

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

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The New Course of English Policy By Irandust

At the same time as the hostile activities against the Soviet Union in the West are being intensified, English imperialism is endeavoring to create an Eastern front against the Soviet Union. The English press is making efforts to exploit in an increased degree the theme of the omni-present hand in Moscow and to frighten the leading groups in the countries of the Near East with the bogey of a "red imperialism of the Bolsheviks" which is said to be directed against the backward peoples of the East. This English propaganda is noticeable in recent times especially in Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan.

In connection with the recent resolution of the Government of Angora to build up a new Turkish navy, the English paper *Near East* proposed that Turkey should work on similar lines to those taken by England, on the grounds that the interests of Turkey and England are completely identical, in that both these countries are obliged to carry on a policy of defense against "the aggressive plans of Russia" in Asia, in which proposal it is easy to see a transparent hint that it would be best for the Turkish fleet to be under English guidance. The taking over by the Angora Government of the property of the non-Moslem population of Turkey, which remained unclaimed in consequence of the war, prompted the *Morning Post* to urge Turkey not to follow in the footsteps of Bolshevism but to take its direction from "Western civilization" and to help England.

At the same time the English press is raising a hue and cry about the Bolshevik threat to Persia and Afghanistan which is alleged to have arisen as a result of the demarcation of national boundaries in the Soviet Republics of Middle Asia, and is trying to represent insurrection of the Persian Turkomans, which has been provoked by the activities of English agents, as a Moscow intrigue.

The *Daily Telegraph* expert on questions concerning Middle Asia recently demanded, in that paper, the revision of English policy in the Near East. He pointed out that the mandatory territories of England represent a narrow corridor at the extreme ends of which lie the potentially hostile districts of Egypt and Persia, whilst in the North is Turkey (and nothing has been done to gain its sympathies) and in the South the sovereign territories of the Sultan of Nedjd and leader of the Wahabiti, Ibn Saud, the whole of whose interests have been prejudiced by England's policy in the last few years. In his opinion the foundations and principles of England's policy in Middle Asia should be revised, as otherwise she might expect to lose her whole influence and prestige in the Middle East.

As a matter of fact England has in the last few months developed a feverish activity in Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Iraq, Turkey and Persia. New perfected methods of diplomacy are being used side by side with the former methods of force and terror.

The English High Commissioners for Egypt and Palestine are being exchanged. The resignation of Lord Allenby in Egypt and his replacement by George Lloyd, the former governor of Bombay, signifies, as has been remarked in the Arabian press, that the English government circles are trying to cover the iron hand of the policy carried out by them in Egypt, with a velvet glove. The replacement of Sir Herbert Samuel in Palestine by Lord Plumer is regarded in English political circles as a preventive measure for possible political complications in the Near East. According to

the opinions expressed by the leaders of the Zionist movement, Plumer's appointment signifies a change in English policy in Palestine, with the object of morally disarming Arabian nationalism and turning Palestine into a purely English colony.

In Palestine and Transjordan, England is creating a new strategic base the significance of which is growing, thanks to England having recently taken possession of the harbor of Akabah in the Red Sea and thanks to the transformation of Cyprus into an English colony.

In recent times England has obviously renounced her attitude of neu-

til the September session in order to give the parties the opportunity of coming to an agreement.

In the meantime English capital openly renounces the actual boycott of Turkey which was imposed by the treaty of Lausanne, and is ahead of all other countries in the economic conquest of Turkey. Last year, among the foreign limited companies registered in Turkey with a capital of 226 million Turkish pounds, 23 companies with a capital of 23 millions Turkish pounds were English.

The more or less conciliatory policy of England in the question of Mossul,

slavement of Persia, with the assistance of American capital.

In England's policy in the Near East, the Anglo-American bloc which has so obviously collapsed in China, continues as before to play an important part. It finds expression in a series of agreements between the interested capitalist groups of both countries, in the first place between the petroleum companies "English-Persian Oil" and "Standard Oil" which have come to an agreement as to the dividing of the treasures of native oil of North Persia, and are offering united resistance to other competitors, especially France. Preparations are being made for the transference of Persian finances to Anglo-American control, for which object the issue of an Anglo-American loan to Persia is planned. Further Anglo-American cooperation in the question of railways and concessions can be observed.

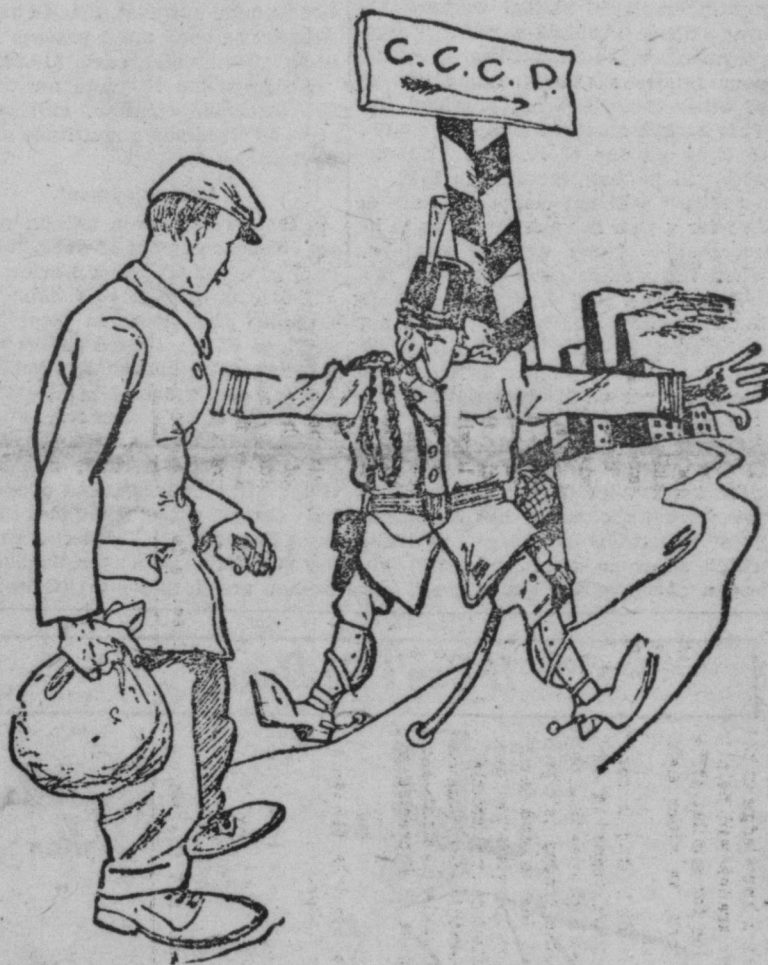
A similar picture is to be observed in Turkey and the Iraq. The "Standard Oil" and the "English-Persian" have come to an agreement with regard to a common exploitation of the native oil of Iraq, and a short time ago a concession treaty was signed in Bagdad with the Government of Iraq. England is trying by this agreement to get America to guarantee the borders of Iraq.

Hand in hand with this a tendency can be observed for the relations between England and France in the East to become strained; this corresponds to a certain degree to the situation in Europe. Thus the attempts of the French to gain a share in the affairs connected with native oil and railways in North Persia is met by England's violent opposition. When communications were published with regard to negotiations between Turkey and France as to the adjustment of the frontiers of Syria, the English press very plainly gave expression to the opinion that France had no right to dispose of Syria. The English press showed similar anxiety during the last visit of Franklin-Bouillon, the French politician, to Angora.

England's attempts to strengthen her position in the East and to create in the East a hostile front to Soviet Russia are, in their very nature, full of contradictions and therefore doomed to failure. The Turkish Government has already declined to have the Turkish navy re-organized by an English mission. The Arabian movement in Palestine and Transjordan against the English rule continues.

The Eastern peoples cannot be deceived by the new mask of English imperialism. This became evident at the Conference for the Limitation of Trade in Arms which took place recently at Geneva, a crass example of a cynical farce, at which the military great powers who hold all the achievements of the modern technique should limit their armaments. In accordance with the interests of England and France, the conference provided for the establishment of forbidden zones in Morocco, on the Red Sea, in the Persian Gulf and in the Gulf of Oman as well as in the Indian Ocean. It endeavored to isolate and weaken the national movement in the East. After a series of protests on the part of representatives of the Eastern countries, the Persian delegate demonstratively left the conference and declined to sign the minutes. According to a communication of the *Morning Post*, in which a hidden threat is contained, this incident might lead to Persia resigning from the League of Nations. As yet there are no communications as to whether the Geneva protocol will be signed by Turkey and Afghanistan. This shows us what the forerunners of the success of English "stabilization" in the Near East look like.

Strictly Forbidden



The Austrian government refused to issue passports to a labor delegation to Soviet Russia for the fear they may learn the truth.

The socialist press of Germany tried to persuade the workers not to send any delegation, but it did not succeed. The German and Swedish labor delegations went to Russia and learned the truth. The Austrian workers were not held up by their fascist government and went anyway. They are now learning the truth for themselves.

trality and non-interference between the two States, Nedjd and the Hedjas, which lay claim to the hegemony in Arabia, by confiscating the arms bought by the Hedjas and by making efforts to subject Ibn Saud, the strongest aspirant to a united Arabia, to her influence.

English diplomacy is at the same time making efforts to adjust the delicate factors in the relations between England and Turkey. The insurrection in Kurdistan gave the Government of Angora the opportunity of concentrating considerable forces on the borders of Mosul; this threatened to bring about a military solution of the Mosul question, if Turkey should not be satisfied by the decision of the League of Nations. It is characteristic that the examination of the Mosul question in the League of Nations Council which had been fixed for the month of June, is now postponed un-

is partly explained by the fact that the situation in South Kurdistan threatens the English interests in Iraq; communications have appeared in the press to the effect that Sheik Makhmud has succeeded in defeating repeatedly the English troops in Iraq.

A few days ago the government of Iraq signed a treaty accepting 70 English specialists, for periods up to ten years, in the State Government. This is evidence that the transformation of Iraq into an English colony is rapidly advancing.

The change is most striking in the working methods of English diplomacy in Persia. After the inglorious adventure of its puppet Sheik Kheisal, English diplomacy has decided not to play the part of an enemy of the national movement for freedom in Persia, openly, and, as it is endeavoring to persuade Persia to take its orientation from England, it is working out plans on a large scale for the economic en-

The American Standard of Living By M. D. Litman

The capitalist soothsayers compare the standard of the American permanently employed worker with the standard of living of the worker in war-torn Europe or the feudal Orient. The variation in mode of living, hardly enters into their arguments. It is interesting to note that America keeps two sets of books. In one set the figures are forced and inflated, showing the worker wallowing in luxuries as compared to Europe and in the other set the real facts are stated.

Marx Exposed Hokum.

No better exposure of this trickery is needed, than can be found in that immortal work of Karl Marx—Value Price and Profit. It applies to America perfectly.

Citizen Weston presented his argument in this book that a rise in wages, also meant a rise in the cost of living and that in the end the workers will not be any better off. He illustrated his theory thus: When a bowl of soup contains a certain quantity to be eaten by a certain number of persons (get the fixity of capitalist economics) an increase in the broadness of the spoons will not produce an increase in the quantity of soup. Quite clever, is not it?

But—Karl Max told our illustrious Mr. Weston that his illustration is rather spoozy and disproved his theory thus: The bowl is filled from the WHOLE product of national labor, which product, due to intensive and modern methods of production, is constantly increasing, and is not fixed, and what prevents the workers from getting more soup, is the narrowness of their spoons.

It is obvious that when the workers do not get the increase of this increased production, it goes to the capitalists, who are, as we above stated, diners at our national table and are eating soup with us. Therefore, in demanding an increase in wages, the workers would only be receiving a share of the increase of production.

What Middle Class Eats.

By keeping wages down, while production increases, it not only gives the manufacturing capitalist a greater portion of the product, but it allows waste in distribution, which supports an army of small-fry that live off this increase. This indirect method of feeding a nation, or performing personal service, is typically democratic, if not anarchistic.

The working class eats thru the belly of the middle class and what they get is excrement.

Where Do We Go From Here?

A neat little folder advising the writer to invest "his money" in Muscle Shoals, gives us the following truth:

One hundred men start out in life at the age of 25. (Most men start at 14). At the age of 65 statistics show their fate as follows:

Thirty-six will be dead (in heaven).
One will be very rich. (Don't all talk at once).

Four will be wealthy. (Find your uncle).

Five will be supporting themselves—by working. (At 65).

Fifty-four will be dependent upon friends, relatives or charity.

The proper advice is: Pick your undertaker or charitable institution early.

How Much Soup?

When union wage disputes arise or investigations into living conditions are undertaken, family budgets are prepared by various statisticians and market investigators, to find out just what the worker does with all of his money. For that purpose, a hypothetical American Standard of living is set up.

The following cost budget prepared by the Municipal Research and Training School for Public Service, speaks for itself. It is represented as a model American budget which has been compiled from government and special investigation committees data.

Cost Budget for Family of Five in New York City.

Food	\$655.35
Clothing—	
Husband	\$110.12
Wife	134.43
Boy (1)	92.52
Girl (5)	63.02
Boy (2)	38.96
	440.05

Housing (incl. light and fuel).....	536.00
Miscellaneous—	
Furniture replacement	
(depreciation)	\$ 62.49
Laundry work	187.20
Cleaning supplies and	
service	38.80
Health (all medical and	
dental expenditures)	80.00
Insurance (life)	120.00
Insurance (furniture)	1.67
Carefare	45.00
Amusements (all forms).....	20.00
Reading (books, magazines,	
newspapers)	11.99
Organizations (labor, church	
contributions)	13.00
Incidentals (postage, gifts,	
etc.)	52.00
	632.15

Total	\$2,263.55
Cost Budget for Single Woman	
Food	\$ 359.75
Clothing	184.30
Room	260.00
Miscellaneous (all necessities not	
included above)	212.39
	\$1,016.44
Saving (10 per cent of expenditure)	101.64
Total	\$1,118.08

Cost Budget for Single Man.	
Food	359.75
Clothing	156.12
Room	260.00
Miscellaneous (all necessities not	
included above)	218.39
	994.26
Saving (10 per cent of expenditure)	99.42
Total	\$1,093.68

Just a Little Criticism.

Lack of space prevents a thoro discussion of each item that seems either fallacious or distorted in this budget, suffice to say that wages of permanently employed skilled workers, average about \$1,800.00 a year. Unemployment, sickness, strikes, lockouts, poor relatives education and dozens of other items are not provided for. This budget must have been prepared to keep up one of Rossum's Robots, who will be manufactured in 1960.

\$440,000 will not clothe a family of five for a year in such a way as to be acceptable by the average employer when the worker goes out for a job.

Rent, heat and light sufficient to take care of a family of five, can not be gotten in the United States at \$44.66 a month, on the basis of one room to a person in industrial centers.

And just look at this: \$80.00 a year for medical and dental care for a family of five! Don't you wish that were true? With the adulterated food the worker's stomach has to digest, with miserable working conditions which allow no diversion, \$80.00 will buy a cheap coffin, but will not pay

the medical bill of a family of five.

How does that statistician account for the presence of three children in the family? Did their working class mother drop them like a cat, or did it cost her \$200.00 per child to bring them into this miserable world? And in what condition is the mother now—after the birth of the three slaves? She goes regularly to a female specialist, because, she can't lead a natural life.

We are allowed \$45.00 for car fare. That depends on how much the worker spends when he goes to look for a job, as to what portion of this appropriation is left for the rest of the family.

Very amusing, indeed, is the part put away for amusements. Just \$20.00 is all it takes for a father, mother and three kids to keep themselves amused for a year.

When one stops to think that to see Charlie Chaplin throw a pie in a policeman's face, costs with war tax \$3c, and as it amuses us very much to see that which we would like to do, it can be seen that \$20.00 is not enough. As to a higher form of amusement, we have to flip a five-dollar bill when we get into that class.

For organizations, such as church and labor, \$13.00 is set aside. We really don't know what comment to make. Let us hope it all goes to labor. Let us note, however, that to be a real American one must possess a klan night gown, which costs \$10.00.

No provision is made for toys for the children, vacation, moving from place to place and a multitude of other necessities.

Unemployment.

From two to seven million workers are continuously out of work. The January government Labor Review shows 32 per cent of 6,746 establishments as working part time. In some mining sections of the United States the unemployment situation is reaching the 100 per cent mark. Unemployment is driving wages downward, even the sooth-sayers must admit. It results in lowering the American standard of living. If a worker is out of work for only three months, it reduces his standard 25 per cent. To merely exist under present conditions, more and more women are drawn into the breadwin-

ning industry, which in turn produces more unemployment.

Uncertainty of employment, intensified exploitation by the big industrialists and later the Main Street leeches and the 57 varieties of tricksters, unnatural living, ruinous to the health of the workers, makes the much boomed American standard of living, a lot of hokum.

T... B...

By JOHN LASSEN.

(Translated by Simon Feishin.)

NOTE—This poem was written by John Lassen at a time when he suffered a break-down. He was ill for many years with tuberculosis and he died from this disease. The poem brings back stirring incidents from the eventful life of John Lassen. It refers to the time when he was liberated by the populace in Budapest after he had been imprisoned for making an attempt on the life of Count Tisza. It was during the Karolyi revolution that he was liberated. The emblem of the Karolyi bourgeois revolution was a white autumn flower. The populace threw white flowers at the prison gate, then they stormed the prison and freed Lassen. The same thing had been done during the Kosuth revolution in Hungary when a prominent political prisoner was freed in the same manner. Then the poem goes on to speak of America. This is a very powerful poem written in an expressionist manner.

I flew across the ocean.
...then I fell headlong....I broke down
in the hallway of Mt. Sinai Hospital.
The solemn faced doctor came and
took a big book and wrote in it
warningly:

John Lassen, t...b...
But I laughed—
For me they are nothing but two letters.
What of it?
HA—HA—HA...for all of shining
LIFE had filled me.

Ecstasy of the universe. The great
intoxication. The SPLENDOR.....
Did not a whole city embrace me
once? The white autumn flowers
of a whole city were hurled against
the prison-gate.

Revolution...Revolution... Revolution!
And bony fists hammered at the prison
gate.

Revolution. Revolution bursting forth.
Bourgeois revolution.
Ra—ra—ra— Ra—ra—ra.

Was it all a dream? Mirage? Hallucination?

But oh, incontrovertible fact:
Revolution. Counter revolution. Revolution.
Counter revolution—
And my life only an atom in all of
that.

Ra...ra...r...
Oh, all things taken together: The
prisons. The mice. And the rats.
And hunger. And forced labor. All,
all of life:

It was beautiful nevertheless.
All of MANKIND within my tiny life.
The heaving ocean threw me forward.
And dropped me into the hospital.

Do not stop, untiring army! Only one
broke down on the way.
In Mt. Sinai Hospital.

And though I die—
Life goes on. And is radiant. Already
new armies are gathering.
Prolet is drawn to prolet.
And song peals forth.

And the city shakes.
...And fighting armies attack.
Flags flutter!

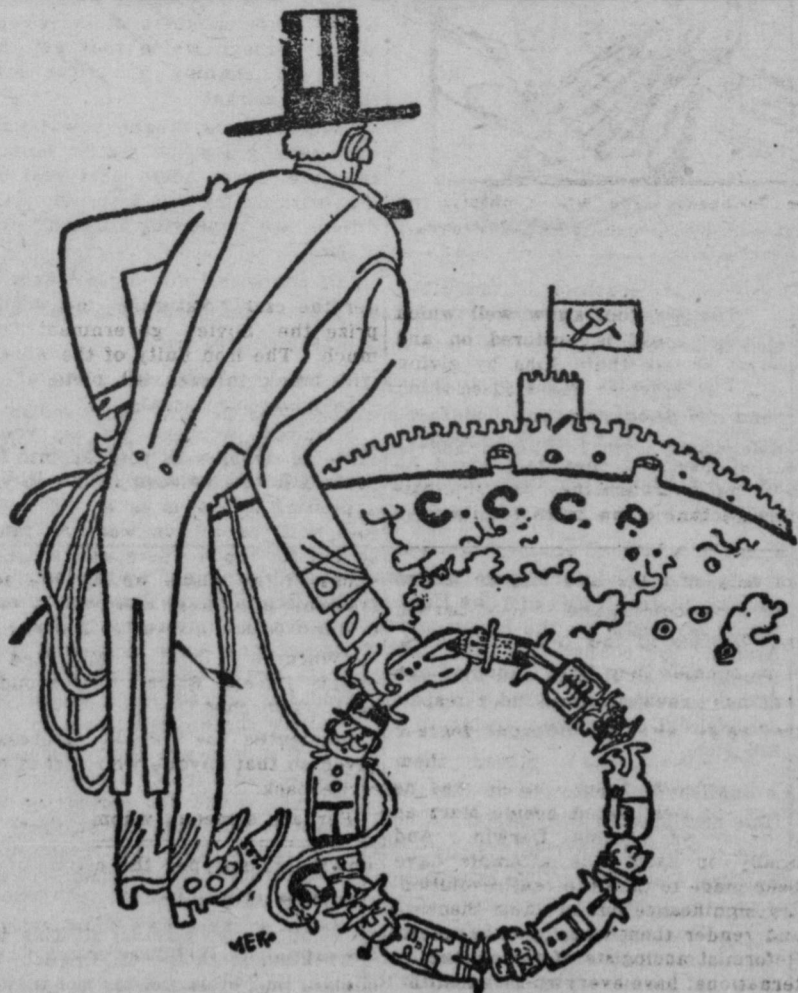
In blood-red purple a new day dawned!
Tra—RA—RA—RAA
Revolution. Revolution... Revolution!
Oh resounding life. Song of the uni-
verse:

On Fifth Avenue worker armies about
their rejoicing on the barricades.
Blood, blood, blood! But victory!

What does it matter that once a long
time ago in Mt. Sinai Hospital one
broke down...?...

Ha...hooo...Ha...hooo.
Spring! Fragrance! Splendor!
And yet: the Revolution is for ALL
OF US!

It Can't Be Done!



The gentlemen from England trying to lasso the Soviet Union with a little league of border nations patterned along the lines of the big robber clique. The same job was tried first by the Allies when they invaded Soviet Russia from all sides. The blockade, counter-revolutionary uprisings and civil war nursed by the Allies failed to crush the revolution and it now stands as the beacon of the coming Soviet Union of the World.

What About Evolution?

By WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

The evolution trial in Tennessee seemed a far cry from the revolutionary movement, nevertheless it is closely linked up with what Marx has taught us about the class struggle. The theory of evolution has dealt a blow to one of the main prop of the ruling class, the Church, and the Church, and the morons who are frantically attempting to stave off the spread of atheism are doomed to failure.

Why? Because it is one of the inevitable contradictions of the capitalist order, that the spread and popularization among the masses of science and knowledge which is so necessary to the progress of industry means the end of the superstition and ignorance upon which the bourgeoisie depend to maintain their strangle hold on the toilers. For if the workingclass can throw off the influence of religion, then they are likely to go a step further and refuse to accept the other

tage of illiteracy and ignorance. The attempt to introduce religion in the schools is a highly desirable one for the capitalists, as exemplified by the statement of Roger W. Babson, leading financial authority for the Chambers of Commerce, that "the safety of our investments depends upon the numbers of church-going people in America." No wonder, then, we have Rockefeller Foundations financing zealous missionaries to China and other "uncivilized" countries.

The liberal lawyers who defended evolution in the Tennessee trial against an army of Billy Sundays give a clear-cut example of the control that is exercised by the ideology of bourgeois institutions over everyone but the most advanced section of the working-class. On what grounds did they defend evolution? Did they come out uncompromisingly and state that the facts of science disprove religious superstitions? No, they are seeking to prove that evolution "does not con-

A Living Proof of Darwinism



From monkey to a lawmaker of the Tennessee type who prohibits the teaching of evolution in the schools (as seen by Komsomolskaya Pravda.)

dope they are fed to keep them passive. Just as the economic conditions spread science and atheism among the masses, so do they teach them thru the bitter experience of the class struggle to destroy the "religion" of "democracy and equality."

The theory of evolution has made ridiculous the Bible and all the teachings of the church to intelligent workers, by showing that man is not a product of a god, but is merely a highly developed creature related to the rest of the animal world by a long process of more or less gradual change from the lowest and simplest forms to the highest and most complex. But the capitalist class has been aware of the dangers of the science they are forced to utilize. Their paid men, both scientists and preachers, have hastened to explain that evolution does not conflict at all with religion. One can still believe in a divine being, they anxiously point out, and still accept the ape-ancestry of man. Oh! yes! but the only trouble is that if God didn't create the world as per the Bible, he hasn't a single excuse for existing at all.

The anti-evolution law in Tennessee is part of a wide-spread and vicious attempt to keep the minds of the younger generation especially as dark as possible, and characteristically enough, the campaign was started in a state with a notoriously high percent-

age of illiteracy and ignorance. The scientists, too, know well which side their bread is buttered on and refused to risk their jobs by giving truthful evidence on the witness stand for fear of their masters. We know that scientists can be as revolutionary as they please if they talk about he stars, but not when they get any nearer home than a few million miles.

There is a curious analogy between the role of Marx and Engels in the field of economics and that of Darwin and Wallace in the field of science. In both cases they have contributions that have revolutionized their respective fields, altho in different degrees of importance, and placed them on a scientific basis. Engels was as much under-estimated beside Marx as Wallace was beside Darwin. And finally, in each case attempts have been made to take the real revolutionary significance out of their theories, and render them tame and harmless. Reformist apologists of the Second International have everywhere substituted "evolution" for "revolution", instantly forgetting, however, that even science gives them the lie.

To carry the analogy further, just as the theory of evolution has made the worker turn away from a god to which he has always been told he owes his existence, as has the Marx-

Russian Workers Write to America

Workers correspondents give information about their life.

By ANISE

MOSCOW, July 14.—(By Mail.)—

Tens of thousands of Russian workers and peasants are now writing for the Russian press, exposing incompetency, praising institutions that are doing well, suggesting improvements. The "workers' correspondents," which began spontaneously in the desires of workmen to help improve their country, are now a prominent institution in Russia, the unofficial aids to prosecuting attorneys and to all inspecting departments of the land. And since the Russian worker takes a vital interest in the workers of all lands, some of these correspondents are beginning to write messages to foreign workers.

Two of these letters were brought to me the other day and I was asked to translate them and forward them to America. They give, more simply and graphically than I could do, the basic facts of Russian life. The first is signed by the "Workers of O. K. L. Mill, City of Red Lugansk, Donetz Basin; writer, representative E. F. Golovachof," such is the co-operative way in which these letters are often produced, read to an interested group and then forwarded.

COMRADE workers of America,

"We want to inform you how the workers live in the Soviet state, in the city of Red Lugansk, Donetz Basin.

"First, we work eight hours a day, on Saturday six hours. Youth under eighteen work six hours, and all persons working in high temperatures work six hours and get extra milk and special clothing. wages are paid twice a month.

"Every skilled worker gets yearly one month's vacation on full pay. Unskilled get two weeks.

"A worker and his family get free hospital care; when on sick leave he gets full pay as though working. We have a bathhouse at the mill for the use of workers and their families. At the mill is a nursery where the working women leave their children and each three hours they are allowed one hour to nurse them.

"All of us are members of the union and also of the mutual aid society in the union. From this mutual aid fund a worker can get loans, but not more than a month's wages. Almost all workers are members of the co-operatives, through which they get their food and clothing at prices lower than the market.

"Workers are taught how to read and write gratis, no matter how old they are. Even some sixty year olds are learning for the first time. Conditions are improving in many other ways.

"Of course, all this did not exist under the czar. Naturally, the workers prize the Soviet government very much. The iron unity of the workers will break through all plots of foreign bourgeois rascals.

"Comrade workers, we beg you to unite as strongly as you can into iron ranks and to give such a blow to your exploiting bourgeois as we did, and to join with us in our workers' family to toil for the workers and peasants' cause of the whole world. We send fraternal greetings to the whole workers and peasants class of America.

"Workers of O. K. M. Mill, Red Lugansk, Donetz Basin, Correspondent E. F. Golovchof."

Incidentally the whole address is given so that anyone who wishes may write back.

Perhaps someone whom this reach-

ing real estate in the swamps of Florida. And for once we agree with them. We, too, will not "reconcile" religion and science, any more than we will recognize the "harmony" between two warring classes. We will wage constant war against mainstay of bourgeois rule, until we have destroyed it forever, for the rule of the workers will use science to emancipate instead of to enslave them and will have no need for mysticism and superstition to maintain itself.

es in America, would like to.

ANOTHER letter comes from the peasants' sanitarium in Livadia, on the shores of the Crimea. With shrewd political taste, the Soviet government has used the old summer palace of the czar not for Soviet officials, nor even for city workers, but for peasants. It is delightfully symbolic. They are saying, "Our officials do not choose to sleep in the czar's bed, as Kerensky did, thus showing that he aped the czar; neither do we give it to the city workers, who don't care whether a bed belonged to the czar or not, if it is otherwise a good bed. But we give it to the peasants, the great dark mass of the land, to show them that they are taking the czar's place now. Of course, the peasant is the one person in Russia now who can get some real excitement out of occupying the czar's palace; it gives Ivan something to write home about and tell the gaping neighbors in his village.

So here is a letter from an employe, working in the Peasants' Sanitarium of Livadia:

"Crimea, July, 1925.

"In a beautiful park above the sea gleams a white palace, where formerly the czars rested from the groans of the workers. At present the peasants of Russia rest there, the new rulers. Daily in small groups the patients arrive; now there are more than 300 people. They arrive from all ends of this limitless territory of the United Republics, from the central states and the far removed provinces.

"Here you can meet the bright khalat of the Turcoman, the narrow face of the Khirgizian, the short cut hair and basket sandals of the Great Russian. Various dialects and tongues intermingle. But finally they are all washed, dressed in sanitary clothes. It is not so easy to distinguish them now; they have become less picturesque and more alike.

"The patients like to inquire which room was Nicolai's and which belonged to the czarina and the grand duchesses. With great curiosity they examine the expensive carvings of furniture and walls, the tremendous dining saloon and vast pantries. They talk and argue how many tractors you could buy for the village with this money, or how many new school buildings.

"Most of the peasants can't get over the impression of their trip and of this vast health resort. To them who have spent all their lives in the dead villages, in ceaseless labor, it all seems a dream. What it so long ago, only eight years, when even in dreams he could never have seen himself traveling to a resort for a cure at the expense of the state and stopping in the czar's palace. Even in fairy tales they did not have such things.

"Among the peasants, especially the older women, there are a number of believers, but more by habit than conviction. They will get up from table and hastily cross themselves as they turn around. Then some young neighbor will jocularly remark: 'See what kind of palaces your God built for the czar. Certainly was a kind-hearted God!' The woman will answer: 'O my dear son, more by habit does the hand pull up. What is life in heaven if only we can arrange our life on earth.'

"In this way the Russian peasant regains his health—he who with the worker is rebuilding his own land.

Working-women Nikolaieva."

Employe of the Livadia Sanitarium,

RUSSIA TODAY! Official Report of British Trade Unions

(Continued from Yesterday's Daily Worker)

Dramatic schools and dancing colleges are now under Government control; young workers from the factory art schools are one source from which pupils are encouraged. Most of them, however, enter as children and receive a general education as well as specializing in dramatic art or dancing as the case may be.

With the exception of one theatre in Leningrad, all are run at a loss and receive a subsidy from the State to make up the deficit. The one self-supporting theatre in Leningrad is quite the most interesting result of the optional art schools mentioned above. This theatre is entirely run and managed by the industrial workers themselves. Most of them still work their six-hour day in the factory. They have none of them received any other training than that offered by the Trade Union optional art schools. The productions at this theatre have hitherto been confined to what are termed Revolution plays. These plays, mostly written by workers, depict various phases of the Revolution, and are a most curious mixture of tragedy and humor. The Russian equivalent of Bairnsfather's "Old Bill" is a constant character.

Such plays are usually staged without scenery, or only with the merest indication such as used in the old-fashioned harlequinade which used to follow every children's pantomime. The dress of the characters are also mere indications, such as a sword for an officer, a rifle for a private. The highest talent in acting and elocution is, therefore, essential.

This form of post-revolution dramatic production is much in vogue, and has been brought to the highest form of perfection by Meyerhold in Moscow. At Meyerhold's Theatre only wooden screens on ball-bearing runners are used to indicate the scenery. There are no footlights, but a strong limelight is thrown on the actor while speaking, or on whom the audience's attention should be fixed at the time. The rest of the stage and the auditorium are completely blacked out. The whole play is worked at the speed of a cinema film, and in this manner there is no limit to the number of scenes which can be gone through in one act. The attention of the audience is held the whole time, the effects are extraordinarily realistic, and the cost of production is fractional.

Meyerhold himself described this form of staging very aptly: "You do not require illustrations to a novel. The general atmosphere of the story and the most sketchy description will conjure up in your imagination the scene in which the events are laid. Each reader imagines a different picture, but it is always one that pleases him and is in sympathy with the story as he reads it. Everything is in the writing. The same with my plays, everything is in the acting."

Under the nationalization scheme every provincial town now has its national opera house and other theatres. These are all under Government management or sub-let to local authorities. They are not exclusively served by local talent; any artist serving the State is liable to be called upon to serve in the provinces and so provide the provincial public with exhibitions of the best talent in the land.

The price of seats in most theatres is about the same as in Tsarist days. A worker, however, on presentation of his certificate, obtains a reduction according to his category. Thus a worker may obtain a seat in the gallery at the opera for a sum amounting to 2½d. or a stall for under a shilling.

It is too early to judge whether the Revolution will bring forth any really great exponents of the arts. It is, however, certain that the new system of education is granting the very greatest opportunities for self-expression to a naturally artistic and emotional people.

Art Collections

Much might be written regarding Russia's collection of art treasures in the museums and public galleries. These, however, have been extensively reviewed and written on by experts in the past. It is satisfactory to realize that rumors circulated in the European Press regarding their destruction or sale may now be classed with the most of the other information received from certain quarters regarding the situation in Soviet Russia.

As a matter of fact, the collection has been increased to an almost unwieldy proportion by the nationalization of private collections. Jewelry, plate, pictures, furniture, miniatures, armor, china, tapestries, sculpture, arms, altar-pieces, books, and manuscripts in vast quantities are still stored, uncatalogued, in the large attics and cellars of the museums and many of the famous country seats and town homes of the nobility which have been turned into museums or educational establishments.

A large staff of experts and artists is busy sorting and cataloguing this heterogeneous mass. Those specimens of special value are added to the former collections in the existing museums and galleries. Furniture, pictures, and art treasures found in many famous homes and palaces now converted into museums remain as they were found. In the museums of Leningrad alone there are over 50,000 pieces of china waiting to be catalogued and inspected. Over 5,000 pictures have been concentrated in the great Hermitage Galleries and are now being sorted and classified. A wonderful collection of ikons and religious pictures has been centralized in the Museum of Alexander III, where a large expert staff, many of them foreigners, are engaged on restoration work. Many of these ikons and holy pictures have been found to date back to before the tenth and

eleventh centuries. It was found, however, that some had been repainted several times and, in some cases, with an entirely different design. The work of restoration has now removed the later Russian designs, and the original work of the Byzantine artist has been revealed. So far the results achieved have been marvellous, and the experts declare that when the work is finished Russia will possess a collection of early religious art which will be unrivaled in the world.

In all cases when identification has been accomplished only the finest specimens of art treasures are placed in the chief museums, secondary specimens are sent to complete the collections in the provincial towns. Avowed reproductions, of which many thousands posed as originals on the walls of their former owners, are sent to the art schools which are springing up all over Russia or used for decorating the walls of public buildings.

There will be very important additions to the collections of china and pottery, tapestries and books. The increase of Russian work, both early and contemporary, will be enormous.

The Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow is still devoted to Russian painters, and here there have been many notable additions.

It seems improbable, however, that the increase in the intrinsic value of the national collection, from the point of view of foreign art, will be as great as might be expected. The dealers in Europe appear to have conspired to place their reproductions and counterfeits with the Russian aristocracy. The most important collection appears to be that of the Stragonov family, from which some very fine Rembrandts have been acquired. The collection of Rembrandt art in the Hermitage Gallery is now probably the best and most representative in the world.

The palaces of the Tsars and Grand Dukes remain untouched; even the toilet and writing tables are seen in exactly the same state as they were left by their former owners. Stolipin's great seat in the center of a large park on the outskirts of Leningrad has been thrown open as a museum on certain days during the week. The Trade Unions wanted this wonderful house and park as a sanatorium for the workers, but the Government decided that from certain aspects it was of more public value as a museum, and as an illustration of the formal state which surrounded the former Prime Ministers of the Russian Empire.

It is remarkable the zest with which the custodians and experts in these museums are working. Most of them are former employes, but some of them were formerly owners of private collections. Every facility is given them by the State to pursue their investigations. The galleries are well heated and open to the public on certain days only. Work, however, continues all the week and bona-fide students are admitted on all days. The charge for entry is purely nominal. A register is kept at the door in which visitors enter their names and addresses. Careful statistics are kept of the number of visitors, especial note being taken of whether they are local residents or visitors. On all public days large classes of children, workmen, and students, may be seen in charge of a guide or teacher receiving instruction regarding the exhibits. Many of the classes are often organized parties from the provinces.

Printing and Publishing

The newspaper press and publication of books, leaflets, advertisements, and posters—in fact, the printed word in any form, also comes under the control and jurisdiction of the Commissariat of National Education. The two special departments of the Commissariat dealing with the printed word are the National Publishing Department and the Censor (Gosizdat and Glavlit).

Censorship

Application for the permission to publish all printed matter must be made to the Publishing Department. In the case of books and pamphlets the typed or printed MSS. have to be passed by a special Editorial Commission attached to the Publishing Department before final permission for publication can be obtained. The Censor then reviews the book in print after permission to publish has been received. In this manner the publisher and the Editorial Commission, not the author, are responsible to the Censor.

Books

The publication of books has increased very largely during the last two years. It is everybody's ambition to write a book in order to supplement his income.

If the work is accepted a contract is then drawn up between the author and publisher for a specified number of copies. In cases where an author is unable to sell his work to a publisher he may obtain the right to publication by applying direct to the Censor through the State Publishing Department; he can then publish at his own risk or, in the case of some scientific work or work of public interest, he may obtain payment from some organization or the State Educational Department itself. The second and subsequent editions of all publications form the basis of a separate contract and price by agreement. Besides the State Publishing Department there are now a number of private publishers.

Press Censorship

Each newspaper is a self-contained organization with its own editorial staff. There is no obligation on the members of the staff to be Communists, but a Government inspector from the Censor Office reads through the proofs before each edition goes to press. This official, who is a Communist, acts in very much the same capacity as regards articles and news as the legal adviser retained by most British newspapers, but he has

"Who Is Who in British D..."

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Union Delegation

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the right to refuse publication of information which he considers contrary to the State regulations. The ultimate responsibility, however, remains with the editorial staff.

Press Propaganda

The organization and control on certain definite lines of the printed word is considered to be one of the greatest trusts and responsibilities of the present rulers of Russia. In the words of Lenin, it will be possible, with the aid of the printing press, to break down the many traditions and customs which are still retarding the progress and correct evolution of the new ideas. The main features of the Russian Press, and, in fact, all literature in general, are therefore devoted to instruction and propaganda on the theories and practice of the many ramifications of Soviet rule.

The economic and social side of life under the new conditions is dealt with by the Press in great detail; and a special feature is the verbatim reports of all speeches made by the leaders at party meetings and congresses. Foreign and political news and the comments of all sections of the foreign Press are well set out, even in the smaller provincial papers. The absence of all sensational news stories of no instructive or public value is very marked. In fact, Soviet newspapers, although perhaps a little dull at times, are considerably cleaner reading than the newspapers of other countries.

Newspapers

The "Pravda" (Truth) is the Communist Party organ. The paper deals with general news, but its special feature is the activity and views of the Communist Party organization. This paper has one of the largest general circulations, and is looked upon as the mouthpiece of the Government. It also acts as a press agency for the provincial newspapers. The rest of the newspapers are divided into sectional categories as follows:—

1. General newspapers—town, provincial and rural.
2. Trade Union newspapers dealing with matters pertaining to their particular union.
3. Peasants, workers and professional newspapers.
4. Economic, military and technical.
5. Co-operative societies and national newspapers.
6. Weekly and monthly periodicals on art, music, literature and agriculture.
7. Rosta, the official Soviet Press Agency.
8. Factory wall papers.

Press Circulation

The comparative daily circulation figures are as follows:—

	1914	1924
No. of publications.....	447	498
Circulation	2,728,700	2,530,000

In the rural and agricultural districts the number of publications has increased from 131 in 1914 to 168 in 1924; in the large centers, however, there has been a slight decrease. The decrease in general circulation is undoubtedly due to the fact that every industrial and agricultural organization has its own club, which subscribes to the principal central newspapers and all the local ones. In this manner it is reckoned that each copy is read by at least ten persons. In most of the workers' clubs voluntary readers read the newspapers aloud at specified hours to members who are unable or unwilling to read. The reading public is, therefore, far in excess of figures suggested in the comparative statistics. The "Peasants' Gazette" and the "Red Star," both peasants' and workers' newspapers, were only started at the beginning of this year, and have each reached a circulation of over 400,000 daily. In the above figures the native, vernacular Trade Union and Peasants' Press is not included.

Wall Papers

One of the most interesting features in Soviet journalism is what are called wall papers. These consist of printed, type-written and, in some cases, hand-written slips, which from day to day are pinned on a board on the wall of the factory, club, institute, or other meeting-place of the workers. These slips contain articles, views, news, comments, etc., of the workers themselves. Each wall paper has its own organized editorial and printing staff, and is entirely run by the workers themselves under the auspices of the Trade Unions. Special correspondents are selected from among the workers, who gather news and send anything of general value appearing on these wall papers to some of the recognized newspapers in the cities. The origin of these wall papers sprang from the activities of the Russian Press Agency, "Rosta," which, in the days when paper was scarce, printed its telegraphic news on small slips, which were distributed in single copies to the clubs and meeting-places of the workers, and then pasted to the white wall. The workers soon began to write their own comments on the wall below. When this was stopped they wrote their comments on scraps of paper, often cigarette packet wrappings. From these efforts sprang the organization which is now represented in almost every workshop and club in Russia. These organized wall newspapers are a medium through which the workers can express their opinions, not only as regards general politics, but also on questions concerning the factory or institution for which they are working. Their success has been so great that they have become preparatory journalistic schools. The Factory Committees of the Trade Unions take very careful note of any young correspondent or contributor of merit, and from time to time make selections of candidates for the literary schools or institutes of journalists, where students receive a special training in all branches of journalism. Much young talent is appearing from this source.

Freedom of the Press

The older journalists of today, as in fact the whole of the contemporary Russian Press, are the outcome of 20 years of labor and oppression. Most of the writers have served many years in prison under the Tsarist regime. After the Revolution in 1905 a very strong agitation was started for greater freedom in the Press. The movement met with a certain amount of success until 1909. Repressive measures were then taken. In 1911, however, there was a further revival of the movement, which met with a greater measure of success. Militant action was no longer attempted, but combines were formed of various newspapers with dying circulations. Rights for the publication of new newspapers were also obtained. In this manner various political groups became possessed of the right of publication by several newspapers, of which only one was printed and issued. Directly it was closed by order of the authorities for too free an expression of views it continued its activities under another permit and under another name. In this manner the "Pravda" changed its name twelve times during the period 1912 to 1914, and 16 members of its editorial staff suffered various terms of imprisonment.

As will be readily seen there is still no opposition Press. In spite of this, however, very considerable latitude of criticism is allowed; these criticisms take the form of open discussions on social and economic questions. No attack on the Communist Party is permitted. The authority of the existing Government is in all cases strongly upheld. This is evident in the attitude of the whole of the Russian Press against Trotsky in his recent criticisms, which latter amounted to an attack on certain phases of the present system of rule.

Very few newspapers at present are self-supporting; for the most part they are subsidized by the organizations they represent or the Government, which looks upon them as part of the State educational system. A certain income is received from advertisements. The advertisements mostly consist of theatre notices, notices of party and Trade Union meetings, and co-operative stores, all of which have to be paid for by arrangement.

General Conclusions

From the above necessarily inadequate review of the Soviet educational system it will be realized that every opportunity and encouragement is given to the worker, no matter what may be his or her calling, to obtain the best instruction in any branch of art, industry, science or literature for which he may feel he has an aptitude. The results which were seen by the Delegation in all the districts visited were certainly astounding, especially when it is considered that the whole system has not yet been in operation for three years. Many of these workers had no intention of leaving the factory in which they had worked all their lives or altering their lives in any way. The training they had received in the optional schools or other institutions had, however, given them an entirely new outlook on life and made their leisure hours a pleasure. Others were by these means enabled to quit an irksome and routine job for a profession to which their talents and bent fitted them. A peasant or a worker can by his own energies rise in his or any other profession with the aid given to him by the system. The pathetic feature in our own civilization of wasted and dormant talent, the slave of circumstance, owing to the absence of all possibility of outlet or instruction through lack of means, seems likely to become very rare among the workers of Russia.

CHAPTER X

Public Health and Housing, etc.

Disease

Prior to the Revolution the registered death rate in Russia was higher than any other country in the world. The mortality among children under the age of one year was nearly three times that of any other country in Europe. During the general mobilization at the beginning of the war in 1914 it was found that 45 per cent. of the male population was unfit for military service as not coming up to the standard established at that time. Most of these defectives were suffering from syphilis in a more or less acute form, the disease being rampant in the villages and rural districts. During the war and the Revolution typhus, typhoid, smallpox and malaria were epidemic in all parts of the country; but reliable statistics dealing with this period are not available.

It has now been established from former official records that over 1,500,000 were killed during the war, and that another 1,675,000 lost over 50 per cent. of their working capacity as a result of wounds or sickness. During the Revolution and the Civil War (Denikin's offensive and others) it is reckoned that a further 6,500,000 lives were lost from casualties in fighting, disease, and infant mortality; finally, the famine of 1921 and 1922 carried away 5,000,000 men, women and children, bringing the total recorded losses to Russia during eight years up to nearly 15,000,000.

The first reliable statistics dealing with public health since the Revolution appeared in 1920. The number of registered cases of typhus had then reached nearly 4,000,000 and amounted to 365 per 10,000 inhabitants. In 1921 a cholera epidemic broke out in the south, and for six months the registered cases averaged over 200,000. In 1922 typhoid cases reached 1,500,000 and recurrent 300,000. At the same time scarlet fever and smallpox were epidemic in many parts. Such was the state of Russia in the years 1921 and 1922.

(To be continued in next issue.)

MR. LANSBURYS' EMPIRE

By C. M. Roebuck

The following article was written for the Communist press by Comrade C. M. Roebuck of Britain, takes issue with George Lansbury on a very important question. In a recent debate in the House of Commons Lansbury and such a prominent "left winger" as David Kirkwood, with others, walked into the division with J. H. Thomas and Stanley Baldwin on the question of giving preference to goods manufactured within the confines of the British Empire. This action has caused quite a furore in radical circles in England and Comrade Roebuck put the issue fair and square to Lansbury, who usually is in the opposition to the right wing of the Labor Party.

Judging from the "Empire" number of his Weekly, it is very difficult to imagine that Lansbury is still on the side of the workers. Perhaps the best thing is to ask him a few questions.

George Lansbury! In your article last week you say that your support of colonial preference "was a vote in favor of admitting only those goods which are produced under fair conditions." Are you ignorant, or do you only pretend ignorance, of the fact that the vast bulk of the goods concerned in the vote are produced in the Empire under slave conditions?

You go on to justify yourself that "had you been allowed to do so," you would have put in words insisting on "fair conditions." Are you ignorant, or do you only pretend ignorance, of the fact which hundreds of thousands of workers knew perfectly well long before—namely, that it was just these few "words" (just a trifle, just the ending of British exploitation in the colonies) which the Tories would never allow you to put in?

You say that if the criticism is true that Preference duties only benefit the capitalists, then "we should give up boasting of Snowden's wonderful Budget." Are you ignorant or do you only pretend ignorance of the fact that the Communists who are criticising you today are the very people who were alone in exposing Snowden's "Labor Imperialist" Budget, at the time when you did not raise a finger to support them?

You say that, after you had been beaten on the abolition of food taxes altogether, you and your friends "determined to support the partial abolition embodied in the Preference proposals, if the goods were produced under fair conditions." Have you forgotten, or do you only pretend to have forgotten, the unimportant little fact that you and your friends supported the Preference proposals even without that saving clause, and even tho, not being infants in arms, you knew perfectly well beforehand that you could never secure it?

You say that we cannot refuse to take action against "the importation of foreign goods, produced under foul conditions, in competition with workers in our own land or in the Dominions." Are you blind, or are you shamming blindness, to the fact that goods are being produced "under foul conditions," and imported in huge volume, from a section of the British Empire (not more than 85 per cent of it) which you by an oversight omitted from the catalogue—namely, the colonies?

You refer to "a new way by which international action can be taken"—the International Labor Office at Geneva, whose director is "expected" to keep certain records, and where labor and capitalist representatives meet "to discuss and formulate plans": and

you go on to declare that, "with a true spirit of comradeship between the workers, it is not only possible but imperative" that we should come to an understanding about sweated labor conditions making trade impossible.

What do you mean, George Lansbury? Do you mean that the director does keep records of colonial exploitation? Do you mean that the Geneva "plans" have ever got further than paper—or that they are likely to? Do you mean that this "understanding" can be arrived at thru the I. L. O.?

Are you, a "Left-Winger," ignorant—or are you shamming ignorance—of the fact, well known to hundreds of thousands of workers, that the I. L. O. is merely a part of the decorations of the League of Nations—the latest capitalist device for preventing world peace?

You say that, when there is a labor government again, "we (who? MacDonald? Clynes? Thomas?) shall create a Commonwealth of partner nations, in place of the Empire founded on force. That sounds very fine; but you also say, a line or two higher up: "We shall not assist in breaking up the British Empire." Now how do you reconcile these statements, George Lansbury?

Are you ignorant, or do you sham ignorance, of the fact that the vast majority of the Indian people (capitalists, workers, and peasants) want independence, and that the same applies to Ceylon and Egypt? Are you aware that in 1919 and 1920 rising in these three countries were drowned in blood by British Imperialism?

And would you kindly tell us what you are going to do when these nations demand independence from your government, and, being disappointed, take up arms against you?

And will you usher in your Labor

Government by withdrawing the armed forces from all these territories, as the visible sign that they are not "free partners"? Or does your hatred of bloodshed not carry you as far as this very obvious way of preventing it?

And then you say that the Bolsheviks, "faced with the Russian Empire, claim that they gave freedom of choice to Georgia, the Ukraine, Finland, Poland, etc." What exactly do you mean to insinuate, George Lansbury? Did they or did they not work for independence of the subject peoples, years before the fall of Tsardom? Did they or did they not actually give freedom of choice? Why not speak out in the language of the capitalist press and Emma Goldman, if that is what is in your mind? Or, if it is not in your mind, why use such ambiguous language?

Can it be, George Lansbury, that you want to hide the ambiguity of your own position thereby? Can it be that you want to lead the workers by using phrases that sound revolutionary, while at all costs preventing them from drawing revolutionary conclusions? We shall be sorry to think so, George Lansbury. But what are we to think of your suggestion that British labor, out of the British Empire, should "create" a Commonwealth of Free Nations, or "replace" it by a Union of Free Nations—just as the Bolsheviks did with the Russian Empire—when you manage entirely to slur over that, as the experience of Russia shows, the first step towards your goal would involve the break-up of the Empire as part of the overthrowing of the British capitalist class?

It is time we had some straightforward speaking from you, George Lansbury. That is what the workers need above all at the present time from those who claim to be their leaders!

The Political Situation in the Twin Cities

By JOHN GABRIEL SOLTIS.

MINNEAPOLIS, Aug. 14.—Old man Mahoney of St. Paul, reports that somebody in Minneapolis is instituting a movement to reorganize Minneapolis "for practical political action, and free it from the visionary element which has sought to tie organized labor to a movement that has no attainable objective." That is to say, the left wing and the Communists, whom old man Mahoney considers it his sacred duty to misrepresent and vilify. In this sense he is extremely practical, as a miserable tool in the hands of the democratic O'Connor's machine of St. Paul.

Labor Skates Worried.

Old man Mahoney declares that the reorganization move was dictated by the fact, that the disgraceful defeat of the Socialist-Laborites last June, has stirred the labor fakers. And so it has.

However, old man Mahoney tries to leave the impression, that the complete defeat of the laborites was in some way the result of their connections with the left wing and the Communists. This is a piece of sophistry, which would do honor to a Jesuit. Nothing is farther from the truth, and it is not Mahoney's mental senility that causes him to prevent the truth. It is something quite different. What are the political facts in this connection?

Proposed United Front.

First of all, the Workers (Communist) Party proposed a united front of all working class organizations, on the question of mayor and aldermanic candidates. This proposal did not entail the nomination of a Communist for a single office. It was an honest, genuine effort to solidify all the forces of Minneapolis labor, to fight the capitalists on the political front. Our united front proposition was not only turned down, but ignored entirely. The capitalists were feeding Mahoney's Minneapolis allies, raw meat which made them spunky. They slammed the door in the face of the left wing.

Supported Capitalist Hacks.

Instead of putting up a united front labor candidate for mayor, and thus yielding to the desires of the rank and file, the labor fakers headed by the versatile alderman, Bastis, supported capitalist candidates for mayor. To forestall this plain treachery, the Communists entered their own candidate.

In the political estimation of men like Mahoney and Bastis, in order to elect the socialist laborites, an alliance had to be struck with the capitalists, the basis of which was a common fight on the Communists. They thus thought that they would insinuate themselves into the good graces of the capitalist class. Their mercenary political character, suffered, as do all such fellows, from spherical aberration.

In the elections not a single left winger, not one Communist was active, for the simple reason that circumstances in the control of Mahoney's co-workers, made it out of the question, beyond the issuance of a general statement.

Splitting the Working Class.

The situation was this: The socialist laborites were hammering the Communists for no apparent reason at all. While they were doing that, they were deliberately splitting the working class and preparing their own ignominious rout. In reality, when they slammed the door in our face, they left themselves on the outside. No traps which the capitalists set for them, Mr. Albert Bastis, their distinguished trader, led them into it blindly.

It must also be remembered that practically all of the now ex-aldermen of the laborite ilk, were elected on the basis of waging a sharp class struggle fight. In those days of victory, even I. W. W.'s participated in pushing their elections. They won all along the line. The working class was aroused to a pitch of real class enthusiasm. However, good signs, fine booze and shady political and other deals, combined with a total lack of

understanding the mechanics of the class struggle, separated them from the left wing.

Power on Increase.

It is significant, is it not, that before the days of red baiting, when all elements of labor acted in the united front, our political power was constantly on the increase; our economic arm was also strong. As a matter of fact, as any honest worker knows, it was the militant left wing of Minneapolis and the state, that promoted both political and economic solidarity. Precisely for these reasons, the capitalist class let loose its labor agents, to destroy this left wing, if possible. It is the labor fakers who are destroying the solidarity of the Minneapolis workers, and the rank and file is aware of it.

Holding Fake Conferences.

Since Mahoney and his allies have joined the camp of the red-baiters, there is no end of fake conferences held by the gentry. Last March Mahoney held one in St. Paul, to eliminate the farm-labor federation. It was too proletarian to suit them. A hand-picked delegation of discredited and self-seeking politicians made up that pow-wow. But the rank and file of farmers and workers have not flocked to the program cooked up at that meeting.

Minneapolis is as clean of the farm-labor association, as Mahoney is of socialism. No artificial conference of red-baiters will instill the workers with confidence in it. The workers demand a labor party, with a left wing leadership and a labor party they shall have! The future is ours!

THE BRICK

What is Truth?

What is Truth?

asked smilingly the World's Tyrant of those who had said he was the World's Great Lie?

There was instant confusion in the intellectual ranks; the bookmen, the poets, the clever cynics withdrew in confusion; they could not answer the Tyrant, for they were lies, too; and their wisdom was empty, and a lie; their books were lies.

There was silence and pessimism and confusion in the world, until a great workingman suddenly grabbed a simple Brick that lay near the throne of the world, and slung it at the head of the tyrant, and hugely laughed, ho! ho! ho! here is Truth, o tyrant!

This Brick is Truth!

Red as life blood, red as the earth from which wheat grows.

Hard as fate, hard as the laws of science.

Useful and wonderful.

Foundation of dreams.

Pavement.

Stuff of sewers.

Stuff of immense living skyscrapers.

Material of barricades.

A joke, a coarse, bold workingman's laugh flung at the head of dilatantes and cowards.

Hard, real, useful, universal.

Dangerous, humorous slagger of Tyranny and Lies.

This Brick is Truth, o Tyrant!

—MICHAEL GOLD.

The Picture and the Film in the Revolutionary Movement

By WILLY MUENZENBERG.

ARTICLE II.

NUMEROUS means for agitation and propagandation of the Communist idea are at the disposal of the Communist Parties and organizations; the spoken word in mass meetings, factory meetings, demonstrations, etc. The printed word thru leaflets, papers, manifestos, magazines, pamphlets, and books. These means have been in use since the first days of the working class movement.

Besides these means firmly established thru decades of use, more and more, altho slowly and against opposition, the picture is taking its place in Communist agitation and propaganda. Up to two years ago the picture was virtually ignored in Communist literature. It was seldom that in a book or any kind of pamphlet a picture was used to support and emphasize the text. In no daily paper, in no youth organ, in no woman's paper was it used. Fortunately this situation within the past two years, had been largely improved and more and more the picture serves the Communist daily, magazine, women's paper, etc., to liven up the text—altho still in regretfully limited extent.

OUR enemy controls in Germany alone more than hundreds of variegated illustrated papers, and in Berlin alone there appear every day numerous papers with special pictorial supplements. It is unquestionably necessary and desirable that pictures be utilized in Communist papers to a far greater extent than heretofore. The picture is most tellingly effective upon the children, youth, on the primitively thinking, unorganized, indifferent masses of workers, agricultural labor, small peasants and similar groups. Coincident with the illustrations in the dailies, youth and children's organs, women's and peasants' papers, we must unquestionably tackle the development of the illustrated workers' paper.

Right in the factory an illustrated paper is far easier to sell to an indifferent fellow worker than is a theoretical pamphlet. We must make it possible to combat the stupefying influence of the bourgeois illustrated journals that are now circulated in the millions.

Besides the creation and development of the illustrated labor paper the picture must be fully utilized for our propaganda, by means of photos, cards, picture collections, etc. Particularly for the popularizing of the leaders of the Communist International, for the combatting of the hero-worship toward bourgeois leaders and military figures, and above all, in the education and agitation work on behalf of Soviet Russia the picture can and shall render priceless service.

A further extension of the use of the picture is seen in the stereoptican slide lecture, which in the rural sections of Germany and Czechoslovakia, where they have thus far been most used, have had best results. These slides make it possible to present in most convincing and plastic form such themes as the economic upbuilding of Soviet Russia, the life of the Russian worker and peasant, the children's homes in Soviet Russia, the Red army, etc.

ON all these fields a start, altho perhaps, a humble one, has already been made. But next to nothing has been done to put the film into the arsenal of agitation and propaganda weapons of the Communist Parties. Quite properly the enlarged executive of the Comintern in March, 1925, called attention to this shortcoming, and instructed all affiliated parties to concern themselves much more than formerly in turning this weapon to their service. Leading comrades of the International have repeatedly and emphatically pointed out the tremendous significance of the film propaganda.

Vladimir Ilitch Lenin, in a conversation with Comrade Lunacharski, said: "You must powerfully develop film production, taking especially the proletarian kino to the city masses and in still a much greater extent to the village. You must always consider that of all the arts the motion picture is for us the most important."

A statement from Comrade Zinoviev on the motion picture: "The motion picture in the possession of the bourgeoisie is the strongest means for the betrayal and befuddling of the masses. In our hands it can and must become a mighty weapon of Communist propaganda and for the enlightenment of the widest working masses."

N. A. SEMASCHKO, Peoples' Commissar for Health, "... the kino gives a vital and accurate picture full of life and true to life, it can agitate thru the Fable, thru the picturization. These circumstances enhance the value of this form of propaganda also in the protection of public health, for today, with the widespread increased popular interest in world questions, with the prevailing universal nervous tension, dry discourses and lectures on public health, no matter how learned they may be, cannot always get to the heart of their audience."

A. V. Lunacharsky, Commissar for Public Education: "... The kino proves itself extremely vital. We possess mostly a very busy and highly promising production, but altho we have decided upon a salvation bringing unification of all motion picture activity in the U. S. S. R., and particularly in the R. S. F. S. R., our steps in carrying out this decision are

hesitant and uncertain."

K. Woroschilow, commander of the Red Army in the Moscow military district, "The motion picture, as a cultural plane (the carpenter's tool), has won itself a place of honor in the U. S. S. R. It is no less popular in the Red Army than among the worker and peasant masses."

CLARA ZETKIN writes concerning the significance of the film in the Communist propaganda: "On no account can the Communist movement ignore the propaganda power of the motion picture. For it seeks its followers in first instance from those strata deprived of educational opportunity and barred from books, it must call out the foreign-speaking colonial peoples against their masters, and unite the proletariat of all lands. The film is particularly significant for the Soviet Union. Czarism left a heritage of illiteracy and feudalism. Soviet Russia includes great primitive, but culture hungry masses, speaking hundreds of varying tongues. Here the film is a means of popular education of tremendous importance, a tool for the raising of productivity, a weapon in the struggle against unhealthy habits of living, and against plagues, a disseminator of knowledge, an educator, a bringer of culture and happiness."

Let us value to film by the great propagandistic, cultural possibilities that it contains.

When we think of the masses that daily, in city and tiny village, fill the movie theaters, and that of those eighty to ninety per cent are workers or closely connected with the workers, and when we consider further the effect of these pictures upon the masses, knowing their power of mass suggestion, then we welcome indeed the decision and pledge of the Communist Party for the full utilization of this means. To make available and use the film as a means of winning support, in support of our efforts at enlightening the working masses, is the most pressing task of Communist propaganda and agitation. The film can, for instance, be employed for the unmasking and gibbeting of our opponents, in showing the development of the social-democratic party from the first beginnings under Marx and Engels down to the Barmat circle in Hotel Bristol. The effect of such a film can be appraised when one remembers the effect of even only a series of stereoptican slides, dealing with this same subject, during the recent reichstag elections.

THE same applies to a film to meet the militarist and monarchist propaganda prejudice films with a true exposition of the old Russian militarism, showing the torture in the barracks, the beastly treatment of the soldiers, and the grewsome horror of the war. In districts where the clericals are es-

pecially strong, a film showing the horrors of the medieval inquisition, would surely not fail of effect on the hitherto loyal supporters of the Zentrum.

But not only against the enemy can our film be directed, it also bears the possibility to present positively the aims and struggles of the Communist movement and of the revolutionary workers' organizations. There can be no doubt, that a film showing the life of a youth, beaten in school, mistreated by teachers, suffers, hungers, and finally comes into contact with the Communist Youth Movement where he finds defense, protection, support, of his interests, is drawn into the mass movement, learns the meeting routine, takes part in demonstrations, etc.; such a film would surely exert suggestive power upon thousands of juveniles and bring great crowds of them closer to the Communist movement.

THE same applies to a film showing the life story of a worker, returned from the war, plunged into the maelstrom of the November events, and on the barricades of Berlin defends his family and his class. Or a really extensive picture along the lines of the Griffith film, "Intolerance," recreates historical periods of revolutionary upheaval, beginning with Spartacus, the peasant uprisings, Thomas Munzers, the great French Revolution, and closing with the great triumphant victory of the workers and peasants of Russia. In the factories or after working hours we could show the workers by means of trick film the constant lowering of their living conditions, of the actual lowering of their wages in comparison to the rising prices, and thus demonstrate the actual working out of bourgeois control of politics and industry.

There are hundreds of motives and objects that can be utilized in film propaganda. We are not oblivious to the colossal censorship difficulties, technical and organizational obstacles, that stand in the way of all these suggested plans. Much ground would already be won if we could put every Communist Party and organization into a position to show a monthly film chronicle of the most important happenings in Soviet Russia, and thus to bring the development of this strongest prop of the international proletariat and revolutionary movement into the clear vision of the masses. Good and valuable as our present agitational and propaganda media, the spoken or printed word, may be, their effect would be tremendously increased if they could be combined with the up-to-date medium of the film.

THERE must no longer be any country in which the Communist Party and its groups do not make extensive propagandist use of the motion picture film.

Letters from Our Readers

When Workers Fight For Capitalists.

To the Daily Worker:—It takes very little shrapnel to make a nasty mess of one's anatomy; but it takes an awful lot of perseverance on the part of a disabled veteran to impress this fact on the government doctors, and, if possible, weedle a little compensation out of them. I was one of the poor suckers that got mixed up on the wrong end of the recent conflict. My share of the spoils of war was one fine assortment of wounds—the result of a personal contact with a three-inch shell. One in the side has been particularly troublesome, and has made a serious dent in my otherwise sweet and cheerful disposition.

I had no idea how really well off I happen to be, however, until I went to the veterans' bureau to be examined for a permanent disability rating. This is what took place: One doctor after another, as I was being examined, took great pains to impress me with my entire unworthiness. In fact they as much as implied that I had one helluva nerve to be looking for money from our dear government, just because I happened to be shot up a bit. They told me I was extremely

fortunate to get off as easily as I had—to have retained my arms, my lungs, etc., some fellows would consider themselves pretty lucky to be in my shoes—and more to that effect.

This is a stock gag with the M. D.'s. The idea of it is to put the veteran in such a frame of mind that when he goes before the rating board he'll be content if they hand him the minimum amount per month, no matter what's wrong with him.

Well, I finally reached the rating board. In our city this board is supposed to consist of their three best doctors, medical "best minds" as it were. (I'd hate to be treated by one of their worst).

My first impression of the members of this board was by no means an ordinary one.—No, indeed! I felt that here before me were three of the dopest looking old codgers that had graced my sight in many a long year. That was my first impression. My last was even less favorable.

One of them woke up as I entered. He blinked at me a while and then nudged the guy next to him. They asked a few of the usual idiotic questions, whispered together a while, and

then pronounced their momentous decision. The first was a German (hot stuff!). "Well," he said, "I don't see how we could give you more than 10 per cent." That means 10 per cent disabled, and brings in the handsome sum of eight dollars a month.

Since they hadn't taken the trouble to look at my wounds as yet, I suggested that it wouldn't be a bad idea to do so before pronouncing their final decision. They didn't take this in very good part. It meant that one of them would have to stand up. However, he went thru with it, and they began to pull the old gag about how lucky I was to get off so easy, to still have my arms, etc. He started to compliment me on my good fortune in being able to get eight dollars a month, but he didn't get very far. I started to pass out a few compliments of my own. I think I succeeded in conveying to them some idea of the estimation in which I held their bureau, themselves, and their eight dollars a month. At any rate I actually woke up the third member of the rating board. Then I discovered why they have three members on that board; it is for protection, and they need it.

The three of them stood up, faced me bravely, and told me that they considered my language very much out

of place, and that if I didn't pipe down they'd have me thrown out. I told them they'd have to throw me out or else give me a decent examination. They finally acquiesced and handed me an order to have some X-rays taken, with the promise that if the pictures showed my kidneys missing or a lung amputated they might increase my rating. Maybe they'll increase it one-half of one per cent. Well, it was a great war while it lasted.

Yours for world Communism,
Another Disabled Veteran.

**The Walden
Book Shop**
307 Plymouth Court
(Between State and Dearborn
Just South of Jackson)
CHICAGO

If you want to thoroughly understand Communism—study it.

The War Against Riffs and the Socialist Party of France

By ANDRE MARTY (Paris)

The Painleve government decided under the hypocritical formula: "Respect for treaties and the sovereignty of the Sultan!" (an insignificant puppet of the French government) to carry on war against the Riffs. It could not have been otherwise. When among the most important members of a ministry there are men such as Briand, an upstart adventurer, Caillaux, a typical banker, Schrameck, a born policeman and Steeg, a slaveholder, the hand of capital does not need to pull the wires very firmly with which it controls its marionettes, in order to guide them as it desires; a breath is sufficient.

Every bourgeois government of this country feels itself compelled to destroy the Riffs by military means and by the blockade, for the following chief reasons:

1. The greed of the banks desires at last to "bestow peace"—as they call it—on Morocco, so that they can exploit it to their heart's content.

2. The free Republic of the Riffs would spur on all the oppressed Arabian peoples of North Africa, Morocco and Tunis to a revolutionary fight for freedom. This however would be a fearful blow to imperialism, especially to the French.

This is why the bourgeois government felt compelled at a moment's notice to carry on war to the end. The leaders of the socialist party (including Blum, Renaudel, Bedouce) who really belong to the left wing of the bourgeoisie, have joined in.

The attitude of the socialists was dictated by their anxiety to remain a government party. Why? Because since May 11, 1924, the socialist party (S. F. I. O.) has, with almost incredible rapidity, drawn close to the bourgeoisie.

When it became a government party, it attracted a large number of electors of the cartel who took their cards of membership not out of enthusiasm for the socialist party, but to insure for themselves the protection of the mighty ones of the day. In numerous communities it has absorbed those "radical" elements, which form a number of election committees, but no party. Many young lawyers and young doctors "with a brilliant future" have joined the party and, in the majority of the socialist provincial sections, a "brilliant" general staff discusses policy from the point of view of merchants, which has nothing at all in common with the "empty and interminably long discussions of old Guesde who only began to realize the seriousness of the times in the fire of war." (These are the words of a young and "brilliant" advocate of the socialist party). As early as ten months ago—on the occasion of voting with regard to the secret funds—this development became clear in the eyes of those who are less informed. Today it alarms even the old socialists to such a degree that one of them (on June 12 in a leaflet of the S. F. I. O.) writes as follows:

"It (the S. F. I. O.) is assuming more and more the aspect of a bourgeois democrat party of the left."

A dreadful saying, for it takes up again Zioniev's thesis, about which there was such a hue and cry years ago and according to which social democracy is classified as belonging to the left of the bourgeoisie and not to the right of the proletariat. (A proposal that party comrade of Renaudel may have been accused by Renaudel of having sold himself to Moscow.)

The socialist leaders are in a dilemma from which they see no issue.

The one possibility is for them to continue to support the government; in this case they risk losing their last labor elements which will go over to the Communists. Renaudel does not seem to mind very much, as he showed at the session of the chamber on May 27, when he said to our Comrade Doriot: "Let them go to you."

And Poucet, in order to emphasize his contempt for the working class added (session of the chamber on the 27th of May):

"We shall not lose much by it."

It does not matter to them if a few workers leave the party; the support of those in power today will bring them a number of new place-hunters which will exceed the number of those departing.

The other possibility is for them to join the opposition, then however they will become an election party and a void will be formed as they will have no chance of rising, the party will be discouraged, and the really revolutionary workers will, more than ever, go over to the Communists.

This is the reason for the vacillating, oscillating attitude of the socialist party since the end of May. Their fraction in parliament which is guiding them, and that dictatorially (see the last national council) has allowed its internal dissensions and its confusion in all votings since that of May 29, with regard to the Morocco question to become evident, on the one hand by violent disputes in the full hall of assembly as at the division on May 29 for the government (six refraining from voting), or especially at the session of June 16, when there were two socialist votes for the Communists, 34 abstained from voting and 17 gave nationalist votes (!). Finally at the last division on July 9 with regard to credits for the Morocco war, the socialists refrained from voting, but emphatically declared—thru Blum—that this indicated no lack of confidence in the government, and that they were opposed to the evacuation of Morocco.

Be it remarked that abstaining from voting is the normal refuge of those who are too cowardly to take sides. These persons who reproach the Communists with "thinking," funk a discussion in which it is a case of pronouncing a clear and consistent opinion on so simple a question as that of Morocco.

In recent times there has been talk of the formation of a "left" in the socialist party which is grouped around Bracke's periodical, Spark. This opinion has been confirmed by the fact that our press has published resolutions against Morocco which were signed by the socialist sections. The name "left" seems to me incorrect. The name, however, which was recently taken by a fraction of the socialist section of Beziers, is much more exact: "resisters." The group of Spark is really trying to "resist" Renaudel, but—in favor of Bracke. It feels that the party will be compelled to join the parliamentary opposition, as Painleve and Briand have contemptuously declared that they can do without the socialists. The financial projects of M. Caillaux which have been opposed to those of M. Vincent Auriol (socialist) are evidence of the poor opinion which the government has of the socialists.

In any case the support of the socialists is of no use to the government, indeed in a certain sense it interferes with the termination of the war; they are therefore turned out of the majority.

The "resisters" are therefore trying to overthrow Renaudel and to replace him by Bracke and Blum as they fear that the present tactics of the party will only bring them the real hostility of the working class and still more of the reformist trade unions of the industrial districts and will drive the workers to the revolutionary trade unions, to the C. G. T. U., or to the Communist Party, thus leaving the socialist party as a handful of intellectuals, functionaries and opportunist socialists, which would be equivalent to its decease.

If this new formation were a socialist left, if it were Marxist as it claims to be, it would not be content to demand peace in general terms, but it would have to demand the military evacuation of the colonies. It would not even have to make these demands according to Lenin, but simply according Paul Lafargue who, in 1883 wrote from the prison of Ste. Pelagie:

"The manufacturers travel thru the world to find markets for their accumulated goods, they compel their governments to annex the Congo, to take possession of Tonkin, to make

breach in the Chinese wall by canonade, in order to sell their cotton products there. In the last century there was a mortal duel between France and England as to which of the two should have the exclusive right of a market for its goods in America and India. Thousands of young strong men stained the sea red with their blood during the colonial wars of the 15th, 17th and 18th centuries.

"There is a surplus of capital as of goods. The financiers do not know where to invest it; they go therefore to the 'fortunate' nations and build railways for them, construct factories and bring them the curse of work. And this export of French capital ends one fine day in diplomatic complications; in Egypt, France, England and Germany were on the point of flying at one another in order to know which employer should be paid first; or by the war in Mexico whiter French soldiers were sent in order to get the debts paid thru armed intervention . . ."

If there were a Marxist left in the party of the S. F. I. O., they would on the strength of these words of Lafargue insist upon the application of the proposal of the federation of the S. F. I. O. of the Seine, dated May 10,

1911, i. e., the evacuation of the country of Fes.

But these brave socialist resisters do not even dare to demand that the right of self-determination of peoples should be observed for they are against the evacuation of "French" (!) Morocco. In order to justify this scandalous claim, they speak of the "rights earned by the French in their colonies." (Auguste Reynaud, du Var). Everyone knows that in the colonies the soil was taken from the natives by brute force. Only recently, last November, the "Petit Oranais" revealed the scandal of the expropriation of the Zerruki tribe who, when it made claims before the administration of Mascara (Algiers), was simply driven back by the Spahis with fire-arms. Comrade Jacques Doriot in his brochure on the Morocco war has described how Captain Huot plundered the Bendjates in Morocco and then drove them off their own soil. In that the "left" does not demand the evacuation of Morocco, it condones the brutal exploitation of the colonial peoples. It tries to be pacifist and to draw the whole party into pacifism, but it recognizes the right to "protect" the colonies; it is therefore fundamentally imperialist and slave-trading.

Musings of a Communist Woman

By ANTOINETTE KONIKOW.

"Votes for women" was once a great slogan. Women were deeply stirred by it and hoped with their votes to make this a better world.

It seems but yesterday when women on the street corners assured us that they will clean out the political stable, they will change the man-made world, they will abolish war! And now women have arrived! Ma Ferguson is governor of Texas, Mother Ross, governor of Wyoming, Ma Rogers represents the fifth Massachusetts district. Indeed—we hear of the rumors of the coming of Ma Curley (wife of our "pure in politics" Mayor Curley of Boston) and even "Mamma" Coolidge is suggested—

The capitalist woman in politics does not worry any more about convictions, abilities, policies. The main attributes of the great women on the political platform are "poise," "moderate speech," "a few good stories," "refined gowns," "appropriate flowers" and the measured merriment face of "Main Street" (the Mrs. Coolidge grin). Women who were to save the world—we find stamped and assorted by capitalist politicians!

We have another country where women are in politics. Women—Communist women had to make no separate struggle for votes, they got it together with the coming of the victorious revolution.

There women would not dare to appeal to voters on the deeds and reputations of their husbands. The greatest leader of the world, Lenin, left a widow. His name is fairly worshipped by millions of workers. But Comrade Krupskaya gets the love and admiration of the workers and peasants of Russia by her own great ability and earnest endeavors. Mostly she keeps in the background, coming forth only when called upon to give account of her own work.

The great mass of women in capitalist society is at present a tremendous help to the powers of reaction. Wherever votes for darkness are counted, women give the biggest number. Should we then regret to have women in politics? No, comrades, such attitude were folly! Woman can only change by personal experience. Life forced her from her home into the economic hell of self-support, experience opened her eyes to the needs of politics. The same pressure of suffering and exploitation will open her eyes to her own fallacy of supporting the old capitalist parties and the reactionary influence of the church.

Our agitation among women is of at importance. The working of

economic necessity that will awaken the sleeping beauty, not with the kiss of a prince-charming, but with the whistle of the factory, the stinging insult from the bosses, the despair of looking for a job, the many hours of toil, and the crying of hungry babes.

Last week there was a business women's conference in Maine: "National Federation of Professional Women." Once fine ladies in parlors used to chat about their servants and maids. Now they are in business and apply their organizing abilities to the better exploitation of the white collared and manicured slave. Men—capitalists had taken good care of factory workers in applying the black list, but somehow the pretty stenographers and clerks and the white collared gentlemen of the offices had been overlooked.

It took women to change "the man-made world" at least in this line. Better organization and efficiency must be brought about: the best white collared slave—oh no, not get higher wages, but will be honored by a "golden seal." The "golden seal" will be imprinted upon the willing white collared slave to whom life is but the boss' success. Hand in hand with the golden seal goes the blacklist, the regular way of controlling your help, as one of the business-ladies suggested. Good for you ladies! The "golden seal" will do more to awaken the white collared and manicured slave than many of our speeches!

"Votes for women" will work not thru the ladies with the capitalist mind, but thru the woman-worker. Let her only realize her power. She will arrive!

Are You Coming to the Movie Picnic?

Did you buy a ticket to the picnic given by the Federation of Russian children's schools Sunday, August 23, at National Grove, Riverside, Ill.? Moving pictures of the crowds will be taken and shown all over the United States and in Soviet Russia. Tickets in advance are only 35c and may be obtained in the Russian Co-op. Restaurants and at the Workers House, 1902 W. Division St. Get your tickets in advance and save your car fare.

If you want to thoroughly understand Communism—study it. Send for a catalogue of all Communist literature.