

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

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The All-Russian Trade Union Council Supports the Decision of the Anglo-Russian Conference

ON the 30th of April there was held in Moscow an extraordinary session of the plenum of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council. The first item on the agenda was the report on the international activity of the All-Russian Trade Union Council and on the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference.

The chairman, Comrade Tomsky, pointed out in his opening speech that the extraordinary session had to be convened, because the interests of the international labor movement demand the most rapid furtherance of those modest successes which we attained at the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Conference. The general council of the British trade unions has already confirmed the decision of the Anglo-Russian conference. In order to be able to publish a number of documents which were accepted at this conference, the sanction of the trade unions is necessary.

After welcoming the delegation of English women trade unionists, and after a detailed report by Comrade Tomsky, which was followed by a long debate, the plenum unanimously adopted the following:

Resolution on the Report of Comrade Tomsky on the Work of the Anglo-Russian Conference

THE Sixth Trade Union Congress of the Soviet Union expressed the firm will to unity on the part of the trade union organizations of the Soviet Union expressed the firm will to unity on the part of the trade union organizations of the Soviet Union, and of the workers organized in the same.

The plenum approves the actions of the presidium of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council, which were directed towards carrying out the instructions of the Sixth Congress for establishing definite mutual relations with the Amsterdam International, in order, by a mutual pronouncement regarding a conference which should be

convened by representatives of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council and by the Amsterdam International, without any restrictive preconditions, to discuss in a comprehensive manner the problem of the unity of the whole international trade union movement.

The plenum of the All-Russian Trade Union Council declares at the same time, that the presidium of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council in its campaign, did not find the necessary, sincere desire on the part of the Amsterdam International to meet its proposal half-way.

FURTHER! The last plenary session of the general council of the Amsterdam International, by rejecting the appropriate proposal of the representatives of the general council of the British Trade Union Congress, and by adopting the evasive diplomatic resolution of Steenhuis, gives ground for the assumption that the majority of the general council of the Amsterdam International, in fact not only do not desire the unity of the international trade union movement, but intentionally avoid any co-operation with the trade unions of the Soviet Union. In spite of this the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council still stands by its first position, and is prepared to enter into a joint conference with Amsterdam regarding the question of international trade union unity.

The plenum of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council therefore records with special satisfaction, as a result of the establishment and strengthening of brotherly connections between the trade union movements of the Soviet Union and of Great Britain, an undoubted success for the cause of unity.

These brotherly relations, which have arisen as a result of the recognition of the necessity of realizing the unity of the international trade union movement by the trade union movement of both countries, in the interest of the victory of the class struggle of the proletariat, found its clearest and fullest expression at the conference of the representatives of the trade union movement of Great Britain and of the

Soviet Union which took place in London from the 6th to the 9th of April, 1925.

THE plenum of the All-Russian Trade Union Council approves the declaration of the All-Russian Trade Union Council approves the declaration of the British delegation at this conference and the declaration in reply to the delegation of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council and regards the unanimous acceptance of the joint declaration by the conference, which represented more than 1 million organized proletarians, as one of the most important and greatest successes of the cause of unity.

The plenum in applying this joint declaration, both in its general section as well in that part regarding mutual help and connections, which is fully in accordance with the desire expressed by the Sixth Trade Union Congress of the Soviet Union, instructs the presidium of the All-Russian Trade Union Council to strengthen with all possible means the brotherly connections which have been established between the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union and of Great Britain, the most important measures of which regarding the international trade union movement are to be harmonized by an organ specially created for that purpose.

The plenum fully and entirely approves the activity of the presidium and its delegation at the Anglo-Russian conference and instructs the presidium to fight just as steadfastly in the future for the cause of the establishment of the unity of the international trade union movement by the creation of a united trade union international, as it has already done up to now in complete agreement with the general line of the Red International of Labor Unions.

THE plenum of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council resolves:

(a) To elect a commission of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council for foreign relations, consisting of twelve members, among them the chairman and the secretary of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council.

(b) To elect our representatives to the joint advisory council of the trade

union movement of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union, consisting of the chairman, the secretary of the All-Russian Trade Union Council and of three members.

(c) To proceed to the election at this session.

(d) To entrust the commission of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council for foreign relations with the drawing up of the reply to the Amsterdam International, in accordance with the work of the conference of the trade unions of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union and of the decisions of this session of the plenum of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council.

THE plenum of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council is convinced that the joint advisory council of the trade union movement of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union will, in spite of the complexity and difficulty of the task with which we are confronted, adopt and firmly carry out the measures which are necessary for realizing the cause of the unity of the international trade union movement. The plenum is equally convinced that the many millions of workers, not only in Great Britain and in the Soviet Union, but also of other countries, and all those desirous of unity, will by their solidarity and by their struggle, support the cause which has been taken up by the trade unions of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union thru their joint advisory council.

Long live the unity of the International Trade Union Movement, which guarantees the victory of the proletariat!

The plenum unanimously elected the following commission of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council for foreign relations:

Comrades: Tomsky, Dogadov, Melnichansky, Andreyev, Lepse, Lozovsky, Figtatner, Michailov, Glebor, Chernicheva, Schwarz and Kutusov. The plenum thereupon elected the following five representatives to the joint advisory council of the trade union movement of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union:

Comrades: Tomsky, Dogadov, Melnichansky, Andreyev and Lepse.

The Job Hunters of Gary

By Henry Victor

HAVE you not, some of you, readers been lured by fairy stories in your childhood? Have you not been bewitched, sometimes drawn away by the magic of fantasy, by the wonderful stories of the Arabian Nights? Have you not spent many wonderful hours listening to or reading fairy tales of wonderful fairy castles created overnight?

Here, in this country, there exists a wonderful magic castle that exceeds the most wonderful castle one can find in the thickest volume of fairy tales. This gigantic fairy castle, as in fairy stories, has been created overnight.

This gigantic fairy castle is Gary, Indiana, created overnight not by the work of magicians, but by the magic of human labor, supported by the toil of the workers, and owned by capitalists, parasites, and corrupted politicians. Every inch of Gary contains the blood of workers who, they created this town, own nothing.

No stranger visiting the Gary steel plants I would give the following advice:—As you step off the train don't ask where the plants are situ-

ated. Just look around yourself and you will soon behold a line of powerful "smoke pipes" and by following the direction of the "smoke pipes" you will undoubtedly reach your destination. But if you happen to be short-sighted, oh, let it not worry you. In this case use your nose—no joke—instead. Smell the smoke and you will discover that sometimes a nose can serve as a good compass.

If the same visitor also wishes to apply for a job, he only has to follow a narrow paved road, and do not ask where the employment office is; just follow the road "until they stop you."

Arriving at the employment "office" no job seeker will be admitted to the employment office. Of course, there's an employment office, but no such infernal creatures as common workers in their shabby working attire can enter it. Instead, they are left to wait outside near the employment building. Every hour or so, out of the employment office appears the all-mighty "man-with-the-glasses" as he is called. This man, his majesty "The-Man-With-The-Glasses," possesses the power to hire whomever he pleases.

He looks around the flock of human workers with the look of supreme importance. His majesty, "The-Man-With-The-Glasses," knows his place and value when he sees himself surrounded by hungry would-be-slaves willing to sell themselves for a piece of bread—and this not in abundance.

WHEN this buyer of industrial slaves appears the air suddenly becomes filled with the atmosphere of majesty and subjection. Everyone flocks around him eager to attract the attention of the industrial despot, each hoping that he will be the lucky one to be sold for a pittance. With the air of a king—a king he is indeed, for he has many subjects willing to serve his kingship—he picks out one or two workers among a crowd of hundreds and with them he disappears into the employment office followed by the envious eyes of the unlucky ones who did not succeed in being sold.

The many unlucky hundreds do not leave as "The-Man-With-The-Glasses" disappears. They still remain waiting with a hidden hope in their hearts that perhaps they will be more successful in their being hired when the

industrial king comes out again. Many hundreds have been waiting outside for many days hoping to be hired, but in vain. Almost all of these job hunters are former workers of the Gary Steel plants, but were "laid off" and promised a return of prosperity with the election of Coolidge. Coolidge is elected and his bourgeois press and the loyal servants of Wall Street are beating the drum of falsehood and singing the hypocritical lie of "prosperity," but these unemployed workers are still waiting.

THE disappointed job hunters of Gary are not discouraged. Every day they gather at the employment office. They cannot be discouraged for the majority of them have not even enough money to buy a piece of bread. And think of those who have in their "home" waiting a wife and small children, hungry and starving! In the late hours of the day one can find these disappointed workers wandering around the streets of Gary without intention; just wandering, sometimes till late in the night. Where should he go? "Home!" But what

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MAX EASTMAN BLOWS UP

By Robert Minor

Now we see Max Eastman clattering out onto the road in full armor as a warrior in an international struggle which he thinks he sees still going on in the Communist International. And on his spear-point flutters a handkerchief embroidered with Trotsky's name—stolen, we trust and believe, while Trotsky lay ill in bed.

Eastman enters the lists with two books. One of these is "Leon Trotsky: The Portrait of a Youth" (Greenberg, Publisher, New York). In it he writes in the style of the pretentious geographers-to-trade. The reader who has known Max Eastman in the past begins to wonder what he wrote the volume for—unless merely for the market. But on the last page we begin to get at least a suspicion that he has another motive. In the second book, "Since Lenin Died," (Labor Publishing Co. Ltd., London), we learn that our guess was right.

WHAT Eastman thinks he is doing is to defend Trotsky from the terrible triumvirate, Zinoviev, Stalin and Kamenev. What he does in fact is to make a hysterical attack upon the Communist International and the Russian Communist Party—too feeble an attack to be of much concern, but very interesting as a straw in the wind of current history.

There can be no doubt that Eastman thinks he has a great international mission.

"I have hesitated to do this," writes he, "for over six months, because I wanted to be sure that I should serve not merely the ends of historic truth or personal justice, but the real strategy of the revolution" (my emphasis). And the strategy of the revolution requires that no less a man than Max Eastman himself should prod the poor, intimidated, "stampeded" Russian Communist Party membership with the fountain-pen of scandal until he revives its initiative.

"And that revival of initiative," he writes, "would automatically transfer the substance of that power to Trotsky, for the simple reason that the mass of the party, just like all the rest of the world (my emphasis), recognized Trotsky's superior moral and intellectual revolutionary greatness."

I DON'T think Comrade Trotsky will desire or willingly receive the services of Max Eastman in such a jousting, however. For one thing the jousting is over, and Comrade Trotsky did not win it; and for another thing Eastman's stupid attempt will show every Communist on earth who has even an elementary knowledge of Communism, the abyss of bourgeois vulgarization into which the crusade leads. It suffices to show where the crusade leads Eastman himself. Unless the official head of the Russian revolution have been guilty of deliberate lying, he says, he is forced to conclude that:

"... the whole leadership of the Russian Communist Party has been in the hands of hysterics." The speeches and articles of Stalin and Zinoviev and Kamenev and Bucharin, if regarded as a discussion of points raised by Trotsky, "would be thrown out of a prize essay contest in a school for defective children." "And all the old religious, theological, metaphysical, absolutist, canonical, scholastic and dogmatic-academic habits of the human race" are against Trotsky, and Eastman sees "the beginning of the transformation of Bolshevism from a science into a religion," the transformation of the party into a "political church" and its leaders into an "official caste" and "priesthood as well."

Now there must be some very deep reason for all this, and sure enough Max is going to give it to us.

It seems that we were all wrong—according to Eastman—in thinking that Trotsky came over to the position of Lenin in 1917, but that on the contrary Lenin came over to Trotsky in some respects on that memorable occasion. One of the reasons why we haven't been allowed to know this is that Trotsky's enemies have "raked up" all those old passages in which Lenin attacked Trotsky upon this

question (of the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasants) at a time when Trotsky's formula was right and Lenin's was wrong."

But, goes this melodrama, Lenin came to see the error of his ways. Not only did he come over to Trotsky in 1917, but he finally wanted Trotsky to take over the leadership of the revolution and was defeated in this desire only by Comrade Trotsky's diffident modesty. Then Comrade Lenin got tangled up in a terrible monstrous "intra-Party Machine," and to be rescued from it he cried to Trotsky three times in vain. Max Eastman literally writes:

"The third appeal which Lenin made to Trotsky in those last days, was literally a cry for help against the suppression of his writings by this intra-party machine."

This sort of stuff is carried on in theatrical style to a mysterious last "Testament" in which Comrade Lenin made a desperate effort to defeat the horrible Communist Party Frankenstein (which he himself had built), by willing over to Trotsky the leadership of the revolution. But "a gang of mediocre bad boys" who "had got their bottoms into the vacant chair of Lenin" wouldn't read the "Testament" to the party, so Trotsky was cheated out of his patrimony.

I don't know whether Comrade Lenin immediately before his death wrote to the central committee a letter in which he discussed the relative merits and demerits of the various Communist leaders. But I do know that Eastman's handling of the matter of a supposed but unpublished and probably non-existent letter is irresponsible and as melodramatic as the handling of "the papers" in a hack-written movie. Even a sentimental use for political purposes is made of Comrade Krupskaya as the widow of Lenin. In fact the whole thing is a disgusting if subtle translation of a political question into terms of personal and even of family relations. Such a small and formal incident as the fact that Comrade Trotsky "received a letter from Lenin's wife some days after Lenin died, reminding him of their early friendship in London and assuring him that Lenin's feelings towards him had never changed from then until the day of his death," is seized upon by Eastman as political proof of the sameness of Leninism with Trotskyism! The book rocks with the interplay of personal friendships, conversations and courtesies as a substitute for the facts of colossal political events. It sounds like the "proof" offered by a Hearst magazine that the evil ways of the monk, Rasputin, were the cause of the revolution. We have no doubt that among the comrades who will share our disgust will be Comrade Krupskaya. And perhaps also Comrade Trotsky.

THE "THREE POINTS."

It seems that Comrade Trotsky has in three notable instances saved the revolution from the evil, conspiring, "flat-headed," "timid," and "hysterical" triumvirate: Zinoviev, Stalin, and Kamenev (Bucharin, too), but that now the revolution is going to the dogs again. The three rescues were:

1. Trotsky saved the revolution for state planning.
2. He saved it again from—VODKA! (tho, alas, the revolution has gone to drink again.)
3. He saved it again by making the villains admit that "America has put Europe on rations."

In handling his three chosen points, Eastman succeeds only in muzzling Trotsky's case to a degree which might well call forth a furious repudiation of Eastman by Trotsky.

On the question of Trotsky's proposal in "State Planning," Eastman writes what we cannot call a childish lie only because we know it is the result of ignorance of recent Russian history. There never was and could not be a difference between Communists as to the "need for a concentrated organization and systematic planning of socialist industry." In what form, then, in fact, did the subject become a matter of controversy between the old guard and Trotsky?

The question was: which should come first, the "state planning" or the stabilization of the ruble, as the solution of the economic crisis then gripping Russia. The theory adopted by the old guard was that the stabilization of the ruble had to be undertaken immediately as a prerequisite to the state planning of industry. Comrade Trotsky's view, if I am not mistaken, was that the state planning of industry should come first. Who was right? Is there anybody alive who does not know now that the stabilization of the ruble was not only one of the wonders of recent history but also an absolutely necessary prerequisite to state planning and a measure without which Russia would now be in a most serious predicament instead of outstripping all capitalist Europe in the rate of economic organization and improvement?

When Eastman begins to write about the restoration of the manufacture of vodka as a government monopoly, it is hard to choose between his propaganda and that of the anti-Bolshevik bureau in Berlin. "The revolutionary government," he says, "has made its life dependent, in other words, upon the successful progress of the ancient industry of debauching the Russian people." (With more space one might demonstrate—soberly—the wisdom of the revolutionary government's policy in regard to the manufacture of spirituous liquor, but here it is only a question of Max Eastman's right to manufacture such vilification of the Soviet government.)

Eastman not only wanders into what amounts to slanderous denunciation of the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet government, but at every step in his superficial, gossip-gathered conception of what is going on within the Communist International, he builds his case always upon the very weakest points in the Trotsky foundation. His manner of quoting Trotsky for the formula: "America has put Europe on rations," is the best that Eastman could do toward trying to kidnap Trotsky for the Kautsky camp. The conception to which Eastman refers is one which ignores the inherent contradictions which make the permanent stabilization of world-capitalism impossible. It has not only not been adopted by the Communist International (as Eastman says it has), but it has been rejected and demonstrated to be incorrect.

"Competition is the Life of"—the Revolution.

BUT Eastman, by the nature of his task, is not allowed to remain even in the sphere of vulgarized "Leninism." He is actually carried by force of his own momentum into that field of delicatesten store philosophy which the esteemed Emma Goldman has made famous in her "My Disillusionment with Russia," and Alexander Berkman with his hysterical collection of petty scolding, "The Bolshevik Myth." Not that Eastman could ever quite accomplish the stupidity of either of these, but he borders on the field. The "anarchist" petty-bourgeois (who merely develops the bourgeois free-trade ideology to the reductio ad absurdum and then calls it a "revolutionary philosophy") always pictures as a monster of reaction the Bolshevik state monopoly of printing and the corollary machine of education and propaganda. To the Communist, this is one of the enormous weapons of the revolution. To the anarchist, the cadet, the monarchist and the liberal as well, this constitutes a suppression of "liberty." The cadet and the monarchist know that it contributes to the destruction of all their hopes. The anarchist and the liberal think it will ruin the revolution by destroying individual initiative—a reflection of the idea that competition is the life of trade. Well, Max Eastman (who used to know better), is carried by his own logic into this slough. Like a sensitive liberal complaining of trust methods, he complains that a pamphlet against Trotsky "has spread over the territory of the Union of Soviet Republics, like the Bible of the Gideons thru the commercial hotels of the United States."

And he says: "A little later Trotsky's letter and some supplementary articles in the pamphlet form were practically suppressed by the Politburo, and even when I left Moscow—the crisis was past—it was still difficult to get a bookseller to produce one." The irresponsibility of this statement is indicated by the fact that I have three editions of Comrade Trotsky's "Lessons of October" in three different languages, one published by the Russian government print-shop and the others by the "Imprecor" of the Communist International, the latest being dated February 26, 1925, and carrying in big type the words "Please Reprint." Trotsky's "The New Course" I have in the German edition of Imprecor, No. 13, Jan. 25, 1924, Trotsky's "On the Peasant Question," English edition of Imprecor No. 1, Jan. 4, 1924, and Trotsky's letter of Dec. 8, 1923, to the Enlarged Executive of the Russian Communist Party, I have in the German edition of Imprecor No. 8, dated Jan. 21, 1924, spread all over the first page. All of these were broadcasted by the world-publicity machinery of the Communist International—truly with the trust-methods of the Gideons—while the discussion was going on.

Will the God of the Gideons kindly save Trotsky from Eastman?

Trotsky's Version of the Theory of "The Permanent Revolution."

THERE is a mixture of unconscious comedy in the spurious tragedy of this book, "Since Lenin Died." We remember an old incident. About or nearly two years ago Eastman sent from Russia to The Liberator an article entitled "The Permanent Revolution." An assistant lost the manuscript on a New York subway train before the editor (myself) had read it. I advertised for its recovery, with no further result than some gibes in a New York bourgeois newspaper to the effect that "The Liberator has lost the permanent revolution." From Eastman's present book we may be permitted to guess what the manuscript must have been. Later it became necessary for me, as bureaucratic editor of The Liberator, to refuse to print Eastman's articles as received, and to turn them over to a sub-committee for editing—to save Eastman from his own folly. Now we know that Eastman was only developing toward where he is now.

"TROTSKY'S pride of opinion was supported, moreover," writes Eastman, "by a piece of political thinking as farsighted as any of those which foretold the events of 1917. Rejecting the theory of the mensheviks that the Russian revolution would end in a bourgeois republic, and also the slogan with which Lenin opposed them, the 'democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants,' he adopted from Marx the concept of 'permanent revolution' . . . This realistic prediction, and the absolute and yet flexible concept of 'permanent revolution,' were peculiarly akin to the intellectual method of Lenin. . . Trotsky began to realize that 'alto his political analysis of the coming revolution had been the more happy. . . etc."

So we see what Eastman is getting at. The theory of the "permanent revolution" (expounded by Trotsky) contains the germ of what Max wants to displace the leadership of the Communist International to make room for. If there was any one thing which more than all others divided Trotsky from Lenin, and Leninism from Trotskyism, not only in the beginning, but up to the present moment—it is Comrade Trotsky's theory of "The Permanent Revolution." Trotsky's interpretation of Marx's words on this subject was completely and thoroughly exploded, by Lenin before the revolution, by the revolution itself in practice, and by experience since the revolutionary overthrow. Eastman's effort at making a platform of the Trotsky theory of the "permanent revolution" will not please Comrade Trotsky, who now himself wishes to regard that unfortunate question as relating "wholly to the past." In his letter of January 15, 1925, to the Cen-

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Problems of the German Communist Party

By ERNST SCHNELLER (Berlin).

THE previous session of the National Council of the Communist Party of Germany took place at the beginning of January, immediately after the Reichstag elections. The party was faced with the urgent task, by wise and elastic tactics along with clear and firm adherence to Bolshevik principles, of becoming the leader in their daily struggles of the proletariat and of all exploited and of all sections who are threatened by the advance of monarchist reaction and to win, to rally and organize these masses for the final struggle for power.

The present session, held from the 9th to 10th of May, had to review the party work of the past four months and at the same time to lay down the tasks for the future. In these four months there have taken place the formation of the Luther government, the overthrow (for the fifth time) of the Prussian government, the Reichstag elections and a great number of economic struggles (railway strike), factory council and co-operative elections.

It must be recorded that the party approached the carrying out of its tasks with the greatest eagerness. It was able to point to successes, especially in the factory council elections (the trade union work, owing to the peculiar difficulties, will not show visible results for a long time yet). With what tenacity and energy the party work has been carried out is proved by the presidential elections, where the party succeeded, at the second ballot, in spite of the less favorable conditions compared with the first ballot in increasing its vote by 69,000.

THE National Council did not content itself with merely registering the work accomplished, but, while recognizing the energetic efforts of the party, examined and exposed in the shapeliest manner the failings of the party and pointed out the way in which they could be remedied. To some of the delegates this sharp self-criticism appeared to be "amplified"; they had an eye more to the work accomplished and less to the results among the masses; they realized too little that the socialist party of Germany and the bureaucrats of the German General Federation of Trade Unions (A. D. G. E.) have succeeded without any great efforts in catching million of workers' votes for the reactionary Marx. The C. P. of Germany has not been able to convince the major portion of the social democratic supporters, of the correctness of the Communist slogans and to win them away from the S. P. of Germany. It has not proved capable of rendering ineffective the campaign against the C. P. of Germany as the "allies of reaction" and to break thru the isolation from the millions of the masses.

The Central Committee came before the National Council with open criticism:

1. The party was too late in realizing the monarchist danger and underestimated its importance.

2. The party has not succeeded in thoroughly exposing the role of the socialist party of Germany and of the other so-called "republican" parties as procurers of the monarchists, and in winning away the masses from them. In particular, it has not carried on the campaign for establishment of trade union unity with sufficient firmness and energy.

3. The tactics of the party are not sufficiently elastic and adaptable; it has been too slow and awkward in adapting itself to altered situations.

4. The party has not yet fully overcome Brandlerism and ultra-left deviations; theoretical clearness and uniformity—the pre-requisites for united revolutionary practice—are not yet fully attained.

5. The party does not yet understand how to concentrate the entire work and to carry it thru co-ordinately in all spheres.

REGARDING the question of analysis and of perspectives, the National Council confirmed the view,

long held by the Central Committee, and which is in full agreement with the speeches of Comrade Zinoviev, that:

The attempt of the German bourgeoisie, in spite of and in carrying thru the Dawes plan to conduct a new imperialist policy—at the tail of the great powers—finds its expression (carrying thru of the Dawes plan, entry into the league of nations, guarantee pact, war preparations, taxation and economic policy, social and cultural policy) in the strengthening of the monarchist tendencies. The policy of the party in the year 1925 must aim at organizing the defensive movement against the monarchist danger to the revolutionary mass movement. It follows from this that it is necessary, not only by agitation and propaganda, but by practical experience to convince the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, that the new imperialist policy will be carried out at the cost of the working people and that there is only one means of rescue for the broad masses: overthrow of the bourgeoisie, setting up of a workers' and peasants' government under the leadership of the C. P. of Germany and an alliance with Soviet Russia.

IN order to expose the republican swindle of the S. P. of Germany and of the parties of the "people's bloc," it is necessary to mobilize the masses for the carrying out of the simple republican minimum demands (as contained in the open letter of the C. P. of Germany to the A. D. G. E. and to the S. P. of Germany) and to demonstrate to them that the S. P. of Germany and the A. D. G. E., just like the other republicans, not only do nothing to oppose the Hindenburg-Luther-reaction, but are determined to do everything to aid the latter against the workers. This purpose is served by the appeal to the S. P. of Germany to form, together with the other "republicans," a government to fight against the monarchist danger. The Braun government in Prussia promptly replied to this offer by starting negotiations with the monarchist people's party.

This policy of exposure for rallying all real oppositional elements under the leadership of the C. P. of Germany has only now begun, it must be

carried out effectively, energetically and with patience. It carries with it—especially in view of the past of the German party—great dangers of right deviations, namely, the danger that illusions regarding the S. P. of Germany and even the people's bloc, instead of being destroyed, can be strengthened. These dangers are only to be avoided by the sharpest self-control and thro party training; at the same time the carrying out of these tactics requires the greatest co-ordination of the party.

THE minority of the National Council did not recognize the justice of the criticism by the Central, they accordingly did not wish to accept the conclusions drawn by the Central Committee (except, of course, more careful work in the trade unions and factories, better party training, closer co-operation between the Central and the districts, etc.). On the contrary, they saw in the proposals of the Central Committee the danger of a relapse into Brandlerism. It is however, significant that the most prominent districts (the old enemies of Brandlerism!) stand behind the Central Committee! Berlin, Wasserkaete, Ruhr district, Niederrhein, Mittelrhein (in addition to these: Bremen, East Prussia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Silesia, Upper Silesia, East Saxony, Halle-Mereseburg, Magdeburg, Anhalt, Wurttemberg). The minority (which had behind it 15 out of 59 votes represents about a fourth of the membership. It is a fact that some comrades, against the express decision of their districts, voted against the theses of the central committee.

But it is especially characteristic that the minority could not bring forward any proposals regarding the tactics to be employed in the present situation, and that they did not oppose the Central Committee from the same motives. From this it can be seen that it will be possible in a short time, by means of intensive work, to convince the minority, which of course, pledged itself to carry out the tactics decided upon, of the correctness of the decisions of the National Council. This will be all the easier as in all districts conferences are to be held in order to prepare for the party conference which will take

place shortly and to draw up decisions upon the theses of the National Council.

THE session of the national council of May 9 and 10, means a further step forwards in the direction of Bolshevism, as was demanded by the enlarged executive. The carrying out of these decisions will prove the truth of Lenin's saying: "Defeated armies learn well!" The party knows in what a difficult situation it, has to fight in order to gain the leadership of the working class and to set up a fighting alliance with the working peasants and middle classes. It must take this task still more seriously, it must co-operate still more closely with the leadership of the Communist International and of the R. C. P. and the other brother parties in the fight against the capitalist offensive and new imperialist war.

The following is an extract from the resolution of the national council of the C. P. of Germany on the political situation, the tasks and tactics of the party:

"In a situation in which our party constitutes the factor which will turn the scale between a right and a so-called left government, it is entirely permissible, and under certain conditions necessary to follow such a parliamentary tactic that we render possible the existence of the "left" coalition. In so doing we must openly declare with all clearness that this is not because the revolutionary working class has anything better to expect from the socialist party of Germany and the 'republican parties' than from the open monarchists, but solely for the purpose of showing to the masses who still believe in these parties that they are just as reactionary and hostile to the workers as the open reactionary parties. If the C. P. G. makes use of such a tactic in order to mobilize the masses outside of parliament against the blacklegged parties and their government, this tactic has nothing whatever in common with a social democratic or Brandlerist coalition policy. It is, however, only correct and permissible when the possibility does not yet exist of overthrowing such a government by a proletarian mass movement."

Race Prejudice a Capitalist Disease

By P. RUGUR.

TO the Jew or Negro in the United States who suffers from an over-abundance of race consciousness, we recommend a period of work under the authority of a capitalist of his own race. We know of no finer treatment for the elimination of that disease which seeks to implant race consciousness as the paramount emotional complex in the worker's mind. The Jewish worker is utterly beneath the contempt of his bourgeois brother, who thinks only in terms of commercial ventures, saving his humanitarianism by dispensing charity in abundance—but not wages. The bourgeois consciousness permeates every aspect of Jewish social organizations. The social workers, institutional attendants, settlement workers, and the entire galaxy of white-collared intellectuals are equally as much under the control of self-confident, brazen realtors, clothing merchants and lawyers, as are Jewish tailors under the east-side bosses.

The Negro is marked for even greater discrimination than the Jew. His color is decidedly more distinctive a badge than is the Semitic countenance. To the same extent he is apt to be more race conscious. Furthermore, the Negro middle class is still small, and consequently the colored worker may pass thru life entirely unacquainted with it. Let those who doubt the power of class even where color is concerned subject themselves to the tender mercies of a shyster colored lawyer. Let them ponder upon the baneful effects of the trashy cosmetics advertised by colored business men in Negro peri-

odicals. Let them consider the entire assortment of professional "Jodge-organizers of fifty-seven varieties.

IT takes but a very brief association with the bourgeoisie of the colored group, the Jewish group, or of any foreign-born group to let the worker realize that he has nothing in common with them. Race-hatred and capitalism are indelibly linked and must remain so. Where the Negro, the Jew, or the foreigner finds the worker also imbued with ancient prejudices, let him know that capitalist psychology, manifesting itself thru bourgeois preachers and teachers, thru Odd Fellows' lodges and Masonic orders, has incalculable hatred among the workers.

There is not a shred of evidence that prejudice is inborn. The southern Negro has been hated less as a black than as a representative of a downtrodden class. The Jew finds prejudice greater to the extent that he is a dangerous competitor to the gentle merchant.

The abolition of prejudice can only be secured by the abolition of capitalism. Prejudice and intolerance are just as integral a part of capitalism as modernist theology, Rotary clubs, and chambers of commerce. They are necessary to divide the worker. Because of their emotional associations they frequently give the appearance of permanence. But the southern Negro should remember that even bourgeois France has little fear of Negro social equality, and the race-conscious Jewish worker, to prove his theory of innate prejudice, will have to find the Jew subject to discrimination by Chinese, Indians and Malays.

Prejudice is necessary to capitalism. Let the Communist worker fight it at every opportunity, pointing out the harmful influence of race antagonism upon workers' unity.

SOVIETS PROVIDE FOR MINORS WHO ARE BORN TO FOREIGN PARENTS

MOSCOW.—(By Mail).—The commissariat of public education of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic has issued regulations, jointly with the People's Commissariats of foreign affairs and of justice, laying down that when a national of a foreign state which has no treaty relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who resides in the territory of the R. S. F. S. R. and is not of age, the competent Soviet organs shall be appointed trustee for him or her, if such guardianship is needed.

When, however, the state in question has de jure relations with the Union or has treaty relations, but with no special provisions in the treaty regarding guardianship for persons of minor age, such guardianship may be exercised by the consular representatives, local or the nearest, of the given state, or by diplomatic representatives, when there are no local consular agents.

Naturally, in cases when the question of guardianship is provided for in treaties between the U. S. S. R. and a foreign state the matter is settled as according to such provisions.

MASTERS AND SLAVES, (A Story of the Working Class) :-: By John Lassen

(Synopsis of Preceding Chapters)

Nickles and Joe Vavas, migratory workers, meet under a freight train while beating their way west. They get off at Colorado Springs. Joe Vavas is a barber by trade, and Nickles manages to get work as a footman at Broadmoor, the mansion of the Brodrids. His work is constant drudgery. Vavas is class conscious, and Nickles is not, but they are staunch friends nevertheless. An attachment springs up between Nickles and Marguerite, the maid at the Broadmoor mansion. One day Joe Vavas tells Nickles and Marguerite that a barbers' union has been formed to fight against the intolerable conditions. Joe Vavas has formed the union with the help of William who is an American by birth and not an immigrant like Joe. The younger elements in the union, led by Joe and William force a strike against the bossess. The strike is won by the barbers, but the union defect from Denver side out at the last moment, and the strike was as desired of most of the fruits of their victory. The Ku Klux Klan of Colorado Springs holds an initiation ceremony as a result of the fight of the workers. They swear to exterminate the reds. Mr. Brodrid takes part in the ceremony. He desires Marguerite the young servant and makes love to her. Gradually Nickles is becoming more and more receptive to the ideas of Joe Vavas who is a Communist. Now go on with the story.

(Continued from last Saturday.)

CHAPTER XIII.

MARY the chambermaid was pale and trembled in every limb. At table she sat there with a vacant stare in her eyes and could hardly talk. "Oh, oh," she exclaimed again and again. They all questioned her solicitously. "This woman, this woman," she repeated as if out of her mind. Mary, usually so calm and collected, was now only a trembling, miserable creature. "What's happened?" At last she came to. "Oh,—Mrs. Brodrid said, that . . . Again she couldn't talk any more. Her voice broke down. Nickles brot a glass of ice-cold orange juice: "That'll do you good." The general sympathy seemed to animate the girl. "I won't stay here, I won't stay any other day in this house." They still didn't know what had happened. "But what is the matter?" "Yes, you ought to know it too. She said she didn't want to be bothered by telephone conversations. Because she was once connected wrong. She tells me I can't telephone any more. Told me to tell my friends not to telephone to me. One of them she told it to already." Her voice broke into sobs that choked her. "Are we slaves? Slaves?" The sympathy of all present went out to Mary.

"They don't let you go out, and now they won't let you even telephone. You can't even talk with your friends!"

"That's a damned shame!"—Nickles exclaimed. "It's six weeks that I haven't been to church"—Mary sobbed.—"six weeks."

Marguerite: "Dreadful!"

She herself it is true felt no need for going to church, but she sincerely shared Mary's feelings in the matter.

"Jesus Christ, will you forgive me!"—wailed Mary. "She was carried away by a deep ecstasy."

"This woman is a murderer, she is killing my soul!"

Then she calmed down gradually. Her breast still heaved, but she was in her mind again. "I'm leaving this evening. And Sunday I'm going to church!"

"Jesus will surely pardon you, because you're not to blame."

Mary's eyes were still suffering with tears, but they shone now with a faint glimmer of hope: "Do you think so?"

Marguerite was happy to be able to comfort the girl. "Of course, there's no doubt about it. In heaven they certainly will take these things into consideration."—And reflecting for a while, and also for her own comfort: "I'm absolutely sure of it."

"Hurry up!"—said John coming in.—"This afternoon there'll be lots of company."

"Oh . . . oh . . ."

This news overwhelmed them so, that they even forgot all about Mary.

When John said "there'll be company," it was bad, but when he said "lots of company," it was very bad.

Nickles scratched himself behind the ear in despair.

Shrill ringing. Three times.

Marguerite! . . .

She brot back a long sheet of paper.

"This is for John. I have to get the second parlor ready."

John sat down with the sheet of paper and was engrossed in the study of it. And he too scratched himself behind the ear.

The sheet of paper contained the work that was to be done and the list of "refreshments."

Ice tea, iced coffee, coffee, iced cocoa, iced cold orangeade . . . John's ears burned . . . Sandwiches . . . ham . . . goose-liver, liver-wurst, tongue, Swiss cheese, cold fish, mayonnaise . . . the reading alone made him tired.

His only comment was: "Hurry up!"

THEY all got to work quickly.

Marguerite hugged Mary and kissed her on the forehead.

Mary was happy.

She went to her little room to pack up. Marguerite called after her: "Are you really going away?" "Yes! Yes!"

Marguerite gave a deep sigh:—"Lucky girl! But I . . . where could I go? I've got nobody here . . . who could telephone to me . . ."

CHAPTER XIII.

THERE certainly was lots of company. Mr. Brodrid considered it important to see to it that he did not suffer from a lack of spiritual satisfaction. He was a Christian Scientist, and from time to time he held services with lots of company present.

The church in Colorado Springs seemed to him extremely silly.

"The soul is complicated"—he would say—"the religious ceremony too, must be complicated."

He always saw to it that the audences would have the pleasure of hearing special music or singing besides that of the local great musicians and singers. As a matter of fact the religious exercises took place mostly when the literary of someone singer led thru Denver (or Colorado Springs).

A Gothic Christ stood in the music-room. With bleeding body he looked at the vain world. At his feet burned the perpetual light. A small red flame.

On the wall, Leonardo da Vinci's "Madonna and the Child," as well as a few valuable engravings of great masters.

Candles twinkled in candlesticks.

Piano, trombone, violinello and—violin.

The last instrument didn't exactly fit into the setting, but when he was all alone and no one else could hear, Mr. Brodrid loved to listen to jazz-music.

But of course only in privacy. When he was lonely.

Mr. Brodrid brot many flowers.

Nickles did not recognize the flowers, but from the bill he concluded that they must be something extraordinary.

"A month's wages"—Nickles gasped in astonishment and stuck them with greater reverence in the Japanese vases. The flowers spread a heavy perfume in the whole room. In the parlor with purple gold carpets.

Automobiles arrived.

They brot guests.

Many guests.

The chauffeur who was denoted to a livery helped them to get out.

John, Nickles and Marguerite had to drudge away. The silver had to be polished over again. And the glasses had to be just so. The porcelain plates and the big platters. And for every course there was a new set of dishes.

Then, John and Nickles had to put on the holiday dress coats. The black frock coats with silver buttons, and the silk slippers.

The uniforms made the work more difficult. All were already gathered. And yet the atmosphere was rather prosaic. The hostess knew why she was delaying the start of the services. Her experience taught her that the high point of the service must always occur when it was twilight.

That fitted with the arrangement of the parlor. Meanwhile they had to kill time with social chatter. Gossip, news. And the time passes of its own accord.

The hostess went out. Came back again. She was easily excited.

Ten minutes later there arose out of the distance a deep, subdued, brass tone. It swelled, until it culminated in a final boom which rolled, ringing thru the room.

Everybody listened. There was complete silence.

And the tenor-iffled his voice again: "O Miss! Why Don't Thou Leave Me," by Handel.

This was the introduction and it had a very powerful effect.

The best mood, was thus created for the occasion of the young, long-haired poet.

of the purple-golden parlor. His voice was highly spiritual.

"My Christian brethren . . ."

That was the way he began the address.

And he spoke very nicely.

"How vain is human life!"—he continued. "Oh people, people, wherefore do ye believe that your body means anything upon this earthly road, which leads from the finite into the infinite. There is no human body, there is only a human soul. Fine crystals float in the air. Fine crystal grains, little crystals of the soul float onward . . . onward . . . Poor humanity! These fine crystal grains could glide on toward salvation. They could arise from the earthly road into the heavenly landscape. People could fly toward paradise without pain, without sickness, without earthly troubles . . ."

For everything, my Christian brethren, is only vision. Is there sickness? No. The human crystals are healthy. The great-faith is sufficient, to do away with any disturbance in the crystal movements. Our faith in our Lord, Jesus Christ, suffices to heal the broken bone. To regulate again the circulation of the blood in the decayed lung . . ."

This magnificent prophesying did not quite overcome the audences. The atmosphere was not yet such that the people there could be warmed up thru and thru. The Christian Scientist and poet realized this, and he was always extremely proud that he could establish full spiritual contact with his hearers. A deep stillness prevailed in the room. His voice flowed deeper and deeper thru the hall.

"People! People! . . . Ye are soul-crystals on the earthly road. Oh, how foolish are those who believe that earthly welfare means anything. The soul-crystals feel no connection with that which offers earthly comforts, with that which is bound up with the worldly. To us, soul crystals, it is all the same, whether we live in a hut or in a palace. Our bread is the word of Jesus, and our wine his blood, which he shed for us . . ."

The eyes of a few hearers became filled with tears.

"Oh, vain wish,—to become rich. The radiant paths are open to all. We are all one in the Lord. Everyone remains where he beholds the light of this world, on whichever way it was decided for him to tread. All is vision. Imagination. And there is only one reality . . . Our soul . . . And our body soul-crystal . . ."

The heavy fragrance of the flowers made the nostrils tremble. The twilight cast its spell upon the audences. All waited for the deep voice. The long-haired, holy poet's deep voice wandering in heaven . . .

And what is poverty? Imagination. There is no poverty. Everyone of us is rich. The soul is pure gold. Trembling presentation of existence. Poor! There is no such thing. It is but imagination. A bit of bread suffices for the crystal soul, that it may glide on upon the silver road, light as a feather of flame. And the way is so short that even the bit of bread is not always necessary. There is no hunger. Hunger too is only imagination. The crystal soul floats on and on . . ."

Upon the road which leads into the infinite, death is only imagination. Ours is eternal life. The crystal soul descends into the deep, and there it revolves . . . This is understanding. This brings joy. All men are equally fortunate, whether poor, or rich. We must do nothing else than to give this knowledge in equal measure to the poor and rich, and the soul-crystals will find themselves in eternal brotherhood at the feet of our Lord Jesus Christ . . ."

He sank on his knees. And all bent their heads.

"That was a real success!"—Mrs. Brodrid concluded.

THEY were working outside.

John got the sandwiches ready. The perfect skill with which he cut very thin slices of bread bewildered Nickles.

"An-tin-as paper!"—he announced.

John first smeared the butter on the bread and then cut the slices. Now and then he didn't succeed.

"Why don't you cut the bread first and then put on the butter?" Nickles asked.

He suspected that John chose this method be-

cause in this way he could spread more slices and so could eat them up.

But his suspicion was unfounded. John showed him that the slices were so thin that it was impossible to smear butter on them.

The goose-liver was spread on thick. "The guests don't want to eat bread, but goose liver . . ."

The taste of the guests was exactly in harmony with that of Nickles, for he also preferred goose liver. Unfortunately John did not spoil a single goose-liver sandwich.

And in the preparation of the cold refreshments Nickles' aesthetic sense was considerably developed. The largest and nicest cherries had to be picked out, cut up and put into the ice. And then there were fragrant leaves. And small orange-slices . . .

Every drink was served in a special way. The great platters were set in readiness. The table-silver sparkled.

They waited for the signal. The cakes also awaited their fate.

AFTER a short pause Mrs. Brodrid thought that the proper moment had come.

John and Nickles brot on the great, heavy silver platters.

There was the right mood for goose-liver sandwiches and cakes. The ice-cold drinks cooled them off.

The servants stepped softly. In their black frock coats and in their silk slippers they produced a real festive effect.

The guests ate.

Their religious fervor had not in the least diminished their appetite. More and more heaped-up platters were carried in . . .

The goose-liver sandwiches enjoyed the greatest popularity. Whereas the Swiss-cheese, with the lettuce leaves received less consideration. The long-haired poet with the eyes that roamed in the distance, dreamily swallowed whole sandwiches. He had an astonishingly good appetite.

At the end there were only ice-cold drinks, and on the platters here and there a lonely sandwich. Nobody wanted to eat what was left over.

:-: The Ricsha Mission and Strikes :-:

By SHINBAO.

SHANGHAI, CHINA (By Mail)—The living conditions of the ricsha pullers of which there are approximately half a million in Shanghai are too terrible for description. As one who knows living conditions have effects too threatening for existing capitalist society so that in order to suppress any murmurs of "discontent," without elevating their conditions, capitalist society is forced in the way that their only hope of the Ricsha Mission.

To quote from the Ricsha Mission report, "Agitators are frequently at work among the ricsha men and incite them to strike, instigating strikes and labor troubles. The mission strenuously endeavors to counteract these pernicious efforts, teaching the men that their only hope of recognition and help lies in their industry and good conduct."

In July, 1926, there was a strike of ricsha coolies which was in small part instigated by a few small owners which was supposed to have been on a small scale directed against the new type of ricsha called the pedicab which is more comfortable than the ordinary ricsha. The idea was to have the strike last for only a small time. But now the coolies had a chance to demonstrate against their own fate and the strike spread like wildfire thru the city. The Ricsha Mission got to work at once and the result can be deduced from the following letter:

Shanghai Municipal Council
Police Force,
July 31, 1926.

George Matheson, Esq.,
Hon. Director,
Mission to Ricsha Men.

Dear Mr. Matheson,

I wish to express my thanks to you and your colleagues for assisting the police in maintaining order among the public ricsha pullers during the recent strike, as they say, "endeavoring to counteract those pernicious efforts." The way they endeavor to counteract those pernicious

efforts is by "teaching the men that their only hope of recognition and help lies in their industry and good conduct." This phrase differs not a bit from the phrase used by the preachers who are sent to various strike centers in America to quell and quiet the revolts which may there arise. "Industry and good conduct." The church which capitalism has established has gained for them all that it can in upkeep and many times over and by means of the ricsha mission it aims to control the uprisings of the burdened down coolies.

How the Mission works. The "efforts" of the Ricsha Mission have their effect not only on the ricsha pullers, but also on the laboring classes in general who come into contact with its long silver tentacles. This effect can best be judged by the report. "In directing attention to the great numbers of the laboring classes, mission directly upon the great-fervor of the mission. It must be observed that during the past years Shanghai has wonderfully escaped strikes and labor troubles frequent only in other parts of China and it is gratifying to relate that the efforts of the mission in this direction are officially recognized."

Of course, it is not the usual thing for an employer to thank, in such kind terms, the employe for something that the employer pays the employe to do, but the relations between the Ricsha Mission and such organizations as the Shanghai municipal council, etc. the latter being the employer, and the former the employe, are made to appear much different only to throw sand into the eyes of those, who may be thoughtful enough to realize that perhaps the Ricsha Mission and the municipal council are both bed together by invisible bonds. They have but the one purpose which is the purpose of world capitalism, to exploit the working masses!

THE servants came and went without making any noise. Marguerite struck a candle here and there, for the evening was already there with its deep shadows.

Mrs. Brodrid knew that the spell of evening would not be spoiled, but on the contrary, greatly heightened thru mystical lighting. By this time the little flame of the perpetual light dominated everything.

"The Resurrection" by Haydn followed. The melody swept forward in triumph and captured the gathering.

The tenor sang songs by Schumann. Evening came down deeper and deeper, and wrapped the whole room in soft, yellow colors. It was as if the hall had extended and had penetrated into the outside world.

The friend of the poet recited a poem entitled "Our Mother Mary." A creation of the dreamy poet. The poem was extremely commonplace, but precisely for that reason it was the more effective in this place.

They congratulated the poet. But he pointed to Christ.

That was a very pretty scene. And now came the high-light of the gathering. "Joy to the World" by Wats-Handel. The song arose, triumphant, radiant, pouring its splendor over everything. The tenor carried them all away with his overwhelming ecstasy.

It was an inspired glorification of the world. The Handel-melodies embraced them. The crystal souls.

They glorified the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The fulfillment. Melody was everything.

"We wandered on the silver road"—spoke the poet . . .

The automobiles rode away. The chauffeur demoted to a lackey helped the guests to get into their autos.

Mr. Brodrid marched thru the kitchen. "John, everything was very good"—she said, without stopping for even a moment.

A whole mountain of table service towered before Nickles.

(To be continued next Saturday)

RED WEEK

Will Be Held from June 15 to June 21

Every reader of the DAILY WORKER; every Communist in and out of the Workers (Communist) Party; every sympathetic worker—that makes thousands of thinking and ACTIVE workers in this country who will do this—

They will ask for a bundle of the DAILY WORKER (which will be sent free of charge) to distribute door-to-door, in shops, factories, union halls—

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The Bolshevization of Our Party Press

(Continued from last issue)

IV. The Character of Our Press

IF the Communist press is to be a mass press, if it is to exercise influence over millions, it must speak the language of the masses. This is a platitude, and almost every Communist editor would be indignant if anyone thought it necessary to mention it to him. And yet the Communist press sins greatly in this respect, though in two diametrically opposite directions: There are Communist newspapers whose endeavors to adopt a popular tone have led them to speak the language of the masses to such an extent that the masses themselves reject them. And again there are other Communist organs who understand their mission of raising the masses onto a higher level in such a sense that they address themselves to the masses in a language which is not even comprehensible to the whole of the Communist Party. (This danger is the greater at the present time when a great part of the Communist press is plunged into the profoundest reflections on the role to be properly played by the party, only too often forgetting that the role of the party becomes an empty phrase if not played actually among the masses.) The majority of our Communist newspapers can be classified under this heading.

It is the task of the Communist press to speak in a language comprehensible to the millions of the working class, and yet unceasingly emphasizing the leading role of the Communist Party.

"Write to us on the conversation held in the workers' circles, on the character of these conversations, on the subjects selected for instruction, on the questions put and replied to by the workers on the organization of propaganda and agitation, on the connections with society, with the army, with the youth; write most of all about the complaints which the workers most often raise against us social democrats, about their questions, protests, etc." (Lenin: "How can we make our newspapers real organs of the labor movement?")

"Why is it not possible to speak in of simple, general, well known, obvious matters, already fairly digested by the masses, such as for instance the despicable treachery on the part of the Mensheviks, the servants of the bourgeoisie... or the scornful grim of the American millionaires in Germany, etc." (Lenin: "The character of our newspapers.")

IF we take Lenin's second warning to heart, we shall have space enough in our press to observe the first, and shall find the way of solving the problem of how to speak in the language of the masses without sharing their delusions, of coping competently with mass movements and organizing them under the leadership of the Communist parties. The first task of the Communist press is agitation, not propaganda, that is, it must explain Communist policy to the masses on the basis of visible facts, not on that of Communist theory.

Among the greatest enemies of Communist policy in our own ranks, and not only of policy, but of press agitation, we must count the revolutionary phrase.

"The revolutionary phrase consists of the repetition of revolutionary slogans, without taking into account the objective circumstances of the present curve of events and the present situation. Wonderfully captivating and intoxicating slogans, without any firm ground beneath them, are the essence of the revolutionary phrase." (Lenin: "The revolutionary phrase.")

TWO different things may be comprehended under revolutionary phrase in the Communist press. There are Communist papers which invariably follow the principle of employing the strongest and most urgent phraseology which they are capable of compiling, and which give the impression that the writers must have been in a state of high fever. Viewed as agitation, this fall to make any effect upon the masses, repels them, and has besides this the disadvantage that when

the newspaper has to deal with some special situation, it finds its vocabulary exhausted. A second variety of the revolutionary phrase is the ceaseless employment of Communist slogans without any internal connection with actual events in the eyes of the workers. Frequently the simple narration of facts is more effective than the artificial and wearisome repetition of Communist slogans. More faith in the thinking powers of the reader! "Less intellectual talk, closer contact with life!" (Lenin.)

THE Communist newspaper must have inexhaustible reserves of love and care at its disposal if it is to exercise an influence over the masses. There are many journalist devices at the disposal of sensational press supported by the bourgeoisie and by social-democracy, means by which they attract the backward masses, but which cannot and must not be employed by the Communist newspaper aiming at effective press agitation. But a correct principle may be transformed into its reverse if it is falsely applied. Contempt of the methods of bourgeois journalists has led to a neglect of language and style in a section of our party press, and under certain conditions this may become a political danger. In a great number of Communist newspapers we find a crude mixture of "intellectual" terminology alternating with an express hostility against any clear substantiation and exposition of a clear Communist slogan. It is perfectly evident that such organs will never command the interest of the masses. Among the lesser but none the less treacherous enemies of Communist press agitation we may for instance name the unnecessary use of foreign terms.

"I must admit that the needless use of foreign words annoys me, for this blunders our influence upon the masses." Thus wrote Lenin in 1920, at the session of the political bureau of the C. C. of the Russian C. P. when discussing the Communist press with Comrade Bucharin.

The foreign word hinders our influence upon the masses, because the masses do not understand it, and experience shows this lack of understanding to form an immediate bridge to indifference, or even to actual antipathy against the revolutionary party. Just at the present moment, when reaction rules, and bourgeois influence is exercised upon the working class in the thousand different forms of journalistic agitation (and it is an unfortunate fact that the bourgeoisie has a much better idea of agitation among the workers than we Communists), the utmost importance must be attached to the removal of all elements hampering our influence upon the masses, and thus to the selection of suitable language.

THE character of a newspaper depends not only on the careful or negligent preparation of the different articles and notes, and on good or bad editorship, but also to a great extent on the technical make up. In technical respects, as in many others, the Communist press is still hampered by the remnants of bourgeois and social-democratic traditions. It is really an unalterable law that every newspaper must consist of a headline, a leading article, a chronicle of events, etc. Many of our Communist newspapers have emancipated themselves from this troublesome inheritance. But the greater part still feel themselves bound to enter into competition in this respect with the bourgeois and social democratic press.

The technical make up of a paper should be determined by the purport of the contents, by the aims of the agitation pursued. This applies especially to the first page of the paper. The effect of the headlines does not depend solely on their striking the right nail on the head, but much more upon the technical arrangement of the material to which they draw the readers' attention. Many of our newspapers still retain the custom of entrusting one member of the staff with the work of supervising the technical make up of the paper. In a Communist editorial staff this function should be absolutely prohibited. Rosa Luxemburg,

as editor of the *Roten Fahne*, never left the office until the proofs had been corrected.

To sum up. Those Communists who have been entrusted by the party with the difficult and responsible task of spreading abroad its ideas must never forget for a moment, even when writing the very smallest note for the press, that thousands of astute workers' brains will test and examine it with the intensest interest, and will form a judgement. It is only by means of the development of this sense of responsibility that we will be enabled to form that army of Bolshevik journalists so greatly needed by our West European parties.

V. Systematic Agitation

"The role of the newspaper is however not confined to the mere propaganda of ideas, to the political schooling and winning over of political allies. The newspaper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but a collective organizer." (Lenin: "The newspaper as collective organizer.")

THE first prerequisite for the attainment of the goal aimed at by Lenin is systematic had massified Communist press agitation. This must be capable of not only giving every stratum of the population that which interests it, but it must be capable of doing this so systematically, and with such complete political consciousness, that the masses are guided into channels advantageous to the Communist movement. A striking example of properly understood and properly executed strategy in press agitation is given by the workers' editorial staff of the factory newspaper *Leuna Prolet*. They write in their report:

"The articles in the *Leuna Prolet* may almost be said to be adapted to the individual peculiarities of our colleagues. For we must give everyone something. Though we apparently come to meet their moods, in the end it is our view which we impose upon them. Our attitude towards the fascist movement, towards the social-democrats, and the yellow trade unions, can be expressed clearly and unequivocally.

"Our relations to the employees are somewhat more complicated. Here we find so many groups, some pro-labor, some anti-labor. Foremen and such people are generally represented in our newspaper as speeders up and slave drivers. The severest terms are suitable with respect to them, for they are the conscious and willing trustees of our class adversaries. Masters superintendents, accountants, proletarians disguised behind a white collar, are worthy of little more than derision. We sketch them in ridiculous positions, scoff at their triviality and petty errors. This has the effect of inducing them to act with less severity towards their subordinates; the famous *Leuna* discipline weakens. Our attitude towards the employees must be adapted to the circumstances of each individual case, the motives of action being carefully examined into.

"Besides this, the '*Leuna Prolet*' must supplement the factory reports by articles aiming at political enlightenment. But this may safely be done in a round about way. Among our colleagues there are still many who do not want to hear anything about politics, especially anything about political action. They are however none the less anxious for more wages and better working conditions. These colleagues must be clearly enlightened as to the fact that the question of improved economic prosperity is at the same time a question of political power. Things must be discussed which the factory council cannot tell the workers. ('*The Leuna Works and its Communist factory nucleus.*')

NOTHING could be more to the point. The Communist press must adapt itself to the "individual peculiarities" of the masses. It must give everybody something. It must be capable of the systematic and effective use of every medium of agitation. The *Pravda* has published many

poems written by workers. These poems have not been perfect from the standpoint of the patent literary critic, but they have reproduced the actual trends of feeling among the working masses much more effectively than many a lengthy article. The average workman is well able to appreciate a happily chosen designation, a well earned jeer at the opponent. A good caricature, really to the point, is considerably better than a dozen difficult and wearisome so-called "Marxist" articles." (Zinoviev: "What must our newspapers be like?")

"Individual" agitation not only does good service in bringing the different strata of the working population into closer contact with the Communist paper, but it opens a thousand flood-gates thru which the living humor of the working class, the wit of the people, forming in itself the best of all methods of agitation, may flow into the columns of the Communist press. (To be continued)

Our Readers' Views

San Quentin, California,
May 19, 1925.

To the DAILY WORKER: Enclosed you will find a manuscript titled *Up-Sang Heroes*, which I am submitting for your critical inspection. Whether the submitted article merits or contains any constructive value or not—I leave for you to judge.

A little matter I would appreciate if you could possibly spare the time is, I desire a correspondent or two who are sincere and class-conscious. Sex, age and nationality are not to be considered in the choosing, as I realize there is only one race and that is the human race. This appeal comes from a class conscious worker, who has aroused the animosity of the ruling class to the extent that ten years in prison is my condemnation. I have endeavored to carry on a correspondence with christians, theosophists and all-round bug-house occultists—but I find that they have a conception of life that we can never agree upon. If I am not imposing upon you I would certainly appreciate this favor of obtaining a real Red correspondent for me.

With best wishes for your personal success and happiness, I am fraternally your comrade, Hearne M. Hainly, Q. Q. R. C. E. P. O. Box 37112, San Quentin, Calif.

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MAX EASTMAN BLOWS UP

(Continued from page 2.)

tral Committee, Trotsky wrote: "If I have chanced to revert to the formula 'Permanent Revolution' in any particular instances since October it was only in the sphere of party history—that is, a reversion to the past, and not in the sphere of present problems."

Personalities

WHEN Eastman gets down to discussing the personalities of the leaders of the Communist International, his petty slanders become nothing less than scurrilous. When he speaks of the president of the Communist International as "a notoriously timid man," I am tempted into repeating a private conversation in which Eastman in 1926 refused my invitation to join the Communist Party on the ground that he "did not want to get arrested." Even to discuss this sort of stuff is an indignity to Zinoviev. From the realm of opinion Eastman slips into a veritable gush of incoherent lies. He writes of Zinoviev that "from being the least influential of the leaders he has become almost the mouthpiece of the party" during the past year. Tell me, Eastman, who has been the mouthpiece, not "almost" but officially, of the whole aggregation of all Communist Parties of all the world as expressed in the Communist International, for the past six years? Is it not the president of the International, the old collaborator and co-author with Lenin, Lenin's choice for the post, Gregory Zinoviev? Zinoviev became the president of the Communist International during the prime of Lenin's health and activity, and in accord with Lenin's desires—and this alone blows to chaff all of Eastman's bores and melodrama of the bed-chamber. It is curiously interesting to trace to their source Eastman's comments upon these soldiers of the revolution. Zinoviev "has never been a popular Bolshevik!" This is a remark which can be derived from exactly one source alone. Anyone who was in Russia in 1918 knows that Zinoviev was the most "unpopular," the most virulently hated of all the Bolshevik leaders—in a certain circle: among the frightened petty-bourgeois riff-raff of the cafes. So fixed was the tradition among the rumor-nourished bourgeoisie, that Zinoviev was the "worst devil of them all" (a tradition that is reflected even in this month's Current History Magazine), that I recognize in Eastman's remark the

unconsciously absorbed current gossip of the Nepman. But to the industrial workers of Leningrad (then Petrograd), who were, as all know the backbone of the revolution, it would be hard to say that any other than Lenin himself was more popular than Zinoviev—and this fact has long been a by-word.

WHAT of the other veterans whom the elegant Eastman calls "these faint-hearted, Communist?" I will waste no time on his perillousities about Kamenev and Stalin—the fact of Lenin's complete trust in these leaders is established and outweighs all pretense to the contrary—and outweighs Zinoviev's and Kamenev's admitted mistake of October, 1917 (which Eastman grossly misrepresents). Of Bucharin Eastman writes, "We have Lenin's own word that Bucharin does not understand" the intellectual method of Lenin. He also says "Bucharin's prestige rests, by about one-half upon his personal popularity." Stop and think of this gem of American election campaign journalism! And the following gem of Berkmanism: "Revolutionary self-denial and devotion and courage and simplicity of life are the causes of it." He continues that Bucharin's books, Historic Materialism, "is at once so scholarly in appearance, and so utterly undigested and confusing to the (Eastman) brain, that most people are willing to concede his mastery of Marxism in order to avoid having to read and study this book. What Lenin said about Bucharin is that he 'does not understand the Marxian dialectic'" etc. etc.

Now it is on record that Lenin, in the prime of his health after October, said in the most serious way, "Bucharin is a Marxist," but the evidence of single sentences is trivial beside the fact that Lenin repeatedly during the last years chose Bucharin of all others to present the most difficult Marxian analyses on questions so profoundly complicated as to tax the best capacities of the Russian Communist Party. You will note that in the most important Marxian and Leninist task of re-writing the Program of the Russian Communist Party—surely not a "scholastic" task—Lenin chose Bucharin as his collaborator and joint spokesman.

The Joker in the Deck.

MAX EASTMAN'S complaint that the party's "admission of an

enormous number of workers in the shops, and an expulsion of 'intellectuals' at just that moment, must inevitably strengthen the hold of the bureaucracy" (meaning the old guard) merely makes us laugh happily. Now we have the essence of it. Max Eastman has become a professor again: "It is perfectly clear. . .," writes he, "that only a man having some time for critical study, could save himself except by a rare emotional intuition, from becoming the dupe of the official machine"; and Trotsky's support "remained firmest in those sections of the party possessing intellectual leisure and the habit of critical thought."

With that we are about thru with Max. Not that we are among those who feed upon the crude mechanical conception that educated men are dispensed with in the proletarian revolutionary movement. On the contrary we know that the greatest leaders of the working class revolutionary movement from Marx to Lenin (and on to Zinoviev and Bucharin!) have been and are among the most profoundly educated men of their time. We won't even draw the line against artists—it would be possible to show reams of poems written both by Marx and by Engels in their youth. Also we confess to having gotten some comfort out of the fact that Frederick Engels was a talented cartoonist!—and in fact, he published an excellent cartoon in the Deutsche Bruesseler Zeitung, in 1947, the same year in which he collaborated with Marx in writing the Communist Manifesto. No, we won't dispense Eastman for being an "educated" man, nor for being an artist.

But there is a difference between the highly trained mind which completely identifies itself with and becomes an inseparable part of the working class revolution, and the mind which sympathizes but holds itself aloof and presumes to criticize the revolutionary movement from "above the battle"—that is, between the professional revolutionist and the professional litterateur. Max Eastman is the professional litterateur, scolding at the revolution which he has "investigated" but has not joined. THE meaning of Eastman's sally can be understood only in connection with a series of other incidents—and in connection with the time. Not only Eastman but also a whole flock of pseudo-Marxian litterateurs (as well as a horde of social-democ-

crats, liberals and anarchists) at this particular time begin to respond openly to the stimuli of capitalist morale. The Dawes Plan has not in reality "put Europe on rations," but it has irretrievably put a thousand Eastmans and Phillips-Prices to rationalizing a retreat from the Communist position. Never having understood Lenin's thesis upon this as the period of the proletarian revolution, their faith breaks at the first passing episode of temporary and partial stabilization of the capitalist system. Some desert openly. Others are mentally so constructed that they have to find a quarrel "between two factions" in the International, and rationalize themselves out of the International in that manner. Eastman is on his way. His subtle vulgarity: "Since Lenin Died," is not even unrelated to those crass, stupid and treacherous products of the next layer below: the products of Barkman and Goldman.

As one who, from the first news of the Russian party controversy, has been absolutely convinced that the old guard is correct against Trotsky, I may be permitted to remind the reader that Comrade Trotsky is far above this mess of Eastman's and will doubtless repudiate it. Eastman is a lesson in the fact that it is impossible for an "intellectual" to be a Communist if he does not immerse himself completely in the daily official, machine work of the Communist Party. I would recommend to the reader not to waste time on Max Eastman. It would be better to turn to a little book, written by what Eastman calls an unimaginative bureaucrat, Comrade Stalin: "The Theory and Practice of Leninism" (Workers Party, publisher, Chicago). It is a more artistic as well as a wiser work.

(NOTE:— Since writing the above, we have received the news that Comrade Trotsky, altho not yet having read Eastman's book on Lenin, disavows any connection with it and expresses his scorn for the reported aspersions on the Russian Communist Party. Of course. And when Trotsky shall have read the book, we shall expect Max Eastman's skin to be nailed to the door of Comrade Trotsky's new quarters in the office of the Supreme Economic Council.)

Sharpening of Class Antagonism and Absolutism in Japan

By G. VOITINSKY.

THE situation in Japan constitutes at present a great exception among the imperialist countries as regards the development of its economic and political crises, which have continually increased during the last eighteen months or two years.

If one can speak of a relative stabilization of capitalism in England, France and America, and even to some extent in Germany, as far as Japan is concerned, not even the most right wing elements of the international Communist movement could bring forward the least proof in support of a theory of stabilization.

Let us take for example two exterior features of the post-war crises of the capitalist countries: Valuta and exports. During the last year the value of the Japanese yen has continually fallen, altho in the previous year it was already considerably below par. At present 100 yen are worth 33 American dollars. (Par value: 100 yen—43 dollars.) In regard to exports, however, the past year constituted a record as far as unfavorable trade balances are concerned. The balance of trade of the past year shows an import surplus of 650 million yen. The present year promises no better result: The months of January and February reveal an import surplus of 210 million yen.

The causes of this phenomena must be sought in the interior as well as in the foreign political situation of the country. As regards the interior fac-

tors responsible for the condition nearing a crisis of the economic situation the earthquake of September, 1923, with all its consequences for industry and trade, and the bad harvest of 1924 play the chief role.

THE results of these catastrophes expressed themselves in the destruction of an enormous quantity of raw material and semi-manufactures, in the destruction of the textile and silk industry, of a great portion of the electrical industry, as well as in enormous damage to the war industries and in the loss of a huge quantity of military equipments, amounting altogether in value to about 10 milliard yen. The relatively insignificant loans which the Japanese government have received from America and England (about 550 million yen) were employed by the ruling clique, partly in the interest of the monopolists and partly for military adventures in China. The interior loans, the issue of banknotes and paper money, amounting in value to 2 milliard yen, have not only not improved the situation of the country, but have resulted in an immediate collapse of the yen. And it is only the recent export of gold, amounting in value to some hundred million yen, that has served to slow down the rate of depreciation, without however stopping it altogether.

The bad rice crops of the past year likewise meant a great blow to the economic situation of the country. About 20 million bushels of rice had to be imported. Add here the Japan-

ese government is encountering great difficulties: the price of Japanese rice is increasing, at the same time as the valuta is falling, and along with it there is a general decline in the purchasing power of the pesantry.

These conditions, under the rule of the government consisting of representatives of the bureaucracy and of agents of monopolist capital, led to an increase in the economic chaos in the country, as the government itself practically encouraged the speculations of the great capitalists following on the earthquake.

THE most important foreign political factors leading to the sharpening of the economic crisis are: the fact that Japan, at the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923, had to evacuate the Russian territory in the Far East; the enforced limitation of Japanese influence on the Chinese coast, under the pressure of America and in consequence of the Washington conference, and finally, a certain political victory of Japanese influence in North China, towards the end of the past year, which led to strained relations with America and England.

Immediately after the conservatives came into power in England, the plan for the construction of a naval base at Singapore was taken up again. This, of course, means an immediate danger for Japan; it must therefore not only hasten with the construction of warships, but also with the creation of an air fleet. In spite of its relative weak industry and the very unfavorable trade balance, Japan is endeavoring (regardless of the decisions of the

Washington conference, which fixed the relations of the fleets of England, America and Japan in the proportion of 5:5:3) to outbuild the American fleet by the year 1928-29. There will take place in the near future the naval maneuvers of the United States in the Pacific ocean, with the open intention of demonstrating the power of the American fleet in the Far East. This, of course, provokes a mood in Japan, which finds expression in the military budget of the government.

THERE is not the least doubt that the increase in military expenditure, which already amounts to 40 per cent of the total budget, will tend to aggravate the economic crisis, as it deprives the government of the possibility of supporting the middle and petty bourgeoisie to the same extent as it was compelled to do in recent times.

The alterations in the budget, even in Japan where questions of state income and expenditure do not require to be ratified by parliament, can lead in the present circumstances to a political crisis of the government.

The antagonisms which are developing in the Far East between the most important imperialist countries are having perceptible effects upon the whole interior situation of Japan, and are increasing the economic and political crisis of the country.

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THE JOB HUNTERS OF GARY.

(Continued from page 1)

about the rent he owes but is unable to pay? Or perhaps he has not the heart to come "home" to his family without money to buy bread.

The miserable conditions of the workers in the Gary Steel plants surpass anything within imagination. Here one could obtain enough material to write a second "Inferno" exceeding in cruelty and suffering that of Dante's. The monstrous blazing stoves and the fiery surroundings give one the picture of a hell on earth. But were the workers in this hell only to reap the fruit of their labor, then there would be a justification in their labor, for they would then enjoy the products of their hard labor. But instead they only slave for a pittance in order that a few parasitic idlers could

accumulate all the products of their slavery. That's civilized robbery!

The greater number of workers in the Gary Steel plants are what such parasites as Gary, chief of the Gary Steel plants, Rockefeller, Morgan and others classify as "common laborers." In order to prove that the miserable conditions of the Gary Steel workers are not exaggerated, I shall give the following facts and figures:

THE wages of the average "common laborer" is 40 cents an hour. He slaves 7 days a week, and is off only one Sunday in the month, every fourth Sunday. The average payroll is from \$35.00 to \$92.00 for 4 weeks, 3 Sundays included. This would make about \$21 to \$23 the average week.

As already stated the laborer in the Gary Steel plants works 3 Sundays in 4 weeks. Yet, he would be only too

willing to work 10 days a week, were it possible. And he is not to be blamed. It is the universal rule of self-preservation. To fight for his existence the worker would do anything, even slave without a cessation. With the wages indicated above life in this world is a very miserable one. Many of the workers have whole families to support with these wages—hence their willingness to keep on slaving for a pittance for themselves and the products of their toll and blood for the capitalist Moloch.

The living conditions of the Gary workers are as one could imagine with the wages already indicated. The average workers "residence" rather resembles a den for animals. A few broken pieces of furniture is all that the worker could claim as his own. The unmarried worker's lot is more

fortunate. He just rents a room in a boarding house.

THIS is all the Gary worker gets in return for his slavery. Just enough to keep him alive. He works and slaves like an animal, nay, even harder, he works as if he were a part of a machine. Sometimes it is hard to tell which is the human worker and which is the machine. And sometimes when a woeeful sound is heard it is hard to tell if it is the human worker or the hammer that fell.

How fitting it would be to hang up a gigantic electric sign at the entrance of the Gary Steel plants with the following lines of Dante's "Inferno":

"Thru me ye pass into the city of woe; Thru me ye pass into eternal pain."—And... "All hope abandon, ye who enter here."

MYSTIC LITERATURE DRAMA

Fairy Tales for Workers' Children

By HERMYNIA ZUR MUHLEN,
Translated by IDA DAILES.

THE question of fairy tales has always been a rather sore one with the radical movement. Despite all the admonitions of teachers and parents, the children would persist in reading the fairy tales and acquire a dreamy psychology filled with beautiful princesses, fearless knights, ogres, dragons, witches and whatnot. Such a condition was anything but healthy for the development of the working class child along the lines of his class and class interests. It diverted his thoughts from the miseries of the proletarians all around him, even made him, to a certain extent, less sight



of his own troubles, and directed his energies into organizations which offered the closest thing to the fairy tale dreams: the boy scouts and similar bodies.

But even in this distressing field the radical movement has now entered with startling success! Tales for working class children are no longer the monopoly of the bourgeoisie. The imagination, the feeling of allegiance, and the spirit of sacrifice can now be directed along working class lines. Stories, just as lovely and entrancing, and more true, than any others you have ever read in your childhood, are now at the disposal of all.

THE four tales of Hermynia Zur Muhlen, so beautifully printed by the DAILY WORKER, form a book for which no child will ever cease thanking you. While you will not find there any fair medieval prince-

ses or fairy godmothers, there are plenty of real human animals and children whose stories are woven around incidents which bring home the position of the workers in capitalist society and the class war without falling into the weightiness of a tract or thesis. The child who reads this book—and we are certain that the reception it has received will assure further volumes—will reluctantly turn the last page with a new spirit. The tale, "Why" will be repeated in life by a similar question from all the readers and they will readily find an answer to all the queries and doubts that are born in their minds by the other stories that follow. Why are here poor people and rich? Why must the hen produce its eggs for the satisfaction of the market and not for the hungry lad? And the whole book will be the beginning of the answer



which the wise owl listed at "THE LITTLE GREY DOG," "The Rose Bush," and the other tales tell their story in the best manner of the old fairy tales and with far more conviction and interest, for both the symbols and the realities will be easily understood by every child. You will find that before long the book which you will inevitably purchase will go the rounds of the whole neighborhood of children. An old idea put into such a new form; the wine of centuries of children's fiction made truer, more real and poured from the jug of modern realities.

Not to be left behind by the beautiful makeup which fairy tales usually have, this volume is something we can be proud of. The excellent, faithful translation of Ida Dailes, and the beautiful drawings and color pages of Lydia Gibson are on a plane with the fine stories themselves. A copy to your child or to some little friend will be broad on the waters of the working class and revolutionary movement. They will return to be more enthusiastic fighters in the cause of labor.—Max Shachtman.

Museums vs. Movies

As Many Go to Movies in Day as to Museum in Year.

PROF. JAMES J. WALSH, a diner recently held of the national board of review, compared the attendance at the motion picture theatres in New York alone with that at the Metropolitan Museum of Art—one of the greatest storehouses of art treasures in the world. Those in charge of the museum told him that the attendance each year ran to something less than a million—nine hundred thousand some years, nine hundred fifty thousand others.

The bureau of licenses is authority for the statement that every day in New York City alone a million people attend the movies.

A million a year show enough interest in the achievements of the past to visit the museum—but a million a day seek the latest bonhomie of the day in the movies. Anyone can get into the minds of the masses—if only he can "Say it with movies."

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RED WEEK—June 15 to 21.



THE STORY OF THE PIONEERS

(Translated from the official organ of the German Junior Groups)

IN a large city lived a young boy. His parents were so poor that they often did not have enough food to eat or had any new clothes. Therefore Ernest which was the boys name was forced to go to work. Everyday he could be seen with his bootblack box. During the rainy weather or sunny weather he was forced to go out and earn his living. He could not associate with the rich children or those whose parents were well off. Life was miserable to him. He could not go to school and Ernest just loved to learn about science. One day Ernest thought, "I hope that the workers will become free and if I had the chance I would give my life for the cause which fights for the working class. I wonder when the time will come when there will be neither rich nor poor but everyone equal."

As Ernest stood there thinking he heard a noise which startled him. He looked up and there stood a long line of children singing and talking happily to each other! "I wonder who these children are," thought Ernest as he noticed the peculiarity in their clothes. Here were a group of children dressed in white waists with red handkerchiefs. In their hands they held little red flags which were inscribed "Jung-Spartakus-Bund" (Young Spartans Group). After seeing these happy children Ernest decided to follow them and find out who they were. He

came to a large building where all entered and he followed. In the room were seated around the long table the group of juniors. Each one talked of the working class daily struggles. Around the room were many pictures of revolutionary leaders such as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Liebknecht. These were new to him. Ernest became very interested and for the next two weeks he could be seen in there. He became acquainted with the Russian revolution and learned of how the workers had taken over the factories, schools and all enjoyment for the workers. Ernest was now familiar with the best revolutionary leaders and had become a member of this group. In a few weeks Ernest had become one of the most active members in the group. At the next demonstration Ernest could be seen at the head of the group with his white waist, red chief and red flag waving high in the air. He was singing wildly for at last he had found a real working class party who would lead the workers in their struggles.—Albert Glotzer.

Prison Meat is Stolen.

NEW YORK, June 5.—Meat sold to Sing Sing prison is being stolen and sold privately to prisoners who can afford extra food, other convicts complain. Prison Commissioner Leon C. Weinstein is investigating.