

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

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The Soviet Union and Great Britain - By George Chicherin

Extract from the Report on the Foreign Political Situation to the Third Congress of the Soviet Union.

We print below that portion of Comrade Chicherin's Foreign Political Report dealing with the relations of the Soviet Union to England.—Editor's Note.

The Combinations of the Great Powers.

EVERYWHERE, no matter where we look, in the last resort we encounter the chief combinations of world politics, that is, the world politics of the great powers which are stretching out their feelers in all directions, which are active in Poland, in our western neighboring states and in the whole of the Near and Far East. And here in these main combinations of world politics we can distinguish two categories, two important, one could say, antagonistic tendencies. The one category consists in the formation of a united front against us.

The combinations of the other kind consist in the efforts, arising out of the antagonism of the great powers and which seek to draw us into one or the other combinations of the capitalist states. For example, in France in the press and in the statements of statesmen in the period of Herriot government—of course not of Herriot himself—the following combination was contemplated: France against England, that is, France and Russia along with Poland and Japan against England, which latter on her part is allied with Germany. That was one of the recent combinations, while at the same time other combinations existed, for example, Germany along with us, etc.

In the complicated political situation in which we have to conduct our policy of peace, our policy of creating peaceable relations upon the basis of the right of determination of the peoples, we stand between these two categories of international combinations: united front against us, or attempts by means of this or that combination to make use of us and draw us over to one or the other side.

ONE must say, however, that in recent times the first of these categories has prevailed. In the recent political situation, in connection with the strengthening of reaction in the most important countries of the world, the setting up of a united front against us is the main theme. If in the Geneva press, which is in close touch with the league of nations, the league of nations is represented as a possible basis of a united front against us, it is only the continuation of that policy of combinations which during the last six months has filled the press of all the ruling great powers.

The chief role is still being played by England. England however, is closely connected with America. In cases where it is a question of the immediate interests of the United States, the latter comes forward with decisive declarations and speaks in a tone of command, as the deciding factor.

The Dawes plan, the results of which consist in the immediate domination of American capital over European conditions, is of so much interest to the American government that it threatens the European states with the withdrawal of its support in the event of the Dawes plan being threatened by the disunity of the European states. As after the world war the world's gold supplies have accumulated in the vaults of the American banks, that means that as America is the present chief creditor and also the only possible chief creditor of the

whole world in the future, it is quite clear that this threat of financial pressure can play a decisive role in international relations. If, however, American diplomacy, in some main questions which interest American capital, acts quite independently and in a decisive manner, in other cases of international daily life, where the minor questions of all countries are interwoven with one another and constitute the object of discussions, it is

in this direction, we must at any rate reckon with the existence of an exceedingly strong tendency to the creation of a united front against us. And we must say, that it is one thing to make reassuring declarations regarding the general principle of a boycott, or the creation of a united front against us, while practical politics is another thing. We should like to express the wish that the real political actions of the English government

Soviet Union is impossible so long as it does not cease its propaganda. That is another question. That is the literal repetition of the words of Lord Curzon when we met in Lausanne.

When I asked him what possibilities he saw of improving our relations, he replied that no better relations were possible, so long as we did not cease our propaganda. I then asked him:

"What is propaganda? We have a government which has an official apparatus and employes at its disposal. The government and its whole apparatus pledges not to carry on any propaganda. The government, however, cannot accept responsibility for what any private citizen may say. If a private citizen infringes the laws or the treaties, then he will be made responsible. We cannot however compel the Communist Party to cease to be a Communist Party. We cannot compel the members of the Communist Party to refrain from acting as Communists."

And Curzon replied to me:

If it means that it is here a question, not of a 100 per cent, but of a 50 per cent propaganda being conducted then the government of his majesty cannot negotiate in this respect.

The same idea is to be seen in the declaration of Chamberlain: "Cease conducting propaganda!"

WHAT is propaganda? We stand before the main question of our foreign political relations. Our government is prepared to accept and accepts all the obligations bound up with international relations. If the English government proves that it is misusing our diplomatic connections, then we are prepared to agree to everything demanded of us in this respect.

If, however, we are told that all propaganda must cease in the Soviet Unions, this is tantamount to demanding that the Communist Party shall cease to be a Communist Party. Here it is a question of whether we shall continue to exist or not. It concerns the main question of our relations with the capitalist world by which we are surrounded.

If Chamberlain says to us: "All propaganda must cease, the Communist Party shall cease to be a Communist Party," then we must answer: "Faites le, citoyen Chamberlain." "Do it, Citizen Chamberlain!"

YOU have already attempted it, but you did not succeed. What do you really want? War? You do not want war. You cannot want war. A fresh intervention? You have already tried that. What then do you want? You must understand that between England and ourselves, between the capitalist states and our state, a modus vivendi must be created. But in order to create a modus vivendi, the English government must adopt its former standpoint, that is to say, regulate the relations from government to government. The English government must abandon its present standpoint which consists in demanding that the Communist Party shall cease to be a Communist Party. Everything that is possible with regard to the government's policy, with regard to agreements, obligations of the government as regards the official apparatus, our government is prepared to undertake and will undertake.

On this basis concrete demands can be discussed and definite agreements arrived at. We may mention that when, in 1921, we concluded a temporary treaty with England, which today is the only valid treaty between us and England, we proposed to England that it should not limit her

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Next Week: Story by Liam O'Flaherty

NEXT Saturday's magazine supplement of the DAILY WORKER will contain a short story from the gifted pen of Liam O'Flaherty, a young proletarian writer who has already won an international reputation thru his books and short stories.

FOUR of his books have been published within two years: The Neighbor's Wife; The Black Soul; The Informer and a collection of short stories. One of England's leading critics declared that he is one of the best five short story writers in the English language. One of those short stories, dealing with the civil war in Ireland, in which he fought on the side of the Republicans, is listed in the collection of the best short stories produced in Great Britain during 1923.

LIAM O'FLAHERTY led a colorful life, tho now only twenty-six years old. He left a little fishing village in the Arran Islands on the west coast of Ireland at an early age for college, where he was trained by the Jesuits for the propaganda mission. He is anything but grateful to his tutors as his writings show. After the official ending of the war, in which he participated with the Irish Guards, he went to South America and afterwards traveled thru the Near East landing in Smyrna when the Turks decided to kick out the Greeks. He jumped ship in Alexandria, Egypt, later on taking a "tramp" for Canada. While there he worked as a lumber jack, belonging to the I. W. W.

HE finally crossed the border into the United States, worked as telegraph messenger boy, dish washer in a restaurant, and helper in a powder factory. He jumped to South America again and after several months returned to Ireland where he participated in the war against the Free State in the Communist detachment of the Republican army.

WHEN the civil war ended he took to writing and after living precariously on "fish and chips" he made good and is now eating regular food. The magazine section of the DAILY WORKER is able to promise its readers articles and short stories from Liam O'Flaherty's pen from time to time.

England and English diplomacy which plays the most active and influential role.

England.

THE English foreign minister has officially declared that he was not, is not and will not be the initiator and originator of any plans of a united front against us. Nevertheless we find many indications in the world press and in the English press, that English influence is playing a role in creating that atmosphere of general hostility against us in which we have to work.

We have already mentioned that a deputation of conservatives approached the English government with the demand that relations be broken off with us. The conservative press states that the English foreign minister declared that England could not alone venture on a breach with the Soviet Union. If these words are rightly reported, this would suggest that England as a member of a united front, would be capable of severing relations with us. This means that influential conservative circles, which belong to that party which is in power, consider it important to support the idea of the united front against us.

Thus, whether this only represents a tendency within the conservative party, or whether we have to reckon with the possibility of government ac-

were in harmony with these declarations of the English minister.

MEANWHILE the official attitude of the English government towards us during the last few months has been vacillating. It has altered. At the commencement of the year, in that period when in a whole number of questions, as Morocco, Tunis, etc., England did not succeed in arriving at an understanding with the continental states, the official position of the English government was as follows: the Soviet government may propose negotiations, we are prepared to negotiate; the Soviet government may make proposals, we will examine these proposals.

We declared at that time: we are ready at any moment and with the greatest pleasure to commence and conduct these negotiations, we only want to know in which respect the treaty signed by MacDonald is acceptable for the new English government. They said to us: "Submit a proposal"; We, however, said: "There is the treaty, show us wherein it is acceptable and then we will know what proposals are possible." This however, was not done.

The Question of Propaganda.

THE present standpoint of the English foreign minister is somewhat different. He says, that the establishment of friendly relations with the

The Trial of the Communist Party of Roumania

By M. RADU (Bucharest).

ON the 28th of April there commenced before the military court of Bucharest, the monster trial of the Communist Party of Roumania. The atmosphere in which this great political trial is taking place is characterized by the increased intensity of the domestic and foreign political situation and the economic crisis, by an unrestrained persecution of the labor movement, of the subject nationalities and of the peasantry of the country.

The events in Bulgaria have frightened the Roumanian boyars and the financial oligarchy. The organs of the government and also of the bourgeois opposition are raising a great outcry against the "approaching danger of a Bolshevik putch," and are calling upon the government to learn a lesson from Zankov. The state of siege prevailing in Bessarabia and in the southern and western border districts has been rendered still more severe by fresh measures on the part of the military and the secret police. The Danube flotilla and numerous air squadrons have been mobilized, considerable bodies of troops have been concentrated in Dobrudsha and in Bessarabia, and the few remnants which still existed of the right of combination and to hold meetings have been abolished.

DURING the last few months the pressure upon the nationalities has been redoubled; the schools and the cultural associations of the peoples living in Siebenburgen, Bessarabia, and in Bucovina have been closed, and in the best cases replaced by Roumanian institutions, while the teaching staffs have been driven out. The educational act which has been just passed by parliament, deprives the national minorities of all possibility of being taught their mother tongue. The subject nationalities have not the slightest chance of exercising any political rights. The discontent among the nationalities is, therefore, constantly increasing.

Owing to the corruption prevailing in the distribution of the land in old Roumania and the revision of the rights to the soil already acquired in Bessarabia, as well as the systematic requisitioning of corn, in spite of the prevailing bread shortage, the indignation of the peasantry against the tyranny of the boyars is assuming more and more visible forms. In numerous localities peasant revolts have broken out which could only be quelled with the aid of considerable reinforcements of gendarmes and military detachments.

A general economic crisis completes this picture of the arbitrary regime of Bratianu. Agricultural production shows a constant decline, which reveals itself in a serious shortage in the bread supply for the whole population, and in the introduction of breadless days. All attempts on the part of the government to create a favorable foreign trade balance have been rendered illusory by a general crisis of production. The government has also failed to obtain foreign credits for the restoration of industrial undertakings. Under such circumstances, whole branches of industry are at a complete standstill. Unemployment already embraces 55 per cent of the working class, that is 155,000 workers. A 40 per cent decline in the standard of living and constant attempts on the part of the employers to abolish the eight-hour day and to introduce piece work further characterize the situation of the working class.

THE government, on its part, is hastening to aid the capitalist exploiters by a number of anti-labor laws. For the past eighteen months the government has been conducting an uninterrupted campaign of persecution against all organizations of the working class.

Of all the political parties of Roumania the Communist Party has been the only one to raise its voice on behalf of the right to self-determination of the subject nationalities, up to complete separation from the ruling state, and to point out to the suppressed masses of Bessarabia, Siebenburgen and Bucovina the only possible way to emancipation, which consists in the abolition of the present regime and in the setting up of a workers' and peasants' government of Roumania and the establishment of a Federation of Soviet Republics of the Balkans. The Bratianu government replied to this attitude of the C. P. of Roumania with an indescribable campaign of terror, with mass arrests and the proclamation of martial law throughout the greater part of the country. With the establishment of martial law, the C. P. of Roumania was rendered illegal.

DURING the height of the terror, the Communist Party was confronted with the task of adapting its organizations to the altered conditions without losing contact with the broad masses of the workers, but especially with the suppressed nationalities and the landless peasants. The C. P. of Roumania considered it its duty, more than ever before, to tear the mask from the face of the gov-

ernment of boyar despotism and on every occasion when the nationality question came to the front, to give unreserved expression to its standpoint. This was the case in December last year, on the occasion of the congress of the Hungarian minority party which took place in Brasov, when the Communist Party exposed to the broad working masses of the Hungarian minority, that shameful political bargaining which the Hungarian big landowners and big industrialists were carrying on in the name of the Hungarian population of Roumania, for the mess of pottage of shameful concessions at the cost of the working masses.

The government of terror reacted to this campaign of enlightenment of the C. P. of Roumania with fresh persecutions and mass arrests, the like of which had never been seen since the suppression of the great general strike in 1920. The closing of trade union branches, the confiscation of the organs of the unitarian trade unions, imprisonment and cruel ill-treatment of close on 1,500 workers—these were "the measures for maintaining law and order."

THE inquisitorial "methods of examination," which even put medieval torturings in the shade, the "disciplining" of the imprisoned by confining them for weeks in concrete cells, about the size of a cupboard with a small hole for ventilation, compelled the arrested comrades to enter upon a hunger-strike as a protest against their unlawful arrest and barbarous ill-treatment. After a 30 to 40 days' hunger-strike which almost resulted in the death of the imprisoned comrades, the authorities, under the pressure of the hunger-strike and the general indignation of the public, were compelled to free the prisoners one by one, with the exception of 30 comrades who are still kept under arrest.

It was under such conditions that the Roumanian government hastened to stage a monster trial of the C. P. of Roumania, and in so doing made special use of the recent political events in the Balkans. The essence of the "accusation" which is brought against the Communist Party of Roumania is based upon the latter's attitude regarding the Bessarabian question. In view of the approaching conference of the little entente in Bucharest, where the basis of an "anti-Bolshevik bloc" under the patronage of English imperialism is to be created, the Bratianu government is endeavoring hand in hand with Zankov, by shameful sentences to make it ap-

pear as if it were necessary to suppress every movement for freedom in its own country and to justify such suppression in the neighboring countries. This is the purpose of the monster trial which is to put a legal stamp upon the unconstitutional outlawing of the C. P. of Roumania and the other proletarian organizations. At the commencement of the trial the building of the military court of the Bucharest army corps was surrounded by strong military forces, and in the court itself troops were stationed with machine guns and fixed bayonets.

IN the trial there are 70 accused, 57 of whom are before the court. More than 400 people were proposed as witnesses, among them the Prime Minister Bratianu, the late ministers, Tranku-Jassi and Argetojanu and other familiar names in the political life of Roumania. Further, Henri Barbusse, Monmousseau, Smeral, Serrati, Ekaterina Arbore-Ralli, Clara Zetkin, Cachin, Sadoul, Blasco Ibanez and others. The accused demanded that foreign lawyers be allowed to come and defend them, and also that they be allowed to speak their own language at the trial. The court, after long discussion, granted the last request.

Comrade Dr. Egon Schonhof, a lawyer who had come from Vienna, was refused the right to act as defender on the ground that he is not a Roumanian citizen and not a member of the bar of Bucharest. He was afterwards given permission to defend, but was arrested on the very next day, held under arrest for six days and shamefully treated, and finally expelled and conducted to the frontier.

IT was characteristic of the court that on the conclusion of the first day of proceedings it declared that all accused who were still at liberty should be arrested; whereupon all the accused entered on a hunger-strike. The defense raised the objection that scarcely 10 per cent of all the witnesses who had been summoned had appeared, and therefore demanded the adjournment of the proceedings on account of insufficient evidence. The court overrode the objection; nevertheless on the second day of the proceedings it had to acquit six of the accused comrades as nothing could be proved against them. The trial is still going on and will, in all probability, in view of the imposing mass of "evidence" brought forward by the prosecution, still last some weeks. It will serve as a model for other Balkan States.

LETTERS FROM OUR READERS

To the DAILY WORKER: Reading the Sunday Times, I came across a letter written to an American Red Cross nurse, from a friend of hers in Soviet Russia. The letter is headed: "Cry of Anguish from Soviet Russia." The Red Cross nurse relates the life and the letter of her friend in a very pitiful fashion. She met her friend in Poland in one of the hospitals during the previous war, working as a Red Cross nurse.

She was then a young and happy girl coming from a bourgeois family. The revolution broke out. The Reds took over power. And the brutal red Bolsheviks slaughtered her family, arrested her, and made her toil and now she is broken down in health, unable to maintain life, and is asking for aid.

Then she closes her letter by saying that when she heard in Madison Square Garden, the innocent little voices of our free American children chanting a praise for Soviet Russia, her heart filled with sorrow and she shed bitter tears. And she quotes, if the innocent little children would only know the truth of the cruel and brutal Soviet regime, the thousands of innocent little children slaughtered and the suffering and oppression of the Russian people under the rule of the Soviets, then and only then could we save the free American children from the red plague.

To my understanding a letter of this kind will not weaken the faith of the thousands of American workers towards the only free Soviet republic. Russia is the only country in the world that cares for the proletarian children, physically and morally, and in every way in trying to work out the best system possible as how to bring up the Russian youth.

You know well enough, kind hearted nurse, that your cry for the poor innocent Russian children being slaughtered is in vain.

If you are so good and kind hearted why not better cry for the free American children, toiling in the cotton fields, mills and mines, the canning industries of the north. The hundreds of little children dying of disease due to the lack of care. Cry for the free American youth that were slaughtered in the previous war for democracy. And then kind hearted nurse, if you have enough tears left, cry for the international suffering and struggling toiling masses all over the world. Why not cry for the Chinese orphaned children, their fathers being killed when they dared to ask for a better livelihood, for the oppressed and struggling Bulgarian peasants and workers. And for the thousands of workers that were slaughtered in the time of the French revolution, to save the noble and capitalistic god of yours. Free Russia is the Statue of Liberty, her torch shines bright, and

high for the workers all over the world to follow in her footsteps.—Comradé Gertrude Pincus.

To the DAILY WORKER: I have been receiving the five copies of the DAILY WORKER for the last week past and have been scattering them among the working men, but have not sold any or been able to get any subs as yet, but I think I will soon. Its looks scares some working men. It is like throwing a large piece of bread down among a small lot or a lot of little chickens, it scares them until the older ones picks in smaller chunks.

But after they once get started to read the truth they then take right ahold and are anxious for more and more.

Yet there is a great number of people who say, "Well, I think our government is getting about as rotten as it can get to be, yet, before we change we want something better, before we tear down what we have and will ask what the Communists are offering to take its place."

They ask what kind of a financial system do they offer and what protection against the big banking interests.

First, I have suggested that we put our money on a paper basis at \$500 per capita, then compel all banks to call in all excepting paper and pay them in full legal tender greenback

as gold. Then when every cent of this fake money is in, then our government pay off all her banks at the price the banks paid the government for the bonds and stop all interest. Make a penalty, any person or persons to offer to discount our money would mean forfeiture of claims against the government. The next thing would be to establish a central bank in every state in the union and branch banks in every community and loan money, like the postal system, at cost of clerk hire. This makes it unlawful for any person or persons to loan money in competition with the government. Make it so any person starting to farm or other business could borrow up to \$5,000, but should be safely guarded by a board of directors residing in the county where loan is to be made.

All directors to be elected by vote of people of each banking district and it be a law where an enterprise requiring over \$5,000 must be operated by the government in the interest of the whole people and let it be law that a man must be one who occupies land and cultivates the soil before he can get a loan. He must do the labor himself and should he hire any part of the work by other person or persons he is disqualified. He must do real labor himself and such other measures as would make it safe for the worker.—Theodore Pierce, Boise, Idaho.

Pittsburg Steel vs. Human Freedom

Fred H. Merrick

IF we would understand the big struggles in human society a knowledge of the economic forces is the magic key that unlocks the door of understanding. It is this knowledge which explains the mystery of millions of human beings starving, hundreds of thousands brutalized by silent repression of every human emotion in the concrete graves of "model" prisons, the lynching of the Negro, the terrorism of the K. K. K., the prostitution of the "independent" press in the richest country in the world where the productive capacity of the labor units comprising the industrial army of 25 million robots is relatively greater than any other part of the world and far greater than at any other time in history and in a land which boasts of "democracy" and professes to maintain a status of "equality" for all its enormous population scattered over the face of a great continent.

The Economics of Pittsburgh.

ONE of the blunders of the superficial and uneconomic observer of the Pittsburgh district has been the invariable approach from the angle of steel. Those who have no training as economic students are blinded by the sensations created by the spectacular and thrilling flash and glare of the open hearth furnaces on the black screen of Pittsburgh's night sky. They come and look and leave with only one word upon their lips—"Steel."

To the economist and the toiling wage slave whose lives have been spent in the smoky, murky, sweaty industrial hell called "Pittsburgh," an entirely different word epitomizes the economic foundation upon which the stage of the romance of steel has been erected. That word is "coal." To many this may seem a distinction without a difference. Such is not the case. In the difference between these words lies the difference between "organized labor" and the "open shop," a difference so great that the political reflex of this economic situation marks the administration of the political institutions of Western Pennsylvania as a district separate and apart from the rest of the United States. Here the dilettante and the pseudo political economist come to gasp and marvel at the "amazing and cruel abuse of our great democratic institutions" by ignorant tools of Judge Gary and the charming Mr. Mellon.

A serious investigation of the monstrous brutalities of the courts, police and state constabulary in Western Pennsylvania will disclose the fact that there is nothing strange about it all. This treatment of the workers is absolutely necessary to keep them in that degree of subjection necessary to a smooth and profitable and capi-

talistic method of production in an industry known as a "continuous process" one, such as steel is. The only alternative to this would be the democratic organization of the steel industry under the ownership control and administration of the workers organized into a great industrial union, provided there was no hostile political institution to interfere with the workers' administration of the industry. Hence it is pure sea-foam for us to "protest" against this greater degree of oppression in the Pittsburgh district as long as the economic cause for oppression remains. The capitalist owners of "steel" must make a profit off of the sweat and bones of the steel workers if they are to remain capitalists and not become workers. The workers' object to this and attempt to rebel. The capitalists, as capitalists, must meet this with sufficient force to crush it. Due to numerous factors this requires the exercise of greater force than in most other parts of the United States and therefore makes the political agents of the Steel Corporation look relatively worse than the political puppets of the other industrial lords of America.

King Coal as a Factor.

THE "flying" of Pittsburgh as the greatest steel center on this planet was the result of the natural deposits of a peculiarly suitable vein of coal in this locality. Without this juxtaposition of coal adjacent to Pittsburgh's industrial canal—the Monongahela river, Pittsburgh would never have become a steel city nor grown to any size whatever. Therefore the key to Pittsburgh's labor problem must be sought in the coal mining industry of this district.

The beginning of mining along the banks of the "Mon" was so long ago and so modest and at a time when only pioneers and primitive men participated that a spirit of crude, pioneer-front democracy grew up among these coal miners which manifested itself repeatedly in organization along class lines. This had become a tradition around Pittsburg long before the organization of the U. S. Steel corporation. Large numbers of the stronger miners naturally drifted into the steel industry and became the natural leaders of the workers in the evolution of that industry. Their inclination towards industrial independence manifested itself in the organization of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. This union met its Waterloo in the almost successful rebellion of the homestead strike when for the first time in American history workers seized and defended by force of arms a great capitalist industrial property as their own property, by right of creation. From that date armed

guards continually patrol all the great steel mills of the Pittsburgh district and admission of visitors is next to impossible as an acknowledgment of the irrepressible class struggle between steel manufacturer and steel worker. From that date began a systematic and ceaseless campaign to establish the "open shop" thruout this district. Elaborate espionage systems were permanently organized, thousands of stool pigeons employed and corruption of labor leaders on a grand scale became the customary practice in the industrial life of Pittsburgh. Today all this is considered just as legitimate as banking the profits of the steel mills.

The Black Cloud of Union Miners.

BUT there was always the menace of a black cloud of unionism threatening the plans of the steel "open shoppers," and this was the union coal miner. Buried in the bowels of the earth, at his work, or living his colorless life in a numbered company house under the shadow of the elaborate company store, with seldom even a movie to distract his attention from the realism of the stark class struggle, the U. M. W. of A. became his church, the local meeting his prayer meeting and unionism his religion with the operator as the devil and the union organizer as his patron saint.

The "brains" of steel long ago recognized this menace and almost coincident with the Homestead strike H. C. Frick moved upon Fayette county and destroyed the last vestige of unionism among the Connellsville coke miners who supplied the coke necessary in the production of steel. It was not so easy, however, to destroy the union in the immediate vicinity of Pittsburgh. The miners could not be herded together in one factory group and the evolution of coal mining was necessarily so slow that the small operator often found it a distinct advantage to have a contract with the union and thus keep up competition with the larger operators who rapidly metamorphosed into subsidiaries of all the big steel companies, including the "independents" and the Youngstown group. Steel companies who did not at least indirectly, own coal mines to feed their furnaces were quite out of style. Thus Frick and the leading steel magnates most logically became the bitter foes of the union miner.

AS time went on this grew more serious. The union miner out of intense conviction could always be counted upon to give liberally of his money and his efforts to defend any victims of persecution in the cause of unionism and again and again struggling "craft" unions and their leaders on the precipice of dissolu-

tion were saved by the timely help of the militant Pittsburgh coal miner. In more recent years the costly strike of 1922 demonstrated even to Andrew Mellon, the spiritual heir of Frick, the Southwestern Pennsylvania coal miner was a power to be reckoned with. At that time the powerful Mellon group entrenched in the Pittsburgh Coal company suffered the most humiliating defeat in their entire career being compelled, after segregating themselves from their weaker colleagues, and defiantly boasting they would never "sign," to march up and write their names on the dotted line. The Mellons blamed three groups for their defeat and swore not simply to get vulgar revenge but to remove these obstacles to the "open shop" in Pittsburgh.

The first of this group were the "independents" led by John S. Bell, a millionaire banker and coal operator who with a group of smaller fry signed up with the union compelling the Pittsburgh Coal company to come in. Just a few weeks ago Bell paid for his class scabbary with his financial life blood. Three banks he controlled were found "unsound" and he quickly disgorged with large and juicy coal properties he was attempting unsuccessfully to swallow.

The second group were "regular" district officials of District 5, U. M. W. of A. whom the Pittsburgh Coal company claim were "unfair and who have been trailed for months recently by U. S. treasury agents in an effort to catch them in income tax irregularities."

Pittsburgh Miners' Relief Conference.

THE fourth group were at the time considered a joke—"just a bunch of nuts." It however, developed that this group was the most dangerous of all. Starting with a capital of \$15, a handful of Pittsburgh trade unionists conceived of the idea, while the 1922 strike was still on, of raising enough help to keep up the fight in only a few "key" mining camps and by this strategy hold the mass of the miners in line under the leadership of these few important mines. This was necessary as the officials of the union were not giving out relief and the resources of the "nuts" was too limited to help many miners. Naturally, they picked the camps where the miners were most militant. Going from house to house in the working class districts of Pittsburgh, facing ridicule, suspicion and abuse, "The Pittsburgh Miners' Relief Conference," raised \$15,000, in food, clothes and money. This modest sum was the stabilizing force in strategic camps of the Pittsburgh Coal company in the closing days of the 1922 strike.

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The Canadian Wheat Pools

By Maurice Spector

AT the present time the annual membership drive is going on in the three western prairie provinces of the Dominion of Canada for the wheat pools.

The co-operative movement in Canada, as in the United States, is for obvious reasons (large-scale mass capitalist production and distribution, relatively higher living standard of skilled workers, backwardness of labor movement, etc.), very backward. There is only one flourishing co-operative, and that is among the miners in Sydney, Nova Scotia. But there are a number of farmers' organizations which carry on commodity marketing co-operation.

DURING the world war, two bodies were created to handle the marketing of Canadian grain. One was the "Wheat Export company," which acted as purchasing agents for the British government and the allied powers, and the other was "Board of Grain Supervisors," made up of members of the Winnipeg stock exchange and representatives of the farmers and the dominion government and which fixed prices. By this machinery

the whole of the 1917 and 1918 crops was marketed.

The war-time wheat board (Wheat Export company) remained in existence till July, 1919, in the spring of which year the allied imperialists announced that they would not take the 1919 crops. A post-war wheat board was therefore formed in July, 1919, to market the crop, which it did by: (a) controlling the internal price of flour, and (b) subordinating the machinery of the Winnipeg grain exchange to its rulings. The crops of 1920, 1921 and 1922, however, were handled thru the ordinary channels of trade.

THESE latter are the farmers' co-operative organizations—the "United Grain Growers" (in Manitoba and Alberta), the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator company which operates local and terminal elevators. These either buy outright from their members or sell on commission.

The great price slump in 1920 drew from the farmers a demand that the wheat board should continue to function. To this the government refused to accede, and as a result the farmers were compelled to turn to voluntary efforts, forming three pools in 1924.

The stages of the formation of these pools were as follows: In 1921, a committee of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator company reported in favor of a voluntary pool, while the "Council of Agriculture" demanded a government board. In 1922 the government refused such a board on the ground that it was "ultra vires" of federal power in "normal times," and referred the matter to the provincial authorities. The legislatures of Alberta and Saskatchewan immediately passed enabling legislation, but in Manitoba the bill of the Bracken (farmer) government for a board was defeated.

In 1923, a drive to secure farmers' signatures to a voluntary pool was energetically launched representing 50 per cent of the acreage of Alberta. The pool was started in October of that year and was later on able to report marketing 34 million bushels at an average price of \$1.03 per bushel, two cents per bushel averaging expenses and reserve. In 1924 a central selling agency was started for the three provincial pools with one sales manager at Winnipeg and another at Vancouver. As a result, at least half of the wheat crop of 1924 was market-

ed by the farmers themselves, which means by some 85,000 farmers, representing ten million acres of wheatland.

THE pool is based on the contract system practiced by the Danish dairy farmers and the California fruit growers. The contract the farmer signs runs for five years, till 1927. A member breaking the contract is liable to 25 cents per bushel damages. Some advantages of the pool are that the farmer does not have to sell immediately after harvest under pressure of creditors and that by orderly feeding of the market there is more likelihood of obtaining a higher price than by individualist marketing.

As a step forward in the direction of co-operative organization this wheat pool is to be welcomed. It has obvious advantages over the old way of marketing. But wheat pool co-operation is an environment of finance-capitalist monopoly and subject to all sabotage of capitalist forces, has all the limitations of co-operation under capitalism in general. The wheat pool will be of service to the farmers only if it does not raise in them the illusion that this is the solution of such agrarian crises as they have in recent years so acutely experienced.

MASTERS AND SLAVES (A Story)

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 has no fixed trade. In Colorado Springs Vavas buys second-hand clothes for the two of them and they go to look for jobs. Vavas gets a job as a barber. Nickles manages to get work as a footman at Broadmoor, the mansion of the Broidins. 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 bosses. The strike is won by the barbers, but the union delegate from Denver sells out at the last moment, and the strikers are deprived of most of the fruits of their victory. As a result of the fight of the workers the ku klux klan of Colorado Springs holds an initiation ceremony. They swear to exterminate the Reds. Mr. Broidin takes part in the ceremony. He desires Marguerite the young servant, and makes love to her, which enrages Nickles. Gradually Nickles is becoming more and more receptive to the ideas of Joe Vavas who is a Communist. The Broidins are more and more tyrannical. A Christian Science service is held at the Broadmoor mansion. At the ceremony the poet who officiates delivers an oration full of the claptrap of the master class. All this spiritual bunk does not prevent the guests from devouring a great quantity of food after the services are over. This means more work for the servants who are overburdened as it is. Now go on with the story.

(Continued from last Saturday.)

CHAPTER XIV.

IT was unbearably hot. The last day of August overwhelmed the poor, tired earth with fiery beams as if wanting to pour out its last remaining heat.

The Broidin family arranged an outing. They invited their most intimate acquaintances to this outing to spend the day by the cool, windy lake.

For Nickles, John, and Marguerite it meant that they would have to drag the tables with all that was on them for half a mile to the lake, and then to carry them back again.

The hosts as well as the guests put on bathing suits. They sat under great umbrellas. From time to time they would jump into the water and then lie down again in the shade.

John and Nickles dragged the tables in their regulation dress coats. The sweat soaked their clothing, their white collars became crumpled.

When they came back from waiting at table they looked as if they had taken a dip in the lake in their clothes. They almost melted in the heat of the sun.

And they had to repeat this painful performance three times. Nickles listened to the conversation of the ladies and gentlemen:

"It was really a nice day."

"For all we care, the sun can be as hot as it wants."

"I wasn't hot."

"It was a swell idea."

"The water is so fine and cool."

"And the shade is very inviting."

"We've fooled the sun all right."

"We ought to have this again."

Nickles thot different.

Mr. Broidin contemplated his wife and the rest of the females.

In their bathing suits they looked even more withered. Their shrivelled breasts and skinny legs were far from enticing.

When Marguerite came to help John and Nickles, Mr. Broidin pictured her in a bathing suit and (again in his imagination) he took delight in her hard, round breasts, the seductive form and well-shaped hips.

His blood seethed.

He thot that perhaps the cold water would cool off the heat. But he found it impossible to still his desire.

He shut his eyes. He dreamed that he was close to Marguerite. He became enraged:

"A servant girl!"

Suddenly that fact calmed him completely.

With a servant girl it's all right to do anything.

Again he felt the master.

He was conscious of the fact that he was Mr. Broidin, Owner of a big fortune. To whom everything is permitted. Especially with regard to a servant girl.

"I'll pay her. Yes sir . . . I'll even make her happy."

He had his camera brot.

He formulated a real plan of war.

He took a few pictures. Photographed the bathing women. And then he hid the camera behind a bush.

WHEN Mr. and Mrs. Broidin were left alone they went to the work-room. There was such a room in the house. In fact, Mr. and Mrs. Broidin also worked. Yes, indeed, they worked. They clipped out of the "New York Herald" and the "Springs Paper" (from the "Society" columns) all notices relating to the Broidin family as well as the list of names of those participating in the affairs of their acquaintances. They followed up carefully all those who performed at these affairs, and they also clipped the speeches of the great English statesman-relative, altho they did not read them.

All this was extremely difficult and exhausting work. And that is why the holy of holies where this work was performed merited justly the name "work-room."

As we already know, the library served an entirely different purpose. We need only repeat that the chief thing was to keep the books from getting dusty. The delicate work of dusting was assigned to Nickles and Marguerite. But putting the books in order was not their affair. Nor was that considered an important matter. It didn't bother Mr. or Mrs. Broidin that, for example, a study on Cellini was at one end of the library, and a book on North-Italian sculpture at the other end. A reference book on China porcelain on the top shelf, another on the same subject on the lowest shelf. There was a catalogue, it is true, but this was an inheritance from the grandfather.

As no one read the books the catalogue was altogether superfluous.

Mrs. and Mr. Broidin were in the work-room, as mentioned above.

The papers had been looked thru, and they sat opposite each other silent.

"It takes a long time to get dark"—Broidin said.

"Do you think so?"—asked the wife.

Silence again.

Mr. Broidin looked out again and again at the sky which was still light.

"It was a beautiful day"—said the wife.

"Yes"—the husband answered with a bored expression.

He waited.

The last hour of twilight seemed very long to him.

Silence.

The wife told him what the guests had said that day. Broidin thot that it was enuf to have heard that nonsense once.

He was bored to death.

He waits. Waits.

"Shall I put on the lights?"

"As you wish."

They sit for a while longer in the dark.

"It is still light outside"—Broidin observed. He waits. Waits. Waits.

And this waiting is terrible.

His restless hands grow stiff, his lips dry.

The wife puts on the light.

Broidin, with a start that was all prepared:

"Ah, the camera . . . I forgot it at the lake . . ."

"I'll ring for Marguerite."

She presses the button three times.

The girl comes in abashed.

"The camera . . . at the lake . . ."—Broidin says to the girl.

He knows well enuf that Marguerite would not find it.

After a short pause, the wife:

"I am tired . . ."

"Go to bed . . . I'm coming directly, I'm only going out for a little walk."

The wife goes to the bed-room, the husband to the lake.

BROIDIN comes up to the girl.

All around is black.

Marguerite stares at him in horror:

"I can't find it."

"Maybe it's over there, among the bushes"—the man says.

The girl goes there. The man follows her. He makes believe that he is looking for the camera. He bends over the girl. Marguerite shrinks back.

How beautiful is a trembling body of a maiden.

The man reaches for Marguerite's breasts.

The young, firm breasts.

He throws his arms around her. The arms of steel.

Marguerite is in his power. A faint cry.

"Nickles!"

"Quiet!"—comes the man's command, harsh, short, decisive.

Marguerite defends herself.

"Nickles!"—but this time it is hardly audible.

"Shut up!"—the man orders her in muffled, angry tone.

He drags the girl along . . . To where there is little light . . .

"Hurry, hurry!"—he commands fiercely.

The man is strong . . . He is the master. Marguerite has no time for reaction . . . Broidin's terrific strength weakens her, breaks her resistance . . .

Broidin is not gentle. He bites, strikes, pinches her, like a madman . . .

He is the master.

She is the servant.

Broidin presses Marguerite to himself.

The quivering body.

Takes it.

The body.

Entirely.

All is black.

He sees nothing, only feels the fragrant body fresh with dew.

Quick! Quick!

Oh yes, the camera.

Marguerite arranges her dress, her hair.

Nickles?

She will tell him all about it.

He had thrown himself upon her . . . He only wanted her body. He hadn't spoken a word to her. Hadn't stroked her once. She won't tell about that.

Oppressive heat. New moon.

The wife is already snoring.

The husband lies down beside her. A few minutes pass. And he is also asleep. Deep. Healthy. In blissful satiation.

Marguerite does not sleep.

She tosses on the bed.

The night is deep black.

If Nickles knew it!

She didn't go to tell him.

Nickles is polishing the table service.

Today again the mountain won't disappear.

CHAPTER XV.

COLORADO SPRINGS was no longer that invincible citadel of the bosses which it had been only a few months before. The strike of the barbers let loose great discontent. The very fact alone of a strike exercised a great influence upon all the workers in Springs, for it proved that it depended entirely upon the will of the workers themselves whether they would tolerate in silence the dictatorship of the bosses.

The barbers were followed by the automobile workers, then the street construction workers, the masons, the carpenters, the transport workers. In

branches of industry they did not even need... The time was favorable. A boom!... day of idleness meant a considerable loss... trade union movement became stronger... had come so unexpectedly that the small local... trial barons had no time for defense... s was a rare case where the workers were... es to make the surprise-attack... t the end of the summer meant also a counter-... ive of the bosses... sides, the demands of the workers were unbel-... ily moderate. In almost no trade was there... and for the eight-hour day. And the demand... ages was also low. It was lower than the... s paid in other cities... d so the bosses were not in any too great a... to bestir themselves... ie thing must be thoroly settled"—declared... ilding contractor who owned six houses on... Peak avenue, one the most exclusive neigh-... ods... it wasn't such a bad slogan... d the smaller business men waited... ey knew that the fire had not blazed in vain... ummer night on Pikes Peak.

* * * *

great hope was: Ku klux klan... or a whole month nothing was heard from it... en suddenly the klansmen appeared unex-... dly at a burial... ey laid six roses on the grave. The mourners... that the klansmen would disappear again... he hood with the death's head began to speak... ere, at your grave we vow that we will not... before the extortions of the organized work-... lass. If the government does not feel inclined... t an end to this madness which prevents the... ving citizen from getting the full value out of... erity, we'll get order oprselves."... se silence... e hoods disappeared... e next day the "Springs Paper" heralded to... itizens the news that the benevolent eyes of... u klux klan were once more watching over... And it also stressed this by means of a big... on... e business men rubbed their hands with satis-... on... e hotel-keeper refused his hall to the mason's...

* * * *

meant new hardships for the workers. A... hall-keepers broke their leases themselves... s were intimidated by secret threats... e hall-keeper had his house burned. This... ed great indignation. A few people demand-... at an investigation be started. The demand... complied with, but the investigation brot no... ts... e fire did not intimidate the workers. The... meeting was even better attended... ereupon the ku klux klan called a big recruit-... neting in the City Hall. The organizations... egroes, Catholics and Jews protested. The... r was forced to withdraw the permission... e peace of the town was completely shaken... e small business men backed the ku klux klan... ng as it was not directed against them, and... orted it in everything that had to do with the... ers. Still, even here the views were divided... e were many who got the surplus profit of the... ers. These said: "The one who makes more... s more"—and they declared themselves for... e of the workers' wages... e disputes became more and more heated... e "Springs Paper" demanded order... der!... der at any price!... en at the price of a fight!

* * * *

CHAPTER XVI.

the candles had to be set up. The glass cases... which the Japanese and Chinese gods with... ellies squatted were lighted by small electric... s. The whole room floated in a strange light... e Broidin family was preparing for a great... ng. It was autumn. Outside blew a cool

wind. It brot from the forest the perfume of fad-... ing flowers.

The greatest care was spent on the famous au-... tumn ball which marked the opening of the sea-... son. The new transparent evening gowns were... displayed here. Nickles and John put on their... festive dress coats. The chauffeur was again serv-... ing as a lackey. In the kitchen there were an exta... cook and a helper.

The mansion blazed in full splendor. The floor sparkled, the mirrors sparkled. And in all the vases there were handsome flow-... ers spreading their perfume.

The hostess: her arms, shoulders, breasts . . . everything, everything is exposed. She wears a... dress of heavy silk. Behind her is a cloud of frag-... rance. Tuberoses.

The finest porcelain is on the table today. And the heaviest sliver.

The women come. In very low-cut gowns. Flesh for the highest bidder.

Exotic perfumes float thru the rooms. The women come.

With rouged lips, delicate red tint on the cheeks and sharply marked eye-brows.

The hostess is everywhere at once. The guests must be entertained.

* * * *

The men contemplate the women's bodies. They stare. Colorful chaos. A riot of colors.

* * * *

The dinner. Yellow color symphony. Strong wines. French and Spanish wines. Prohibition? There is no such thing for the rich. The glasses sparkle deep red. The cook is a master in his trade. The food looks appetizing. It tickles the palates.

* * * *

"Law and order must be established!" General approval. And the building contractor: "We must dispose of the shameless, impossible demands of the workers." General approval.

* * * *

Champagne is brot. The exalted poet with the unworldly eyes helps to pull out the corks. He knows how to do that best of all.

He is praised for that by the hostess. The champagne foams. "That's the stuff!" General approval.

* * * *

Now more than ever do they all see the world in a rosier light.

* * * *

Nickles' arm is almost all stiff from dragging the heavy platters. More champagne is brot in.

* * * *

The building contractor calls for law and order louder and louder.

* * * *

The hostess rises from the table. Small groups are formed. In the big dance-hall there is a jazz-band play-... ing. The ragged melodies break against the marble... pillars. Bodies cling to each other.

* * * *

Broidin chatters with a young woman. He is once more overcome by a fever. "How pretty you are"—he says. His hand touches that of the woman. He takes the woman's hand in his own. "How white your skin is." The diadem of diamonds sparkles. "You can tell a woman's value by her hand"—Broidin declares.

Then he offers her his arm and leads her like a costly treasure thru the throngs of people.

* * * *

In the game-room the guests play Mah-Jong. This complicated Chinese game is a pleasant stimulus for the nerves.

Cards. The women are especially enthusiastic over the game. And not only the older ones. Even most of the young women are drawn more by the cards than by the dancing.

The dollar pieces fly thru the air. Twenty-dollar notes. The lowest stake.

Nickles and John bring cordials on great silver platters.

* * * *

"We must establish law and order"—speaks the building contractor. He is surrounded by a small group.

"Lawless agitators are fomenting trouble among the masses"—says the poetical Christian Scientist with indignation—"We Scientists could solve all problems"—he goes on. General approval.

"We only need to fill people with Christian mor-... ality, and law and order is assured."

"Mankind is longing for order"—exclaims a uni-... versity professor.—"It is a purely external force which is fighting against law and order. I am of the opinion that our generation is appointed to make safe for all times the road of human free-... dom."

A judge expresses himself in a like manner: "Unfortunately the written law binds us too much. But I know a higher law, which can strengthen the pillars of present-day society."

The university professor with pride: "My students, the spiritual youth, have the right spirit."

And a young milionarie's son: "I believe we will be the ones to uproot the red weeds!"

The young man said this with such youthful pas-... sion and enthusiasm that those who were around him applauded.

The holy poet with the dreamy eyes drew him to his breast:

"This is the way which leads to the kingdom of Christ."

They sat down at the small drink-tables. They drank . . .

* * * *

The dancing became more and more abandoned. The bets rose from twenty dollars to fifty dol-... lars.

Mr. Broidin dancéd with the young woman. "I feel quite young again"—he whispered.

Mrs. Broidin beamed with joy. There was general intoxication.

* * * *

- Iced tea. Hot tea. Iced cocoa! Black coffee. Ice-cold lemonade. Orangeade. Punch. Everything in plenty.

* * * *

"These unscrupulous agitators want to change Christ's world"—said the unworldly poet.—"May they be cursed!"

General approval.

* * * *

The perfume of the flowers was so intoxicating. The women smelled from perfume. Morning dawned. Nothing can last forever.

* * * *

Nickles could hardly move his arms any more. Mr. Broidin still felt for a long time after going to bed the cloud of fragrance of the young woman, the soft stroking of her hand, and her diadem glittered before his closed eyes.

"A lady of the highest society . . . Tomorrow I'm going to meet her . . . " For a moment he thot of Marguerite. The servant-girl. A paniful memory. He will dismiss her.

And he thot over how to do it in the simplest and quietest way.

(To be continued next Saturday)

Pittsburg Steel vs. Human Freedom

(Continue from Page 3)

Organization of Progressive Miners' Committee.

THE contact made in this relief work between the Pittsburgh trade unionists and the progressive elements of the union miners, resulted in the fall of 1922 in the formation of the "Progressive Miners' Committee of District Five, U. M. W. of A.," to carry on an aggressive fight against the operators. Naturally the Pittsburgh "nuts became extremely dangerous to the big operators who still cherished the hope of driving the U. M. W. of A. from the Pittsburgh district. This fear was greatly increased when the District Five committee became sponsor for the "International Progressive Committee of the U. M. W. of A." in the spring of 1923. Naturally the members of this committee fraternized much with their friends in the "Pittsburgh Miners' Relief Conference," and this group came to be regarded by everyone as responsible for the virile spirit that developed in District Five.

"Red Raid" of April 27, 1923.

WHEN this miners' committee issued a call for a national conference of the progressive miners' consternation reigned in the camp of the "open shoppers" for they knew this group would fight and a fight was not what they were looking for. Immediately scores of detectives began shadowing and hounding the representatives of the Progressive Miners. The "reds" retaliated by bring-

ing Alexander Howat into the district and having him tour the district. This brought the fight to a white heat and in a final desperate effort to prevent the June National Conference of Progressive Miners in Pittsburgh a raid was made on the building of the Labor Lyceum, and lists of progressive miners' names seized. The Workers Party office in that building was raided, everything in the office carted out and officers of the party placed under arrest along with members of the party in other parts of the city. The district organizer was held for indictment as a seditious person and bail fixed at \$50,000. Other members of the Workers Party were held on equally ridiculous bonds. The defendant very naturally refused to give such bonds and after twelve days they were released on bonds varying from \$15,000 down. Among those held were a delegate to the Pittsburgh Central Labor Union, three members of the machinists' union and two members of the office workers' union.

A few days later Thomas Myerscough, secretary of the International Progressive Miners' Committee was put in jail and charged with sedition and held on high cash bail. This made in all ten defendants who were indicted for the major crime of sedition under an act approved in 1921 which provides a maximum sentence of \$10,000 fine and 20 years imprisonment. This act was so savage in its character that when before the legislative committee hearings were

had on it, and the present governor, Gifford Pinchot, President James H. Maurer of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and scores of labor leaders appeared and protested against it.

Called for Trial After Two Years. SO hard was it to find in the mass of literature seized, anything tangible on which to hang such a serious charge that the district attorney has done nothing since the original indictment. The raid was on April 27, 1923, and now after more than two years the defendants are called for trial. Probably in no other part of the United States could there be such an absurd manipulation of "justice." The severity of the class struggle here has made it necessary for the ruling class to develop political agents who are willing, on a moment's notice, to violate even the "American traditions" so brazenly as to make the whole thing ridiculous.

Coal Figures Again.

AGAIN coal figures in the economic cause of political reflexes. The tragic evolution of the soft coal industry has brought the big Pittsburgh coal operators into keen competition with non-union operators in Kentucky and southern West Virginia. Since the Lewis administration of the U. M. W. of A. is not raising its finger to organize this non-union territory while confusing the membership with strike in northern West Virginia, the "union" operators of the Pittsburgh District have an additional economic incentive to de-

stroy the last vestige of the U. M. W. of A. in western Pennsylvania. Out of fifty-four union mines the Pittsburgh Coal company has closed down every single one and dismantled almost half of them. It is as plain as a man's hand that they intend to move against the union miners in a bitter struggle very soon. They remember the role of the Pittsburgh Miners' Relief in the last struggle and they propose to remove that group before the battle starts if possible. These old bald-headed cases are the only excuse but they will be used as far as possible to accomplish this. The Mellon powers are busy and all the influence of that gigantic group will be thrown against the defendants who have been a thorn in the side of these capitalists for the last fifteen or twenty years.

Competent attorneys have been secured and when the first trial starts on June 15, the only necessity to an adequate defense will be lack of funds. The need of a big strong, non-partisan defense organization is the primary requisite to successful organization of the workers in western Pennsylvania. The first step in that work is to support the present fight to the limit. Sacrifice all you can and insist on building up adequate and permanent defense machinery of the working class. Fortunately the Labor Defense Council has pledged it self to support these cases to the limit and money may be sent to that organization, 19 South Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.

Red Radio and Film for Russia's Workers

By WM. F. KRUSE.

The newest methods of news transmission, the motion picture and the radio, are being extensively used to bring the happenings of the workers world before the eyes and ears of Russia's toiling millions. Six thousand workers' clubs and twelve thousand provincial reading rooms are being equipped with loud speakers, while constantly increasing thousands of clubs and schools have portable motion picture projectors.

These new methods dovetail perfectly with the great daily newspapers. For instance, the "Pravda" has a regular news reel under its own name which is shown all over the country, and which deals as far as possible with the same subjects that are treated in its columns. Free open air shows are given from a roof overlooking a big open space.

Furthermore, it has a full length feature film showing how news is sent to it from all over the world, by wireless, cable, telegraph, post and

personal messenger, how it is then written, set up, proof-read, plated, printed, and distributed. The film is used to instruct the Worker Correspondents in every factory, trade union, co-operative, village soviet etc., how to write up their stories; it serves to dramatize the newspaper columns with the vital moving image of the actual events written about. Thus May Day riots in Paris are thrown on the screen, the news is wirelessly to Moscow, and soon the workers of Russia are reading about it. Less spectacular but equally important events in Soviet Russia, the improvement of production technique, the fraternizing of workers and peasants and soldiers at a joint picnic, the habits and customs of all the far-flung sixty-five nations that make up the U.S.S.R., as well as the methods by which this information reaches the newspaper offices are shown.

Much the same purpose and method underlies the tie-up of the radio with the press. Two editions are broadcasted daily, one at 12:25 p. m., to coincide with the workers' noon-hour, the other at 7:55 p. m., when they get home and prior to the start of most evening meetings. The noon edition includes only the principal happenings of the day and the workers gather around the loud speakers as they eat their lunch. The evening edition includes all the departments of the printed paper—news, editorials, special educational articles, party doings, short stories, and literary, musical, dramatic and motion picture reviews. Thus the world's news becomes accessible even to the last aged illiterate.

Special lectures are broadcasted, particular attention being given to agricultural instruction, suitable to the season, for the vast peasant audience. A children's newspaper is being planned by the Narkompross, (the department of education), and A. V. Lunacharsky, the people's commissar for education, has summoned the leading pedagogs in his department for suggestions and plans in this field.

Concerts are devoted more to classical and folk music than to jazz, but attention is nevertheless, focused on the new developments in music to encourage progressive thought on this field as on all others.

The actual charge of the radio transmission is entirely in the hands of the department of posts and telegraphs, and thus far about fifty

broadcasting stations have been established.

This development of a great new discovery by a workers' government for the enjoyment and instruction of the working class is in clear contrast to the line taken by the same industry in America. Here the broadcasting is in private hands, generally that of the manufacturers of receiving apparatus who use the programs to stimulate the sale of their products. These programs are often paid for by other private interests who receive in exchange radio notice for the particular product and trade mark which they exploit. Thus, it will be announced, that "The next number will be 'How Can I Leave Thee,' by courtesy of the Stickite Flypaper Company." Furthermore, the large sums needed to establish a broadcasting station gives the capitalists a monopoly of this form of news and propaganda transmission. Only reactionary politicians or bourgeois stalking horses can use it at election time, while bankers and ministers have it always at their service for the preaching of capitalist virtues. Fortunately most of this preaching is so deadly dull that nobody listens to it.

In Russia the air, like the land and the factories, belongs to the working class, and theirs is the full benefit thereof. The workers' state, excluding all enemy classes from control of these new media, develops them as rapidly and as fully as possible for the service and enjoyment of the working masses.



BUILDERS AT WORK

WIRE IF YOU ARE LATE!

If you have not sent in your order for a free bundle of the DAILY WORKER to distribute during RED WEEK send in your order at once by mail or by wire if necessary.

Send also for a stack of special sub cards to get subs at the special rate of two months for one dollar during this week.

Thousands of BUILDERS will be on the job of Communist building during RED WEEK set aside for this purpose.

WILL YOU BE ON THE JOB, COMRADE?

IN THE SECOND ANNUAL SUB CAMPAIGN

These new subs were received on Friday, June 12:

CLEVELAND, O.—J. R. Rancken (4); J. A. Hamilton (2); P. Luca-chic (2).

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Dissenhouse (2); Yetta Davis; Bessie Turick; Salkend; Fannie Bobick.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Lena Rosenberg (3).

CHICAGO, ILL.—Mrs. Lee Green; H. P. Clausen (2).

ST. PAUL, MINN.—J. F. Amme (2); O. R. Votaw.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Dan W. Stevens (5).

OAKLAND, CALIF.—P. B. Cowdery (5).

WARREN, O.—John Yanoz (2).

HANCOCK, MICH.—Farmers Co-operative (2).

FRANKFORT HEIGHTS, ILL.—Wm. Schroeder.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—S. Gieberman.

HOUSTON, TEX.—N. Bell.

MORE PLEDGES FOR RED WEEK

English branch, Astoria, L. I. 15

Utica, N. Y. 15

Madison Pharmacy
INC.

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DRUGS**

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CULTURAL LIFE IN SOVIET UNION

New Literature for Children

AMONG the many problems faced by Soviet Russia after the revolution, one of the greatest and most important was that of a new education for the young, as well as the creation of a modern basis for the bringing up of children.

In line with the new educational principles it became the chief aim of the school system to inculcate a scientific view of life in the children, to facilitate the full development of the child's individuality and to help it to become an active and conscious member of the community.

It therefore became necessary to undertake a complete revision of all the existing literature for children, as well as to create a new literature along these lines. The Section for Juvenile Literature of the State Publishing House was created toward the end of 1923 for this purpose. First a number of representatives of higher pedagogical institutions was charged with this work (People's Commissariat for Education, Moscow Education Department, Institute for Juvenile Literature, etc.), as well as a number of writers, educators, and workers in juvenile libraries. New publications in the field of children's books, as well as manuscripts of such, received from the authors were submitted to them to be judged. Gatherings of reviewers were held, in which judgments and decisions were pronounced concerning the publication of new books.

THE next step toward the creation of a new juvenile literature was the reading aloud of these manuscripts to an audience of children of the age required in each specific case. Educators and librarians read the books in their respective schools, kindergartens, children's literary circles, and subsequently transmitted to the education department the views of the children, as well as a report of the children's reactions to various passages in the manuscript as a whole. As the work went on, two commissions were created to encourage the production of a new juvenile literature: the first of these commissions is concerned with the books for children of pre-school age, while the second considers the needs of the older children. The commission includes the best writers for children, those who are trying to meet the demands of the present day, artists who have specialized in the illustration of children's books, teachers and librarians. Each of the commissions meets twice a week. At these sessions a manuscript is usually read which has already been submitted to the critics and to the young readers, and which is furthermore considered to be in some way typical. A general discussion of the manuscripts follows, which aids in the fixing of definite principles that have already been elaborated during the year in which the commissions have been at work, and have been used as guiding lines in the selection of new books to be published.

THE following subjects were considered during the past year by the commission for pre-school children's books:

1. The study of the work of the women in charge of kindergartens, touching upon various phases of the life, the work and the play of the children in the various establishments of this kind. It was found extremely desirable to continue and develop this work still further, in which connection three of the books of the American educational writer Lucy Sprague Mitchel were published, as well as a collection of notes made by the women teaching in the Tver kindergartens.

2. Books on Productive Industry.—It was considered necessary to inflame the children not only in the subject of those kinds of work which they are able to perform but also in the work of grown-ups, in which children are very often interested showing them the most characteristic features of each branch. Among publications

of this kind books on table crockery, transportation, newspapers and the locomotive, may be mentioned. Books on the postal system, rubber shoes, and on various trades, are in course of publication.

3. Biological Books.—In the case of books on animals, plants, the evolution of man, etc., it was considered imperative to deviate in no degree from the scientific facts. The material to be used in such books is to consist of phenomena and objects from the daily life of the children, in this way encouraging the children to engage in their own observations and studies. Young scholars, biologists, have been placed in charge of this task. A book is about to appear, with the approval of the commission on the metamorphoses of insects, and another on poultry.

4. Books on the Revolution.—Insofar as the children are growing up in the atmosphere of revolutionary celebrations and parades, and the looking daily at the portraits of revolutionary leaders, etc., the revolutionary reality is one of the earliest experiences of Russian children of the present day. Steps were taken to give the children books concerning revolutionary holidays, Lenin, the "Pioneer Movement" etc.

THERE is about to appear an album entitled "On Lenin—For Children" which will contain a large number of pictures dealing with the life of the workers and peasants under the czarist regime, with the life and struggles of Lenin, with the world-war period, as well as with the Russian revolution, all appropriately annotated in the text.

5. Hygienic Instruction and Physical Culture.—A number of books in this field are in course of preparation.

THE work of the commission has been further extended recently by inviting the participation of an organized circle of women in charge of Moscow kindergartens, for the purpose of consultation on a number of questions connected with juvenile literature. This circle has drawn up a program for the publication of works of juvenile literature which are to be in accord with the requirements of the present day.

A portion of this program has already been carried out. Books now being printed concerning the "Young Pioneers" and the Red Army are in every way suited to the uses of children of pre-school age.

Writers and artists who are desirous of specializing in the field of

juvenile literature are eagerly participating in the work of the circle.

PASSING on to the literature for the older children, it is of course necessary to take into account the far more extensive circle of interests characteristic of this older group. The sessions of the commission have thus far approved the publication of books in the following fields:

1. Books on Production.—As distinguished from textbooks and books of a popular scientific character, the description of the various trades and industries is here to be combined with a tale, a narration of some plot. A book on the origin and evolution of the book (from the earliest times) has been approved and published. A book (in verse) on the printing of modern books is being prepared. Another book in verse has been approved dealing with the tractor and its importance for Russian agriculture. Authors were recommended to treat subjects from all fields of the national economic life.

2. Books Dealing with the Past.—The commission has resolved that the historical literature prepared for the consumption of the older children must present to their minds in a popular way the labors and struggles of past generations without indulging in too many details. Special attention is to be given to Russian history and to the circumstances which brot about the revolution. A comparison between the present and the most recent past is to be made possible, and the children are to be encouraged to combat such remnants of the old system as are still in existence. A number of books of this kind have already appeared; others are in course of preparation.

3. The New Social Life.—This subject is being taken up along very broad lines and includes the new life of the children in city and country, the schools, the children's homes etc. A number of publications have already been examined and some have already come from the press.

4. The Civil War.—Books dealing with this subject fully satisfy the natural appetite of the older children for stories of action and adventure. The commission has made it a principle, in this connection, that both brutality and sentimentality must be shunned in equal degree, while the goals and objects of the struggle must be emphasized. A number of such books are now going thru the presses, some of them dealing with the share of the children in these strug-

gles, others dealing only with the actions of their elders.

5. The "Pioneer Movement."—The powerful movement of the "Young Pioneers" among the children, which is growing year by year, cannot fail to find its expression in juvenile literature. It has been shown in many instances that children show the greatest enthusiasm and affection for stories and poems dealing with life among the "Pioneers." Two or three books dealing with this subject have been published; further books are in course of publication.

6. Foreign Countries.—Children of school age are often more interested in that which is remote than in their immediate surroundings. But mere narrations of travel are not enough to satisfy this hunger. Stories, short novels taken from the daily life of other countries will soon be made available. The commission recently approved a very good book dealing with the lives of the African natives (about to appear). A number of books are being translated from foreign languages. It is also confidently hoped that foreign writers will submit their manuscripts, in so far as they may be available for the use of the Russian children of the present day.

7. Struggle Against Superstition.—Books of this type are intended primarily for the children of the villages and are to be published in a perfect artistic form. A number of books of this kind have already appeared.

IN the discussion of all these and other questions, certain general principles to be followed in the creation of a new juvenile literature have already taken shape, for example: (a) There is to be no mysticism; all the happenings of this world are from natural causes; (b) The collective consciousness must take precedence of the individual consciousness; (c) Dynamic and dramatic plots are of the greatest importance, but their use must not be carried too far; they must in some cases (particularly for the village children) be varied with epic narrations of a calmer type; (d) The style is to be simple, devoid of all adornments and obscurities.

About the middle of January, 1925, the commission for preparing books for the uses of children of school age undertook laboratory work on books for children of school age, similar to that undertaken by the pre-school commission. A circle of pedagogues is being formed who work over the books and manuscripts.

The Fountain of Youth

By WALT CARMON

NOT in sunny California nor the balmy breezes of palm fringed Florida, but in the pursuit of the aims of the working class can you find the fountain of youth.

Or so one would think who knew Ella Reeve "Mother" Bloor. For how else would you explain the fact that at sixty years of age, when the average person begs ease of life and rest for tired bones, this veteran agitator begins on a spectacular coast-to-coast tour for Communism and brings its message thru the DAILY WORKER.

Campaigning thru the country is a thing even experienced agitators flinch from. Yet Mother Bloor grimly determines to go from San Francisco to New York, speaking on schedule at every important city en route and at every place where opportunity allows, without the comfort and convenience of the railroads, walking, "hitch-hiking," using every mode of conveyance whatever gods there be to protect a Bolshevik will throw her way.

THE trip began on June 3, from Oakland, California. In an all day farewell party, young and old comrades of the bay district joined in wishing success to this veteran fighter and the next day she was on her way to Sacramento on the first step of her journey.

In the first fifty miles Mother Bloor braved the bounces of a springless

truck for conveyance. From Sacramento the road lay east to Salt Lake City. Crossing the mountains, she "got a lift" in a machine driven by an old Russian revolutionist, lost to the cause in America, where life was not such a struggle to him—tho his heart still lay with the movement.

Meetings on the way, preaching Communism, talking about the DAILY WORKER, holding a tent meeting in the mountains, soap-boxing, riding, Mother Bloor arrived at a meeting arranged for her by old German comrades in Fallon, Nevada.

THE grit of this young old comrade, stirred the workers of Fallon, Nevada, and a new local is being formed—another link to the American Communist chain—while the DAILY WORKER became stronger with a number of new subscriptions. Old fighters in the class struggle, joined in the welcome extended to Mother Bloor, among them an aged mother who brought her five sons to the meeting to have them inspired to take part in the fighting ranks of the working class.

Last week, Mother Bloor arrived in Reno, Nevada—city of scandal and easy divorces. A meeting was arranged for her here, among other things. A visiting government conciliator, in the city to adjust some local trade union difficulties, together with the local authorities, threw difficulties in the way to discourage attendance at the meeting.

The president of the local labor council in person picketed the hall to prevent trade unionists from attending. Every method was used to discourage attendance. To an old guard fighter, these difficulties, and worse, "are all in the game." Mother Bloor reached all the workers she could, more subscriptions were secured for the DAILY WORKER, more seeds sown for future Communist growth.

FROM Reno, Mother Bloor spent part of this week crossing the desert. On June 13 and 14 she arrives at Rock Springs and Cheyenne, Wyoming. On the 16, 17 and 18 she will hold meetings in Denver, proceeding from there to Kansas City. Meetings will be held wherever possible on the way, eventually bringing her to Chicago, to hold open air meetings for a few weeks and then she will continue to "hike" thru the coal fields of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, visiting also all the important large cities, landing eventually in New York to complete a trip of three thousand miles.

To attempt such a journey at sixty years of age should be an inspiration to the youth of our movement. In the glorious fight for the working class, surely, here is the fountain of youth.

Don't you be a campaign shirker—get subscriptions for the DAILY WORKER!

The International Conference of the Communist Press

By G. Smoljansky.

THE slogan issued by the V. Congress, the Bolshevization of the Party, raises the simultaneous problem of the Bolshevization of Communist propaganda and agitation. For this last the question of the Party press plays a part of pre-eminent importance, especially in those countries in which the sections of the C. I. are mass parties, and have at their disposal a considerable number of daily and weekly papers.

What does Bolshevization really mean? It means the transformation of our press into a real mass press of the workers. The Communist newspaper must be a workers' newspaper, not merely a newspaper for workers. It must elucidate every aspect of class warfare and working class life, from the factory to parliament. The Communist newspaper must form a connecting link between the party organizations and the broad masses of the workers. The Communist newspaper must be such that the non-party workman does not regard it merely as a remote organ representing a political party, but as his own labor newspapers, comprehensible to him, mirroring his hopes, his interests, his daily life, and his struggles.

THUS the whole character of the Communist newspaper must be changed. Many comrades, accustomed to the traditional type of bourgeois newspaper, and unable to break abruptly with this conservative tradition, are alarmed at what appears to them to be a "weakness" of our press (which is not "equal" to the firmly established bourgeois press, aided by a large number of intellectual literary forces) but this so-called weakness is in reality a symptom that our press is on the right road to proletarianization, that its contact with the masses is becoming closer, and that it is ceasing to follow in the ruts of the social democratic press, which differs from the bourgeois press solely by a political nuance. Emancipation from this tradition is the first step towards the Bolshevization of the press.

The real purport of the extensive Worker Correspondent movement now being called into life is to bring wide masses of the workers into the ranks of the Party, and to make these into conscious and active Party members. It is obvious that the Communist press will accomplish this task efficiently in proportion to its closer contact with the masses, with the works and factories.

SINCE the V Congress, our press has been able to report considerable success in this direction in a number of countries, and it is a suitable moment to make a survey of these first attempts, to praise the best efforts, to encourage the backward. The convening of an International Press Conference appears to us to be the most suitable form of carrying out this survey. But from the ideological and organisatory standpoint the most suitable date for an extensive campaign of this nature appears to us to be May 5—the anniversary of the founding of the Bolshevik newspaper "Pravda" in 1912. This campaign could be made to form the immediate continuation of the campaign beginning of May 1, the opportunity being thus given for carrying out mass agitation on an extensive scale in the five days till May 5.

This press conference may be made the opportunity (as our Russian comrades made it) of more firmly establishing the connection between the Communist Party and the laboring masses by means of the Communist newspaper, and of awakening active interest for the Communist newspaper among the broad masses of the non-party workers. On this day a Communist newspaper must be found in every factory in every workshop in every workman's family. Mass meetings—a special number of the newspaper being distributed gratis on this day—must be made to serve as con-

necting link between the working class and the workers' newspaper.

On the occasion of the first press conference in Russia on May 5, 1912, 18,000 roubles were collected for the reserve funds of the Pravda. The workers' newspaper must make it its endeavor to widen the "shears," that is, the ratio between the number of readers and the number of registered party members. And finally, the campaign must culminate in the propaganda for mass participation by the workers in the immediate work of the newspaper itself, that is, in the organization of a mass movement of worker correspondents.

But the essential factor of Bolshevization is differentiation. The campaign has not to be carried out in all countries alike, nor conducted with threadbare slogans and on threadbare lines. In my opinion the following lines of action might be laid down for the most important countries:

ENGLAND. Here the party has not had one single daily paper up to now. The revolutionary minority movement has however attained such an extent — to say nothing of the broad masses backing up the "left wing" — that there is sufficient foundation upon which to build up a daily labor newspaper for the masses. For England the question to be discussed at the Communist press conference is the founding of a daily Communist newspaper. The fact that the present weekly paper the Workers' Weekly, the central organ of the English Communist Party, disposes of an edition of 50,000 copies, although the number of members belonging to the party is only 4,000 to 5,000, shows that our English comrades could fulfil this task. The revolutionary minorities could at the same time be used as a starting point for the establishment of contact between the labor newspaper and the works and factories, and for the formation of extensive cadres of worker correspondents. The organization of the worker correspondent movement should precede propaganda for a daily mass newspaper.

THE United States. In the United States, on the other hand, our little party has more than a dozen daily newspapers, but we are confronted with a number of other problems: 1. These newspapers are not published under any uniform party control, they do not pursue a uniform Communist line, and are at times subject to such aberrations that it is difficult to distinguish them from the ordinary Menshevik newspapers (this applies for instance to the New Yorker Volkszeitung.) Here the Bolshevization of the press would thus signify in the first place a strictly centralized control of the Communist press by the Communist Party. 2. The chief newspaper in the English language, the DAILY WORKER must be converted into a mass newspaper. The organization of a worker correspondent movement is one of the first tasks imperative for this newspaper. 3. The main weakness of the non-English newspapers is that they devote too little attention to the life of America, and cling too much to that of the country in whose language they are published. This weakness must be overcome, for it only leads to an enhancement of national separatism, and to a weakening of the feeling of class solidarity of the American proletariat.

ITALY. The organ of the Italian Communist Party should be converted into a mass organ, and be brought into closer contact with the working masses. This is the slogan of the press conference for Italy. The Communist daily newspaper, the Unità accords a certain amount of space to worker correspondents, but the letters sent in are a perfect example of how such reports should not be drawn up. The workers reports printed in the Unità give the impression of having been written in the editor's study. Besides this, these reports throw no light upon the life and interests of workshop and factory, but refer exclusively to the opinion held by this or that worker correspondent on questions un-

der discussion by the party or other abstract subjects. Some Italian comrades are of the opinion that the discussion of the life of individual factories is not the affair of a serious central organ, since factory newspapers and wall placards exist for this purpose. We are of precisely the opposite opinion. Our newspaper must form the platform from which the workers from the various factories and shops report on the life and struggles of the individual.

FRANCE. The central organ of the French Communist Party: Humanite, is the only organ published by a section of the Comintern, outside the Soviet Union, which has attained an edition of 200,000 copies. This newspaper has a magnificent foundation in the half million mass of workers organized in the C. G. T. U. trade unions. A certain amount of exertion, combined with skilful propaganda and firmer establishment of the connection with the masses organized in the trade unions, would enable the paper to increase its circulation to one and a half times or double its present. The newspaper is however unfortunately deficient in the necessary prerequisite for this; up to now the Humanite has accorded but a very small part of its columns to workers' reports, and gives but scanty reports on the Soviet Union (a matter of intense interest to the working masses.)

GERMANY. In this respect the press of our German party is much in advance of others. The conference of worker correspondents lately held, the number of similiar local conferences (Hamburg), the founding of an editors' school for the instruction of worker journalists, all these are positive symptoms of the proletarianization of our press in Germany. At the present time the German C. P. counts about 30 daily newspapers, but the fact that the central organ, the Rote Fahne has a circulation of 30,000 only, shows, that our press in Germany is not yet a mass press. It must be recollected that at the last election the Communist Party received three million votes. For the Rote Fahne the slogan for the Communist press conference must be: "Double circulation!" The factory councils and the party factory nuclei must form the foundation of this campaign in the shops and factories. Every worker reading the Rote Fahne must gain a new reader.

With respect to the provincial centers where no newspapers exist as yet, but where one could be founded, the campaign must be carried on under the slogan of gaining "readers for the publication of a local newspaper." As soon as 5,000 readers are secured, a

new Communist local organ can be published.

SCANDINAVIA. In Norway the party possesses 15,000 members, and publishes five daily newspapers and four to five weekly newspapers, or papers appearing twice to three times a week. The total circulation of the Communist press is 45,000 to 50,000 copies, the central organ publishing an edition of 8,000. This shows that the number of daily newspapers published is much too large for this small country. The number should be reduced, no readers of course being lost.

In Sweden 8,000 party members have two daily newspapers and five weeklies or semi-weeklies, total circulation about 30,000 copies.

Both in Norway and Sweden the ratio between the mass of readers and party members is very unfavorable. This must be improved in such manner that there are at least ten non-party readers to every party member. The attainment of this object means that the Scandinavian Communist press must establish closer contact with the factories and workshops. Workers' reports have up to now been almost entirely absent from the Scandinavian press. For the Scandinavian party press the main slogan for the press conference is thus the organization of a comprehensive worker correspondent movement, and the proletarianization of the press.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA. For Czechoslovakia the chief slogan must be: Deprovincialization and politisation of the provincial press. The Czech press must be converted into a really proletarian fighting press. The party press possesses but few worker correspondents. Not even the whole of the members of the party and of the revolutionary trade unions are to be counted among its readers.

This is the road to Bolshevization to be followed by our press. The Russian Pravda was successful in gathering hundreds of thousands of proletarians around it, and in becoming a mighty source of revolutionary energy of the working class of Russia and its Bolshevik party. This was made possible solely by the fact that the Pravda did not follow in the ruts left by the bourgeois menshevik press, but found the right way of establishing contact with the broad masses of the workers. In this way only, and by renouncing the influence of the "great" capitalist sensation press, is it possible for the Communist press to penetrate into the masses, and for the Communist parties to become really Bolshevik mass workers' organizations.

The Soviet Union and Great Britain

(Continued from page 1)

self to this short and all too general agreement.

We proposed to examine all questions which are of interest to us, and in all these questions to create an acceptable modus vivendi between ourselves and England. This was rejected at the time. The government of Lloyd George did not desire such a conference. Even MacDonald did not undertake an exhaustive concrete examination of all disputed questions.

SO long as this is not done, there will exist between us and England, and therefore in the whole of international politics, that element of uncertainty which the capitalist states find so painful today. And if Chamberlain says that the cause of this uncertainty is the existence of the Soviet Union, then Chamberlain is guilty for this, because he does not attempt to arrive at a compromise with us, which would be capable of removing, so far as is possible and so far as the present historical period permits, that element of uncertainty between us and England, and therefore the uncertainty of international relations in general.

The working masses of all countries must understand this. They under-

stand and perceive that it is precisely our government that constitutes the element of peaceful settlement of those problems with which we are confronted, and that those actions which lead to further uncertainty in international relations do not proceed from us.

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