperialist League will carry on the fight for the complete emancipation of the peoples of the western hemisphere. It has issued a manifesto expressing its fraternal kinship with every organized force fighting imperialism anywhere in the world.

The League represents the linking up of the struggles for national liberation with the movement of the revolutionary proletariat. It was organized through the joint efforts of the Workers (Communist) Party of America and the Communist Party of Mexico. The basis for it was laid during the visit to Mexico of J. W. Johnstone in December, 1924.

Affiliations have been received from political parties, trade unions, peasant leagues, groups of students, patriotic societies. Every element ready to join in the fight against Wall Street has a place in the P. A. A. I. L. The League aims at crystallizing the forces of resistance to imperialism from Alaska to Cape Horn.

Certainly the most significant thing about this alignment is that it includes the Workers (Communist) Party of Ameri-



COVER DESIGN OF "EL LIBERTADOR"

ca, giving it a determined fighting force, however small at this time, in the very home country of American imperialism. And the Communists express the interests of the American working class as a whole. Unreasoning and unclear though it sometimes may be, there exists among the workers of this country an undoubted sentiment against imperialistic ventures abroad, and whenever they have had an opportunity to register their opinions on the question of imperialism they have answered loudly in the negative. The American workers are natural allies of all exploited peoples fighting to throw off the domination of Wall Street.

Of what interest is it to American workers to combat American imperialism? It is of interest because the imperialists are the same financial oligarchy that exploits American labor at home.

American imperialism makes use of foreign cheap labor to force down the standard of living of the working class at home. Through imperialist control of the system of contract labor, or “engancho,” a steady stream of scabs is brought into this country to break strikes, the Mexicans or Cubans who are imported, being kept in complete ignorance of the purpose of their importation.

By means of imperialism Wall Street is enabled to draw renewed strength from its investments abroad to continue its parasitic rule; in fact, if it were not for this outlet for its surplus capital American capitalism would soon collapse of

The Death of Sun Yat Sen

By G. Zinoviev

THE death of the leader of the Chinese revolution compels every class-conscious proletarian once again to ponder over the fate of the great national revolutionary movements which are growing and spreading before our eyes.

"Four hundred million backward Asiatics have attained freedom and awakened to political life. A fourth of the population of the globe has, so to speak, awakened from its torpor and is going forward to the light, to movement and to struggle." So wrote Lenin in November 1912. Nevertheless, these four hundred million Asiatics have had, and still have, to do not a little fighting for their freedom and independence which is threatened in an increasingly brutal manner by western imperialism.

Sun Yat Sen will go down to history as the greatest figure of a leader of the national revolutionary movements of the East in the first quarter of the twentieth century. He was neither a Communist nor a Marxist. His program—"nationalism, democracy, socialism"—bore all the signs of the backwardness of the social conditions of China. He tentatively sought his way, but he hated with a righteous hate the imperialists who had subjugated his native country. He devoted his life fully and entirely to his people, and what is more important, in the last years of his life he perceived more and more clearly that the suppressed peoples can only emancipate themselves and create the pre-conditions for a new life in close alliance with the world proletariat.

Sun Yat Sen was not a Ghandi, the leader of the moderate wing of the nationalists of India. Ghandi, during the last few years, has developed more and more along a **descending** line. To the brutalities of the English imperialists, Ghandi replied with—a thirty days fast. The incapacity of those groups which are led by Ghandi will unavoidably lead to their coming to an understanding with the imperialist suppressors, which is tantamount to a surrender.

Not so Sun Yat Sen. During the last years of his life in particular he developed along an **ascending** line. A few



SUN YAT SEN.

months ago the Kuomintang Party, which was led by Sun Yat Sen, found itself at the cross roads, in connection with the new attack against Southern China. Sun Yat Sen showed sufficient strength to break decisively and ruthlessly with the counter-revolutionary fascist groups (the so-called tigers). He succeeded in encouraging his followers to take up a decisive defensive struggle against the hirelings of imperialism and against the hesitating elements in their own ranks. He thereby saved the honor of the Kuomintang Party and showed to what heights the national revolutionary movement in China had already risen.

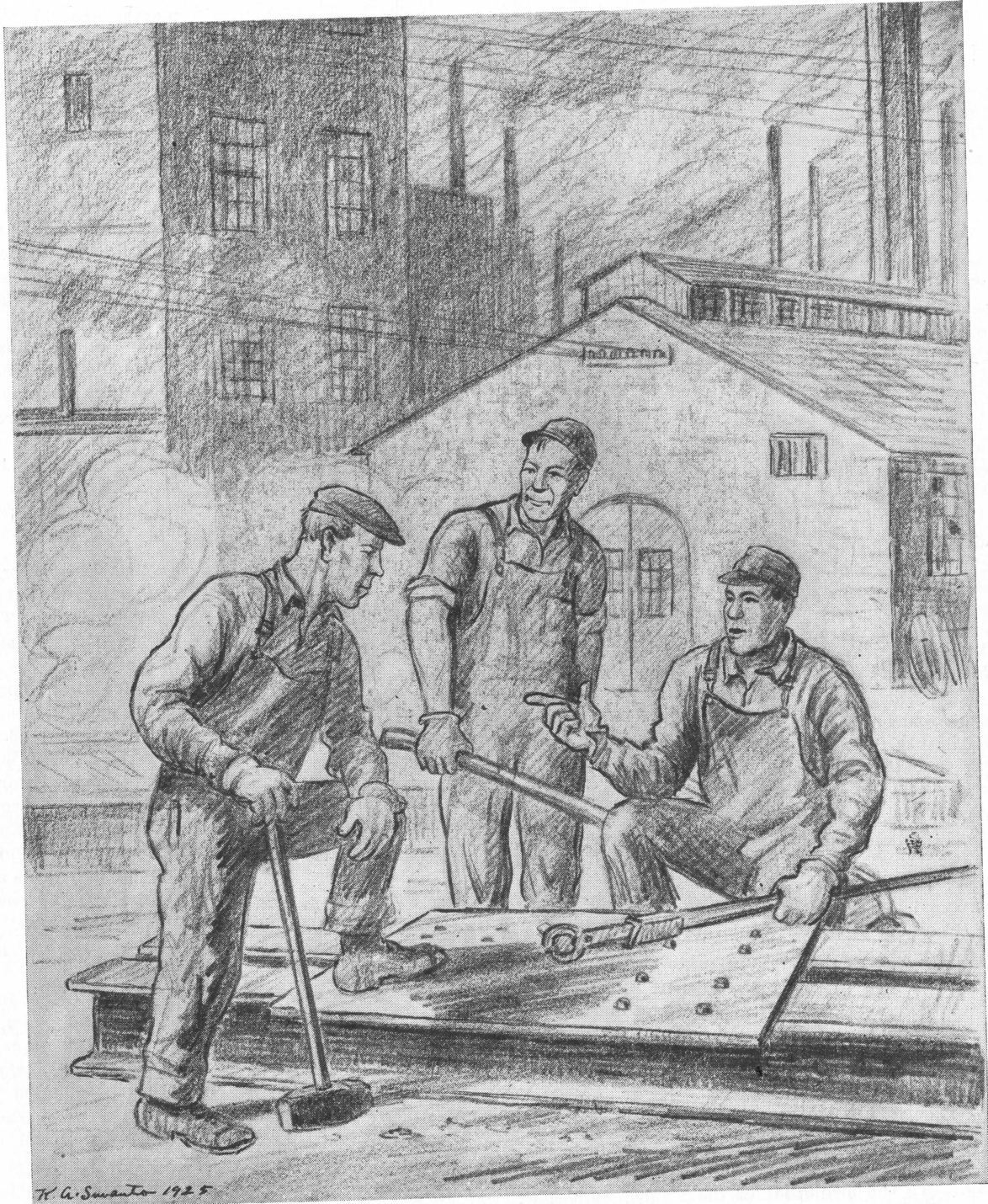
"In Asia a powerful democratic movement is growing and spreading. There the bourgeoisie still sides with the people against reaction. Hundreds of millions of men are awakening to life, to light, and to freedom. What joy this world movement awakes in the hearts of all class-conscious workers... And "advanced" Europe? It is plundering China and helping the enemies of democracy, the enemies of freedom in China."

So wrote Lenin in an article in May, 1913, entitled: "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia."

This title of the article by Comrade Lenin is highly characteristic. In advanced Europe there appears as the advanced class **only** the proletariat, said Comrade Lenin, but the bourgeoisie is prepared for all cruelties, crimes and bestialities in order to maintain declining capitalist slavery.

A few week ago there died Frederick Ebert, the President of the German Republic, a former worker and a leader of German social democracy. Involuntary, one is led to draw a comparison between Sun Yat Sen and Ebert. Ebert was characteristic of that upper section of the European working class which has come completely under the influence of the bourgeoisie. To compare the names of Sun Yat Sen and Ebert is to confirm the words of Comrade Lenin regarding the backwardness of Europe and the advanced state of Asia at the present time. In our time, throughout the whole of Europe, there is not only the bourge-

(Continued on page 331.)



K. A. Suvanto.

SHOP NUCLEUS.
(From Vappu).



STUDENTS OF WORKERS PARTY SCHOOL

A Communist always has a lot of talking to do. Inside and outside of his party the Communist must be prepared to make speeches on the most varied number of subjects and under the most varied conditions. We are taught not merely public speaking, but Communist public speaking. Begin well and slowly, speak deliberately, say something, know when to stop and stop, are the precepts. But that isn't all. A Communist has a way of his own. We learn what that way is.

Such, briefly, is the curriculum of a Communist intensive training school. At least it was the curriculum of the one we are talking about. If the description were less brief it would still give you but an inadequate idea of its comprehensiveness. It is absolutely surprising how much information was crowded into the two weeks of the school. Let us admit that the students were a little jaded on the fourteenth day; let us admit that much must have passed a good many by; one thing is certain, those workers went back home ten times better fitted as working class fighters, as Communists and as revolutionary leaders than they were before they came.

experiences in the struggle, only to clarify it and to make it a better and more efficient instrument of working class leadership.

We come now to the concrete business of party functioning and organization. What is the role of the party? How is it constructed? What are the duties of its members and officers? These questions are answered in detail. The functions and tactics of a Communist Party in action constitute no simple problem of two times two. It is a complicated business. But the unity of purpose of that business serves to blend all its many ramifications into a centralized whole.

No one is being fooled. Two weeks is a short time. The students were not geniuses, the faculty were not Lenins and Bucharins. No one expected to turn out full-fledged Radeks. But it was a beginning. It was a beginning in practical and systematic training of captains and generals for the class-war in America. Lord knows they are needed badly enough. We are satisfied if we have made corporals and sergeants of them. There will be more such schools.



TYPE OF COMMUNIST MOTOR TRUCK DEMONSTRATION FOR THALMANN, COMMUNIST CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF GERMAN REPUBLIC
(Sign on truck reads: The Ebert-Republic has imprisoned 700 workers—Do you want to free them? Then vote for Thalmann)



Demonstration of Communist Women in the Streets of Berlin for Thälmann, Transport Worker, Leader of the Hamburg Insurrection, Organizer of the "Fighters of the Red Front of Hamburg," Communist Candidate for President of Germany.

Thousands of Workers Went on Strike on the Day of the Funeral of the Halle Victims, and Held a Great Demonstration Before the Grave of Their Comrades.



The Slaughter of Workers in Halle

A Prelude to the Presidential Elections

By Peter Maslovsky

THE C. P. of Germany arranged its first meeting in the presidential election campaign for Friday, March 15th, in the "red heart of Germany," in Halle. The meeting was held in the "Volkspark," the historical place where in 1921, the majority of the Independent Socialist Party, after hearing the speech of Comrade Zinoviev, decided for Moscow. Huge masses such as had never been seen before in the Volkspark attended the meeting: workers, clerks, officials, even members of the bourgeoisie, who were obviously present in order to enjoy the sensation of hearing the "Red President" speak. In addition to this there was an enormous overflow meeting in the garden of the Volkspark. At least 10,000 people were present.

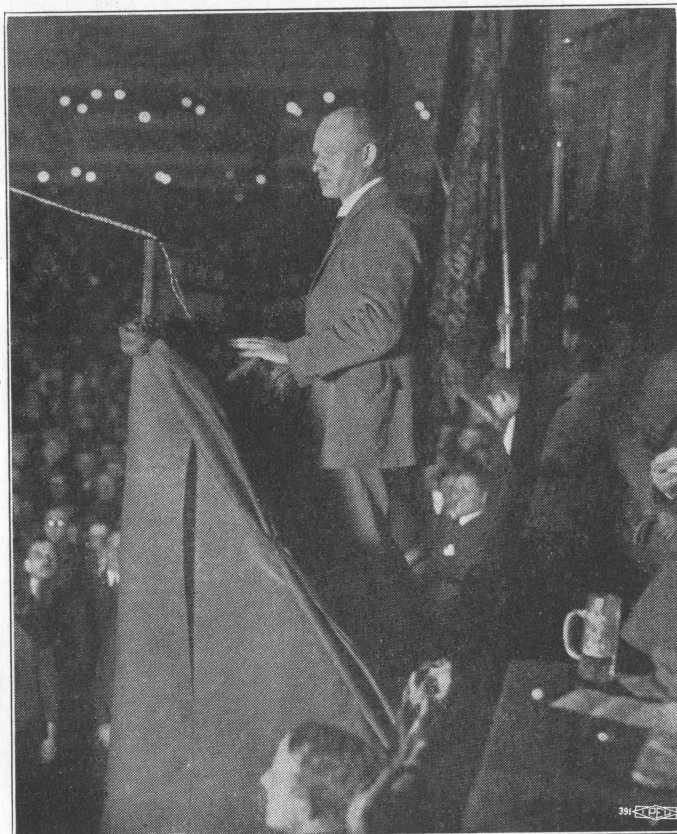
The social democratic police president Runge had, from the commencement, handed over the leadership of the police action against the C. P. of Germany, obviously planned beforehand, to the notorious police blood-hound, Lieutenant Pietzker. Although foreigners have spoken at all sorts of demonstrations of the black-red-gold parties, the police, as they could not very well forbid the election meeting, used the announcement of a French and an English speaker as a pretext for sending a heavily armed force into the meeting hall itself, in addition to placing a strong guard at the entrances. The two foreign comrades, who spoke in the name of the French and English proletariat respectively, were allowed to express sympathy with the red candidate for the presidential election, Thalmann, in their own language, without interference.

It was only when the chairman of the meeting announced Comrade Thalmann—who was greeted with loud cries of "Long live the Red President"—as the speaker, and even before the speeches of our two foreign comrades had been translated, that Lieutenant Pietzker suddenly sprang on to the table and forbade the meeting, while at the same time he flourished a revolver in the air like one possessed. The chairman immediately endeavored to calm the meeting. He offered to close the meeting in perfect order if the chief of the police would withdraw his men, who were already standing with drawn truncheons, revolvers and machine-guns ready to attack. The chief of police, who according to sworn witnesses had already before the commencement of the meeting spoken of "breaking up the meeting" and had also said that "something will happen today," threatened to shoot the chairman immediately. And as the crowd, which were tremendously excited, naturally broke out into cries of protest, he gave the order to fire.

About fifty to sixty shots from machine-guns and revolvers were fired into the dense crowd of people who were trying to escape. A fearful panic arose. The masses made for the exits which were too narrow for such a crowd. The rail of a staircase proved too weak to stand the pressure of such a weight of fleeing humanity. Although made of iron

it bent like lead and broke. Men and women, one after another came crashing down below.

Then deaths are to be recorded up to the present, among them being two women, and forty wounded. After the shooting the police behaved like beasts. People who came to inquire after their wounded relatives were driven from the hall with truncheons. Members of the Workers' First Aid Corps were also beaten. A policeman who broke into tears when proletarian women called "murderer" after him, and swore that he had not taken part in the shooting, was discharged by Runge.



COMRADE THALMANN SPEAKING TO 20,000 BERLIN WORKERS, MARCH 27.

The indignation in Halle and throughout all Germany is enormous. On Sunday, twenty-four hours after the outrage, demonstrations were arranged by the C. P. of Germany in all parts of the country. In Halle this protest demonstration was more strongly attended than the Thalmann meeting at which the massacre took place. At least 12,000 people attended. At the conclusion of the meetings the masses demonstrated before the police presidium crying: "Down with the murderers!" In view of the enormous masses, the tre-



WORKERS COVER COFFINS OF HALLE VICTIMS WITH RED FLAGS AND HUGE MOUND OF CRIMSON BLOSSOMS.

mendous excitement and the revolutionary mood the police did not venture to disturb these meetings.

Meanwhile a factory council meeting in Halle demanded the removal of the Police President Runge, the arrest and punishment of the murderer Pietzker, the maintenance of the dependents of the victims, the burial of the victims from public funds, ample compensation for the wounded and the complete withdrawal of the police from all workers' meetings. A committee consisting of five members of factory councils of the five greatest factories in Halle, among them a social democratic worker, constituted itself as a workers' committee of investigation.

The Communist fractions in the Reichstag and Prussian Landtag demanded that measures be taken against all officials connected with the massacre, and repeated the demands of the factory councils. The dismissal of Runge has already been forced through.

On the day of the funeral of the Halle victims tens of thousands struck work in the shops of the city. An immense crowd of workers, bearing red banners, accompanied the coffins, red-draped and heaped with crimson blossoms, to the cemetery, where a great demonstration was held despite the efforts of the social-democratic police.

Even in the bloody post-revolutionary history of Germany the Halle massacre is unique as regards its brutality, baseness and cynical blood-lust. That workers are shot down at demonstrations or in open struggles, that has up to now been part of the order of the day. But that unarmed working men and women who attend a perfectly legal election meeting, should be shot down like dogs in a closed room, that exceeds

even the Noske terror.

But the brutality of the massacre is surpassed by the profound baseness with which the bourgeois and before all the social democratic press are seeking to deceive the public regarding the massacre of Halle. According to these lying reports, it was the participants at the meeting who fired first. This lie is so absurd that it can only be attributed to the bad conscience and the fear of the murderers and of their social democratic supporters. The ten dead and 2 severely wounded were all participants at the meeting. If however, as the bourgeois and social democratic press report, there was shooting on both sides, then it is very remarkable that not a single police officer received any injury.

This palpable fraud on the part of the enemies of labor is having an effect favorable to the Communists, upon the indifferent masses as well as upon the social democratic workers, many of whom were present at the Thalmann meeting and saw with their own eyes what took place.

It is not a mere chance that the murderers selected the first demonstration on behalf of the Communist candidate in order to carry out a massacre. The social democratic police president Runge and the social democratic provincial governor of Halle, Grutzner, wished to furnish a fresh testimonial as to their reliability for the bourgeoisie in view of their threatened "dismissal." But this time the case is too monstrous. The murder will recoil on their own heads: the German workers recognize in the murders of Halle all the more clearly the nature of the fascist republic which is draped with the black-red-gold colors. The murder gang have shown to the proletarians the necessity of the united class front.

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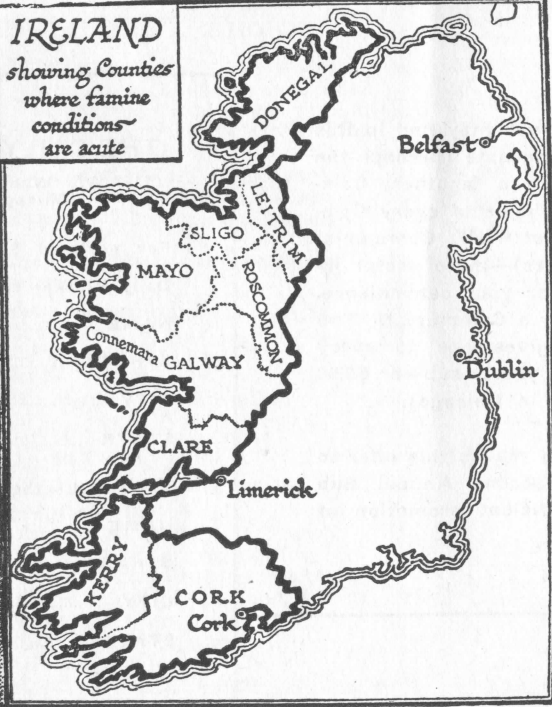
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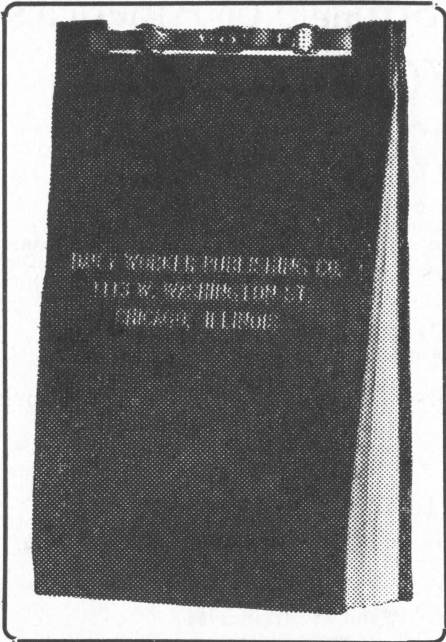
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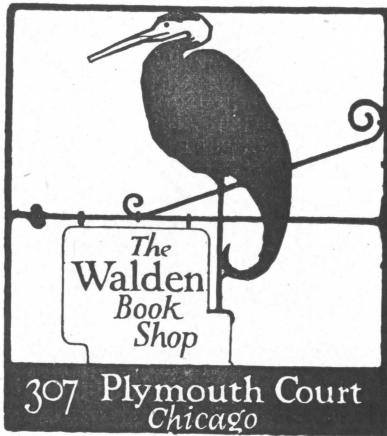
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