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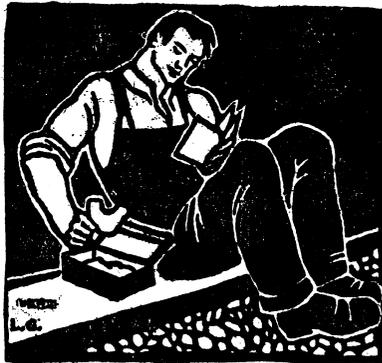
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MAY, 1925

No. 7

Gudok

By Wm. Z. Foster

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



NUMBER OF RABKORS ON THE VARIOUS RUSSIAN RAILWAYS

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

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

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



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

Coke Miners in Revolt

By Arne Swabeck

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

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

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

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

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

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

Strikers' Families Evicted.

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



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

The Pan-American Anti-Imperialist League

By Manuel Gomez

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



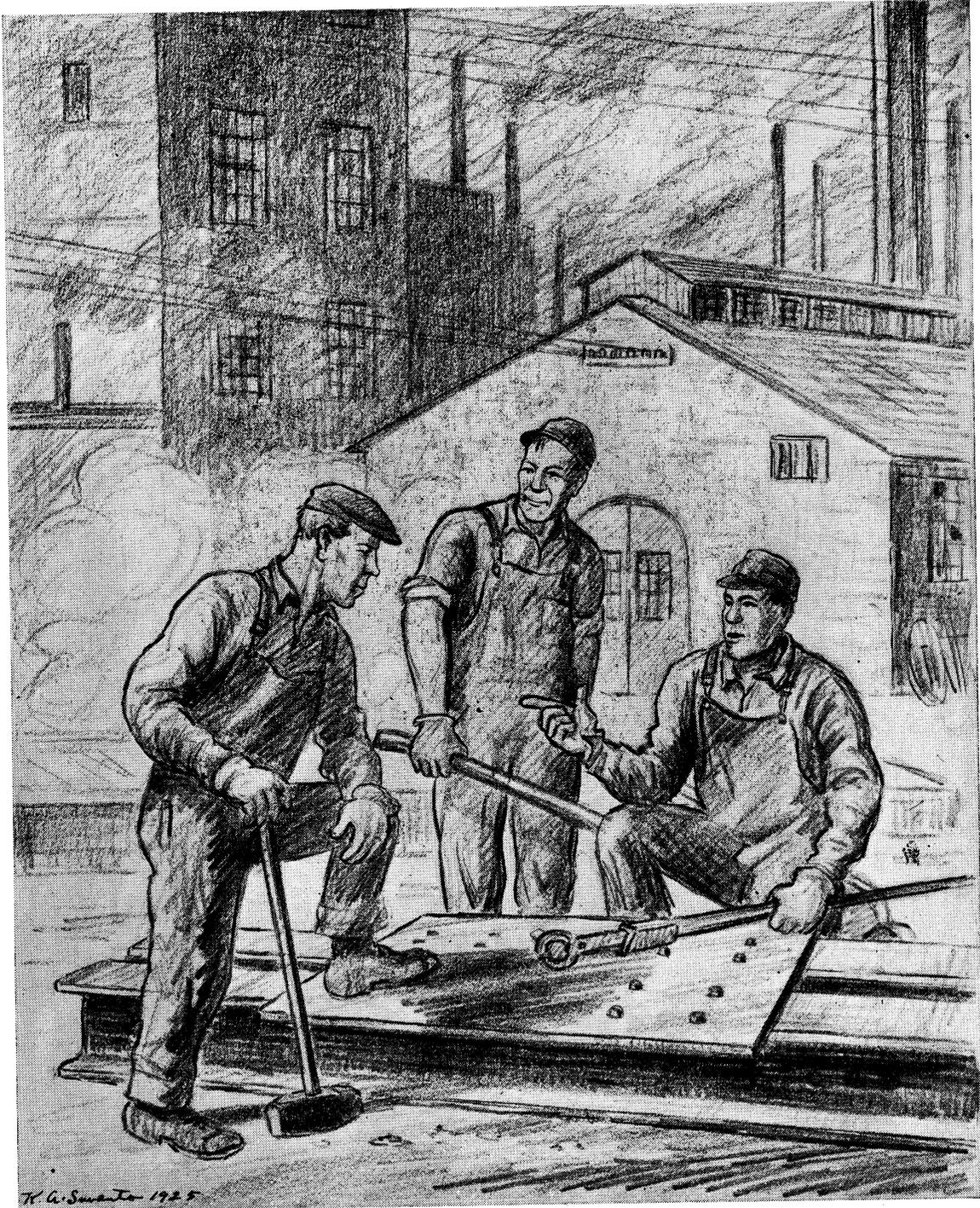
COVER DESIGN OF "EL LIBERTADOR"

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

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

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

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



K. A. Suvanto.

SHOP NUCLEUS.
(From Vappu).

The Bourgeois Tower of Ivory

"Mammonart," published by author, Upton Sinclair,
Pasadena, Cal.

UPTON SINCLAIR'S "Mammonart" is an important book and it comes very opportunely to the revolutionary movement in America. It so happens that in the "conversion" of an individual to the idea of revolution, his imagination is only partly, and sometimes not very deeply, colored by the change in his political and economic views. That part of the imagination which is left untouched thus remains under the alien and hostile influences of a bourgeois culture; or perhaps, in his confusion, the young revolutionist tends to identify anything "new" in the world of art and literature as "revolutionary," and falls into the traps of aesthetic obscurantism, pessimism, and mystical reactionism. The imagination, that deep storehouse of emotion, is too precious a part of our human equipment for us not to care whether it is sick or well, starved or fed. We have needed guides and helpers here. Upton Sinclair is an admirable teacher, not infallible by any means, but one of the best in this special subject that the revolutionary movement has ever produced in the world's history. He is eloquent, a great satirist, a sound interpreter of the theory of economic determinism in its literary aspects; a fiery and high-hearted critic of life, of writers, of writing, from the point of view of the revolutionary working class struggle; fully capable of helping equally the least and the most wise of us to discriminate between the poisonous nonsense which we have all been carefully taught and those living truths about art and literature which we need to know. It is a book which I think would have been applauded by Lenin, who so fully realized the importance of imaginative literature in preparing the way for acceptance of revolutionary ideas.

The book has a special importance to those young people in the revolutionary movement who are, or hope to become, writers. We live in a period of general intellectual and artistic depression, in which, throughout the bourgeois intelligentsia, the most reactionary fads are rife. The young revolutionist who wants to be a writer, Communist though he may be, is to some extent at the mercy of this miasmatic atmosphere. He (or she) will hear pessimism exalted, mystical balderdash praised; he will find that what is called the "Unconscious"—and what ever may chance to tumble out of it on to writing paper—is regarded with the superstitious reverence which savages have for their fetishes; he will be invited to worship this literary Numbo-Jumbo, and will learn that "purpose" in art and literature is being sneered at. More than this, he will tend to fall into imitation of the highly prized attitudes and habits of bourgeois "bohemia," and take to himself the vagabondage and the laughing evasions of responsibility which are more fitting to the intellectual fringe of a capitalist society that has begun to decay than to the pioneers of a revolutionary working class literature. These things are already happening, and will keep on happening, to the weaker and more susceptible young people of talent in the movement. But

to the stronger ones, who can see their true path when it is lighted up by such a lightning flash as this book it will come as a welcome event.

Finally, I think it should be left to the bourgeois critics of this book to call the book "Puritanical." The intellectual bourgeoisie prefers to think that America is suffering, not from capitalism, but from Puritanism; and its greatest gesture of defiance to tyranny is, accordingly, to safely break the eighteenth amendment! But those whose courage reaches higher than that will not be likely to compare the morals of this book with the morals of their grandfathers. (In fact, the young writer who should strictly follow the moral precepts of this book would stand quite as good a chance as Shelley of being regarded by pious neighbors as a "moral monster"—so much for the book's "Puritanism"!) Yet it has morality in it, implicitly and explicitly set forth: a morality for revolutionary artists and writers, precisely. What it is I leave Upton Sinclair to tell them in his 386 eloquent, uproarious, sad, wise, noble pages.

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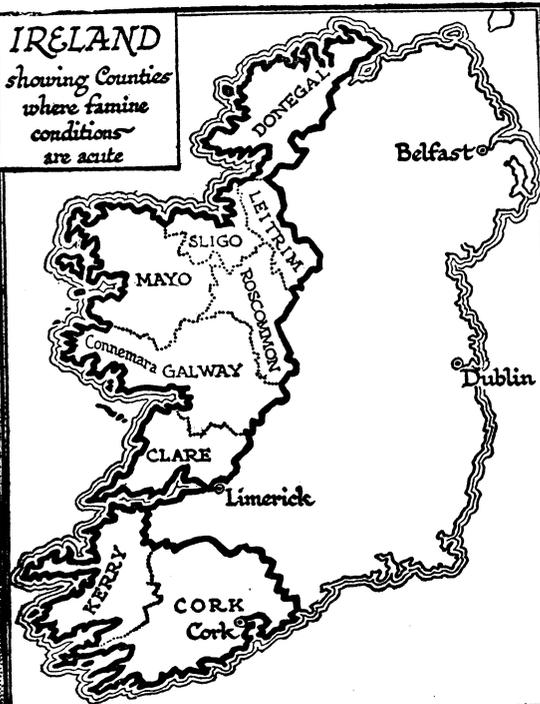
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*showing Counties
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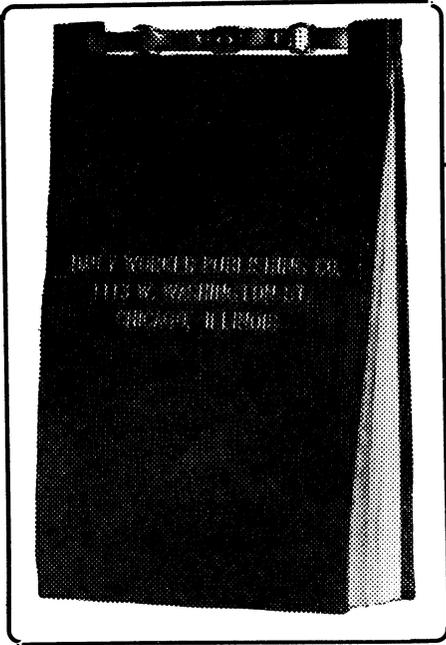
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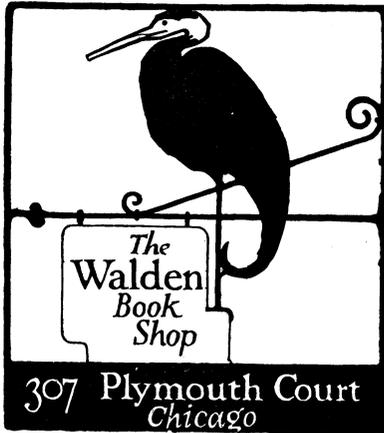
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