

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

# SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION  
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## Statistical Background of the Agrarian Question in the United States

By EARL R. BROWDER.

First Article.

"THE toiling and exploited masses of the countryside whom the urban proletariat must lead into the struggle, or at least win over, are represented in all capitalist countries by the following groups:

"First, the agrarian proletariat: the hired laborers (by the day, by the year, and for the season) who have to earn their living by hiring themselves out to capitalist agricultural enterprises, and to industrial enterprises connected therewith.

"Second, semi-proletarians or semi-peasants, i. e. those who earn their living partly by hiring themselves out to capitalist agricultural enterprises and partly by working on their own or rented plots of land which yield only part of the food stuffs necessary for the maintenance of the family. This group of the rural working class population is very numerous in all capitalist countries. However, the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the socialists adhering to the Second International do their utmost to ignore the existence of the position of this group of workers, partly deliberately deceiving the workers and partly submitting blindly to customary petty bourgeois views and merging this group with the general mass of peasantry.

"Third, the small peasants, i. e. those who own or lease small plots of land, which are just sufficient to meet their requirements and eliminate the necessity of employing hired labor. This section of the rural population certainly stands to gain from the victory of the proletariat.

"These three groups taken together form in all countries the majority of the rural population. Therefore, the ultimate success of the proletarian revolution is guaranteed not only in the towns, but also in the country." (Lenin, Theses Second Congress, Comintern.)

It is the purpose of these articles to examine and analyze the statistical information available on agriculture in the United States, in the light of the thesis of Lenin, in an effort to fill out the exact American details of the picture so far as possible. "Each country," said Lenin, "develops prominently some particular feature or group of features." The analysis of class relations in the rural districts is particularly difficult and requires particular care. This is all the more true in the United States, which presents so many differences from the rest of the world, and in which the statistical information is not designed to bring out the facts which we seek.

Loose generalizations and hasty conclusions about agriculture in the U. S. have been particularly habitual in the revolutionary movement. These inaccurate and even false conceptions which are current do not contribute to the formulation of a sound program for establishing the leadership of the urban workers over the rural masses. Examples of such looseness and inaccuracy may, for example, be found in the recent movement of the Party Commission of the W. P., and in a report on America at the recent sessions of the E. C. C. I. reported in *Insprekter* Vol. 5, No. 35, page 463. Among the examples may be mentioned the statements: "Today more than 70 per cent of all improved land is operated by tenant farmers," "90 per cent from the trust"—"two million agricultural workers are disfranchised because they are migratory"—"a wild exaggeration"—"the same bankers

and manufacturers who own the mines, factories, railroads, etc. are in the main the owners of the land used by the farmers"—"a distortion of fact out of all proportion; that, with ten million farmers now on the land, six and a half million farmers migrated to the cities within the last ten years"—an extremely exaggerated picture of a real situation, etc., etc.

"The above items are cited, not for purpose of controversy, but merely to

show the absolute number of population, both rural and urban, has increased at each census period, the relative development, in percentage of total population, has been as follows:

	1800	1900	1910	1920
Rural	64.6	60.0	54.2	45.6
Urban	35.4	40.0	45.8	54.4

Proceeding a step further, we find the census classification of "persons engaged in gainful occupations," which shows the following compar-

ison between agriculture, mining, and mechanical industries:

Year of 1919	In mill. value	Pct. of total
Net value of all agricultural products	\$18,769	40
Net value of all mineral products	3,095	7
Value added by all manufactures	35,043	53
Total	\$56,907	100
Net value of all agricultural products	\$4,788	41

### WHAT PRICE GLORY!



establish the need of careful and exact inquiry. And for this purpose we shall, in these articles, give a comparative analysis of figures of the 1910 and 1920 census (with occasional excursions farther back, and to other sources), establish the approximate relation of class forces, the tendencies of development, and thereby lay a foundation for judgment as to what the exact present status may be.

#### Relation of Rural to Urban Population.

FROM a predominantly agrarian country, the United States transformed itself, in the period which witnessed its emergence as a—and finally the—world power of first importance, into a land of capitalist industrial production. This process, which is basic to an understanding of the agrarian question in the U. S., is most broadly reflected in the movement of popula-

tion between agriculture, mining, and mechanical industries:

Percentage of "Gainfully Occupied"	1910	1920
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	33.3	28.3
Extraction of minerals	2.6	2.5
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	37.8	36.8

#### Ratio of Agricultural to Industrial Production.

AN interesting and valuable comparison is given between the production values, expressed in market prices, in the figures of R. M. Anderson, Jr., economist of the Chase National Bank of N. Y., in his pamphlet "A World Afraid of Production." The comparative value of these figures, as regards agricultural production for 1919, must be considerably discounted, in view of the fact that agricultural prices in 1919-20 were at the peak of post-war inflation, and in the following year dropped by about

Net value of all mineral products	1,916	9
Value added by all manufactures	5,230	26
Total	\$14,567	100

Not only has agriculture been continuously falling back in relation to industry, but also, between 1919 and 1920, there was for the first time in the number of those "gainfully occupied" in agriculture, the exact figures of the two periods being 12,659,032 and 10,952,155. Volume of production has increased tremendously, but not, when the 1920 deflation is taken into account, to nearly the extent to which industry has grown.

Strata of Rural Population.  
Of the total of 10,952,155 "gainfully occupied" in agriculture in 1920,

(Continued on page 5)

# FOR THE PEOPLE

By Ruth Stout

**HEADQUARTERS** of Local 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of New York City stay up all night and watch, to keep Sigman from capturing them by force, as they have captured Locals 2 and 3. A crowd of local men looking for trouble—a policeman—nothing to do. Enthusiasm—suppressed excitement everywhere.

Inside, more crowds—more enthusiasm. A girl is talking. Let her tell her story in her own words:

**IN 1910** we used to have the sweat shop system. At that time people used to sleep in shops and work long hours and terrible conditions—worked twelve or fourteen hours a day, and even have their dinner at the machine while they worked. Since this was the case sanitary conditions were also terrible—no time even to sweep. We were there all week including Saturday and Sunday.

**IN 1909** the waist makers, Local 25, called out a general strike and the strike lasted quite a few weeks. People went thru a great deal of suffering; there was really no union when the strike was called—just a handful of people, not organized. So the strike kept on a long time and was lost. But this was an inspiration to organize, because the girls put up such a good fight and were treated so rough that even the society ladies were interested.

**AFTER** that the cloak makers' union struck in 1910 and made a success. The union put out the demands for shorter hours and better pay. But then the boss would take a few workers and make one head over the rest so that one man had six or eight people under him. So the strike all the wages from the boss and pay to the workers, and he would try to get a certain amount and get fifty or sixty dollars a week while others would get very little. So the boss had a number of workers who were interested to keep things going that way. The union figured that this—this must be stopped—and they won.

**IN 1913** the waist makers made a strike which again improved conditions of the industry, but one trade right along was that the Jewish and American would not join together—we were foreigners, so to speak. There was only five per cent American element who always said: "Why go in? Why have a union? We can straighten out with the boss ourselves." But if we showed we should get American girls to approach the boss—it was a foreign accent—too difficult. We had one American girl who would go and try to talk, but if they refused to talk she was insulted and went home. Our girls didn't feel that way. We knew the boss won't talk because he don't understand.

**IN 1916** they got out a protocol—an agreement that impartial people should decide. By that time there were already differences of opinion in the union. It really started when we began to differ on the methods. Some of us thought the officials were talking; they called what they said was a regular strike, but some were sent back to work while others were still striking. There were no Lefts and Rights then—youngsters they called us, instead of Lefts.

**IN 1913** strike already we feared it might be a fake again, and probably it would have been but the employers tried to give the union a beating. They made an agreement for a few hours, less, a few dollars more, but they began to send work out to small shops in secret. We would go and sit at the machine, but we don't make the waists. The only thing we could do was to make a stoppage—return to refuse to work at all.

**IN 1919** agreement made it a crime to make a stoppage, so we met six or eight or ten dollars a week for eight months. The employers had to see that we did not make it. We could see what they were cutting, but we knew we didn't get it. That was the beginning of our going backward—an agreement binding us hand and foot

and not being able to do anything. It created the open shop problem for us. The union kept back workers open shops. Why was such an agreement which ties our hands?

**EVER** since then there has been the small little open shop—not the open shop so you immediately know where it is, but a hole in Harlem, two rooms in the back of some yard, or downtown Green Street, where employers moved it, rotten, dirty, everything—already something of the sort. If they would take a nice big lot we would know about it, so they take little holes where we could not know and it would take us some time to find out. So our people are now working under the most miserable conditions: no ventilation, no air, fire traps. The employers get those who have just come from the other side—get them out of the street and exploit them and teach them because they do not know any better.

**"I** was shop chairman. If I ordered a stoppage the employer had a perfect right to discharge me. But we said we would not work unless we had it every time they cut something we have it. So we made a stoppage in the shop and we managed it so that I didn't get fired, either. The Association sent a letter demanding that either we be put back to work or send other workers on our job. The executive took it up and sent the committee to make us go to work. We explained we cannot and will not work unless we know we get everything that is with the boss, or we would not give anything, but always he cheated us.

**THERE** was a conference in Boston, and I and two members of the executive went and explained the situation. They said in a shop and not to sit eight months in a shop and not make a living? We had a fight and I would not cry today. My eyes flashed; true, she would not cry today. We came back and continued the strike; finally, the boss came and spoke peace; and we came to an agreement.

**"These** little shops became a great detriment. In the beginning a few here and a few there, and because they did not nothing to check them they sprang up everywhere, with these terrible conditions, competing with the big shop, and many employers went into jobs and the big shop went out gradually—safely. I saw more than one half the industry in a jobbing. We call them bedroom shops.

**"A** room like this would be a big shop, and with all pressing machines and everything, how can you have it sanitary? You will find that many of them are going into the business with \$500 that they sometimes borrow from loan associations and many of our people are losing their pay after working for a few weeks for such little employers. And, too, the unions have the problem of having to organize five or six hundred new shops and also having many of our workers not able to work in these miserable conditions, but pay no security—may lose their last few cents.

**WHAT** can the union do to eliminate those conditions? They say: Yes, but we cannot do anything. We say: We have to fight to have another policy and go on it that we do organization work all the year round by our own people not by those, if we are it, who are not of the trade. Up to 1919 our own people did organizing work. They would say to me: We need six or seven people to go to Brooklyn; if I would go. It was more quiet then; once I had to hit a man with my umbrella, but I would do that only when necessary.

**"The** managers need to get sixty or seventy dollars a week, and the business agents forty-five; now the general manager gets \$125; the international manager gets \$7,500 a year. They he got \$15. The business agent is the man who would do work. The managers do very little work; they

live gangsters to do their work, and he can't think the gangsters do develop their muscles. Our people refused to go with these people to picket lines.

**AT** the last campaign in January and February we made an attempt—we, the so-called Lefts, the people who want to see the organization again so that the people themselves do the work—we made an attempt to get our own people to do organization work again. If our people are going to go to the shops and work and picket and be told what to do, they can do their own organization work.

**"In** January and February the Organization Committee had 200 people who were ready to go to shops and explain to workers to come to the union. First talk, first explain, and then if no success, sometimes fight, but not like gangsters. If you get a little hurt, you know workers hurt, not the waists were suffering date because of the many disappointments that workers were refusing they did not feel like going into the shop and getting their heads split by these men.

**"Now** many of the employers have turned into dresses instead of waists, and so we are no more a separate industry. Why? When the waists were so glorious there were of course waist local; now there is no reason for waists separate but the union wants to keep them separate and I'll tell you why, in the waists were still this, but they said that there were still waists, showing that they did not know what they were doing. I took Fannin Cohn myself and showed her that there were almost no more waists, and she was surprised, and I said to her: "You do not know what is going on in the industry; you are living in the past."

**"SINCE** the waists are not there the same thing is true about the black and yet they are still having that local, and the manager getting \$125 a week, and very few members, and their expenses about three or four hundred dollars a week, because the manager will not go to the shops and get a secretary. And they are making dresses in the same shops; the skirts are no more there. They work fourteen hours a week for the same work, and that is what I call legal scabbing with the consent of the union, which is a crime. Three trades: it is their own constitution and we have to demand that they live up to it.

**"Local** 2 sent out to Chicago two weeks before the expulsion to demand which they give us the dress shop which belong to our local, according to their own decision a year before. And now I'll tell you why they wear waists and skirts separate—because

that makes more locals and every local has five votes, no matter how few or how many members. We have 12,000 members, and some of the locals have less than 500, and still they get five votes. And our dues pay their bills—but through the union, and so the union controls their votes, because if it didn't pay their bills, they couldn't live.

**"A**NOTHER thing is that they want to raise our dues from 50 cents to 50 cents. The membership won't pay the fifty cents because they feel that nothing will be done with the 50 cents if anything is done before they raised the dues they raised the salaries of the business agents, managers, and general managers, from \$5 to \$25 a week more. That amounts to \$50,000 a year. What does this mean? They raise themselves, and we are not making half what they were making before they raised themselves. What do they want? They have 55 votes and we have 15 in the Joint Board.

**"We** have three differences. First, we want our own people to do the organization work. They should not give over our demands to Governor's Commission, who may be nice people but will not know anything about our questions for the men and women who work in the industry. We feel they cannot do it because they do not understand our trade, and what we should do is to organize workers from the open shops and take the workers and come to employers and see that we get things just and fair.

**"Our** second difference is that we want all dress local to be one, instead of fake waist and skirt shops with separate locals, paying big salaries to business agents and managers and general managers shall have bigger salaries.

**"BECAUSE** of these differences they want, and instead of giving answers to these just claims that we have, instead of meeting it and finding a way of settling it, they declared everyone a Communist in order to cloud the issue, because the only have to say that they are Communists and everybody will be afraid of us, because they infer a Communist is not a human being.

**"And** before they give us a chance to know that they have any charge on us, a day before they send us official notice that we are under charge, they broke in, in the middle of the night at two o'clock, they broke in to two locals, 2 and 5, and took the office by force. And that is why we watch here day and night, so they can't do the same thing to us."

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# War, Peace and the Second International

IN Chapter A. 14 of the Statutes adopted by the Hamburg Congress of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties held in 1923 we read the following:

"The International Working Union of Socialist Parties is not only an instrument on behalf of peace but an indispensable instrument during every war. During the course of the negotiations, the I. W. U. S. P. is recognized by the affiliated parties as the highest instance."

THE gentlemen of the Two-and-a-Half International prided themselves greatly on the inclusion of this paragraph in the Statutes of the STATUTES themselves—for it signified a "victory" over the famous Kautsky formula of 1914, (the International is an instrument for peace, it is no instrument of war) it was the dowry which it brought into the marriage union. Friedrich Adler in his address to the congress with special solemnity, stressed the importance of the paragraph which we quote below:

"The entire congress will agree that we have gained experience from the war that the I. W. U. S. P. is not only an instrument of peace, but at the same time, but is an indispensable instrument in times of war. (Loud applause). That signifies above all, that what we once experienced must never be repeated (renewed loud applause)."

IT is true, Adler added rather detectedly that people are not all of the same opinion about what has happened and that the "problem such as national defence must be discussed further," this "problem" can not be immediately solved however much "we may wish to do so." But, the "instrument" for peace, which has been forged, it will be regarded "during conflicts between nations" by the parties as "the highest instance."

Two years have passed since the Hamburg celebration, but the Morocco war has broken out. A typical colonial predatory war. The war is being waged by France supported by a government which has the help of the French Socialist Party generally and especially in regard to carrying on this war.

TWICE, since the outbreak of the Franco-Moroccan war, the Second International—the instrument for war and peace—has met in conference. The Executive of the I. W. U. S. P. met in Paris in the beginning of May and the Bureau met in London at the beginning of June. No word was mentioned of Morocco during the Paris session. Probably, for serious reasons. Firstly, as is well-known, Abdi-Krim attacked peaceful France and the "problem of national defence" has with the best will in the world not been "solved". Secondly, it is not a question of a "conflict between nations" in the sense of the paragraphs of the I. W. U. S. P. Is this clan chief Abdi-Krim the legitimate representative of a nation? And thirdly, is there a Socialist-Democratic party affiliated to the I. W. U. S. P. under the Rifis for whom the war and peace instrument is the "highest instance"?

At the London conference (July 4th) the question of the war in Morocco was discussed. Renouard, the most faithful supporter of the French government, explained the "various conceptions," which exist concerning this question within the French party. The Bureau, however, was not in a position "to define its attitude." The reasons were ponderous: "In view of the fact"—the official statement runs "that the Spanish party has not been able to send a representative to this meeting of the Bureau."

THERE was, however, a minority in the Bureau which was not quite contented with this elegant disposal of the question, and made a declaration which ran as follows:

"The question of the attitude of the French Socialist Party to the Moroccan war contains in embryo all the problems, which caused the split

of Socialist Parties during the world war. We will refrain at the present juncture from discussion (!) of this question only because we have full confidence in the French Socialist Party, that it itself will find the correct solution to this question."

THIS gem of an "opposition" declaration bears "the signature" of: Otto Bauer (Austria), Dan (Russian Menshevik) and Czech (German Social-Democrat in Czechoslovakia).

Bauer, the man who in 1919 as Austrian foreign minister supported the suppression of the Hungarian revolution and the Polish white army against Soviet Russia by supplying arms, and who was removed from power at the behest of the French, because he secretly intrigued with the Italian government to re-establish the Triple Alliance—Italy-Germany-Austria. Dan, with his clique, is the individual who for years has been fostering every agitation against Soviet Russia, and who has advocated "peaceful" intervention only, and Czech, a German nationalist, a faithful reflex of the Czech government socialists.

The declaration itself is priceless. "In embryo all problems of the world war," and "full confidence" in the French Socialist Party, hence "at the moment refrain from a discussion." Apparently, these three heroes wish to say that they are not quite contented with the official attitude of the French party, but bank on a victory with the socialists, and the pacifist tendencies, which are fairly well represented in it, but are in fact absolutely helpless against the actual support of the I. W. U. S. P. by the party leaders. Of course, as a result of securing the support of the increasing number of socialist workers who are joining the anti-war camp of the Communists.

EVEN Hel Volk, the organ of the Dutch Social Democrats, is very discontented with the attitude of the London Bureau, both majority and minority. The success within the ranks of the workers under the leadership of the Communists in the struggle against war, disquiets the observers from Amsterdam; especially the demonstration on the workers day that was celebrated in Paris July 4th and 5th. "Why do the Socialists let the Communists have such demonstrations, these workers will ask who make a difference between both parties." The majority will probably be indifferent as to who originated the movement, they accept the leadership of the Communists since the Socialists do not oppose the movement. (Hel Volk, July 13th, 1925). Yes, indeed why do the Socialists "leave" the struggle against the war to the Communists? Simply because a section of the Socialist leaders, the avowed colonialists, carry on the struggle for a war to a victory, and another section, the pacifists of different shades are fighting for a war for peace; because all do not wish to desert their threatened fatherland in the hour of danger.

IN the statutes of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties we read: "Not only an instrument in peace, but it is an indispensable instrument in times of war."

The Spanish delegation is absent... all problems in embryo... full confidence in the French Socialist Party.

China: The discussion on these mighty revolutionary events caused at the London session of the Bureau of the Second International by dealing with an invitation of the Communist International and of the R. I. L. U. to organize common action in favor of the Chinese revolution. The Bureau proceeded straight after dealing with this document to the ordinary agenda. In a special decision it records that here is another "united front manoeuvre" with a view to "exposing" and "destroying" the socialist parties.

But they want neither to be exposed nor destroyed. As regards the Chinese revolution there is modest mention made of "the awakening of the working masses of China" itself a decision was adopted

the first part of which was a Platonic greeting of the movement. "The entire second part, however, is devoted to the struggle against Chinese nationalism, against the "nationalist race struggle"; hence, it is a question of crossing front against European-American imperialism, and against Asiatic nationalism.

A splendid supplement to this resolution, a fitting commentary to this "greeting" is found in the short address which the twin brother of the I. W. U. S. P.—the International Federation of Trade Unions, in Amsterdam—sent to our W. I. R. Having been invited to help the struggling Chinese workers, the Amsterdam I. F. T. U. replied on July 4th: "The president of the I. F. T. U. considered the question whether it is necessary (!) and possible to give the Chinese workers material help. The decision was arrived at that the president should ask for information from known Chinese trade unions whether they need any material help. To what extent it is required."

It is necessary first to ask for information. The Spanish—oh, no, the Chinese delegate is not present. Perhaps the Chinese workers do not require any material help. Perhaps they have plenty of everything. Perhaps they are so much under the influence of "Asiatic nationalism" that they do not want to take any assistance from Europeans. Who to know?

EUROPEAN governments ply their agents in China with gold, munitions, warships, etc. The I. W. U. S. P. and the I. F. T. U. issue a warning against "Asiatic nationalism" and ask for information. "Who to know?" But the International is a peace and war instrument.

The greatest attention was devoted both at the London Bureau meeting and previously at the meetings of the Executive in Brussels January 1925 and in Paris (May) to the questions of the Security Pact and the Geneva Protocol. In the resolution which was adopted after heated discussion between the British and the continental comrades, we read amongst other items:

"(The I. W. U. S. P.) considered the Geneva Protocol to be the 'execution and realization of the League of Nations and of the principles of the General Court of Arbitration, which alone is able to bring security to the people and disarmament to the world."

THIS agitation is made on behalf of the Geneva Protocol, which "alone" is, dead and buried, and for the Security Pact, i. e. for the special alliance with the proviso that "no 'false equilibrium of the powers' should arise."

And in fact the Security Pact, as it is at present understood in England, directs its arrows against the Soviet Union, and is being used in a most cynical manner by the entire Social Democratic, with the Germans at their head, a vile agitation-mechanism against Soviet Russia. Thomas

in Great Britain, uses the Railway-men's Conference to make a most violent attack at a time when the conservative government is threatening to break off political connections with Soviet Russia. The "Vorwarts" on account of the sentence of the three Fascist authors to be written by the German government to leave the relations with Soviet Russia.

In a leading article on the occasion of the dispatch of the new German note to Paris the "Vorwarts" July 19th, formulates the foreign policy of social-democracy as follows:

"In Germany today there is properly speaking only two foreign policy programs: the Communist and the Social Democratic. The Communists at least do not preach like the worn-out nationalists, about aimless force, but seek the only way to a German alliance with a strong military power: Russia. The Social Democratic Party seeks the solution in conjunction with the peoples of western culture and high capitalist development."

IT cannot be stated more clearly. The Communists are with the great Workers and Peasants Republic, with all oppressed nations on the globe against Imperialism, the Social Democrats hold the office of foreign minister to the Belgian king. In a program which he issued to the Belgian chamber on June 30th, he stated, that he "would continue the Belgian foreign policy on the lines of his predecessors." These predecessors, amongst other things, occupied the Ruhr together with Poincare. For his own part, Vandervelde declared that "as long as Germany had not fulfilled her obligations we will remain in the Cologne Zone. The entire government is in agreement on this point."

For some weeks, already, Vandervelde holds the office of foreign minister to the Belgian king. In a program which he issued to the Belgian chamber on June 30th, he stated, that he "would continue the Belgian foreign policy on the lines of his predecessors." These predecessors, amongst other things, occupied the Ruhr together with Poincare. For his own part, Vandervelde declared that "as long as Germany had not fulfilled her obligations we will remain in the Cologne Zone. The entire government is in agreement on this point."

According to Vandervelde's statement, the Soviet Union, however, despite the promises which were made to the Belgian workers during the elections, will not be recognized. Part of all the Belgian capitalists, who once possessed factories now nationalized in Russia, must be fully indemnified and then "independence" must be restored to the Kingdom of Georgia as was demanded by Belgium.

In all other matters Vandervelde takes the same road as Great Britain (China and France (Morocco)).

HOWEVER, barely two years ago at the Hamburg Congress, this greatest of present-day hypocrites and swindlers declared in a loud voice in the meeting hall: "We are collecting our forces against this imperial peace, which in reality is nothing but a fossilized state of war, against this war in the form of imperialist peace and we place on record: capitalism will be eternally damned in history, because with recurring regularity it has driven the masses to butchery and warfare."

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# Communist Work in Co-operative Mass Organizations

By W. HANKA

FOR the Communist co-operative work of the Comintern sections there are two conclusions to be drawn from the estimate made of the political situation, and from the lines laid down for the development of Communist mass parties, by the enlarged executive of the Comintern (April, 1935). First of all is the utmost importance of devoting intense attention, in the Communist Parties, to the work of the co-operatives. All Communists, without exception, must become members of the co-operatives, and must take active part, and in an organized manner, in all events relating to the co-operatives, and in the solution of the daily questions arising in co-operative life. A second and no less important aspect of the question relates to the methods and starting points of our practical activities in the co-operatives, the tactics by which we are to win over the millions, organized in the co-operatives, from the reformist class warfare. At the III, IV, and V World Congress it was already pointed out that it is the duty of the Communist Parties to devote their attention to the co-operatives, and during the present period of Bolshevization, and of systematic building up of our parties, the real leadership of the masses, this duty is placed more emphatically in the foreground.

IN the theses issued by the executive, work among the existing mass organizations is designated as the most essential prerequisite of Bolshevization. Besides the trade unions, with regard to which the enlarged executive categorically declared that the Communists have to work in them even when they are in the hands of arch-reformist leaders, there are in the proletarian mass organizations, again mass organizations of the proletariat. The International Co-operative Alliance (London) with its comprised of co-operative organizations belonging to 32 countries, affiliated to the alliance through their central unions. This involves the enormous number of 50 million members. We must reach these millions from the hands of the reformist leaders! The slogan: "To the masses" must be realized in the co-operative movement with our maximum of intensity, energy, and perseverance. We must endeavor to exploit this gigantic organization of the exploited, created in the course of decades, in the united proletarian fighting front against capital.

An intense factional activity within the co-operative organizations offers us Communists the opportunity of contact with strata of the working class which we encounter neither in the trade unions nor in the factories. Thus, for instance, work in the co-operatives offers the best possibility, or may even be regarded as the first premise, for really useful party work among the proletarian housewives.

MANY proletarian housewives, having learned by bitter personal experience the necessity of organized opposition against the production of food practiced by the capitalists, against high prices and speculation, join the co-operatives. But the so-called reformist organizers of the co-operative societies exert their utmost endeavors to paralyze the fighting will of these masses by the propagation of illusions as to the possibility of overcoming capitalism on peaceful lines with the aid of the co-operatives only, without the necessity of the revolutionary class struggle. To bring light into this obscuring fog, the Comintern of Leninism, to show the proletarian housewives, gathered together in these organizations in compact masses who are otherwise inaccessible to us, the real task and means in the struggle against capitalism, and to lead them forward in this struggle—this is a duty imperiously incumbent on the Bolshevist parties, and one which can no longer be postponed.

Besides the main masses of proletarian members, we find in the co-operative societies of today various groups from those strata of the petty bourgeoisie which may be regarded as possible allies of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle, but at the moment they may still be vacillating

irregularly and to fro. The Leninist tactics of securing allies for the decisive revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, eliminating in the Soviet Union in the magnificent success of the unshakable alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, will have to be applied in a much higher degree to the city population in countries where this is of greater decisive importance. We find all these petty strata and municipalities—artisans, employes, artisans, technicians, etc., in the co-operatives.

STARTING with our most primitive needs, with their daily cares, we find here the opportunity of gaining access for the first time to the strata of the population for the voice of the revolutionary proletariat, and of convincing them that in the struggle between capital and labor, it is their own interest but to take part against the proletariat, but to support the working class, or at least not to withdraw capital and labor, in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Conditions are similar with respect to the small farmers. The widespread network of farmers' co-operatives is the main type of those economic organizations of the peasantry to which the Enlarged Executive has directed the attention of the Communist Parties. The setting up of concrete Communist demands regarding questions of taxes and credits, in questions relating to the regulation of land ownership, and in all questions relating to the daily vital interests of the peasantry—questions which are invariably on the agenda of these peasants' co-operative organizations—placed on it—forms the best possible stratum of the rural population. The immensity of the antagonism between their real interests and the policy pursued by the capitalist big agrarian state. Here, too, a consistently carried out co-operative activity affords the suitable opportunity, and is the suitable medium, for the influence of the big land owners and the

priests, and for converting them into the conscious allies of the proletariat.

THE first prerequisite for the thorough utilization of the whole of these advantageous possibilities for our proletarian class struggle offered by the co-operative societies is, it need scarcely be said, for us to have access to the co-operative meetings, conferences, etc. The entry of Communists into the co-operative societies, and the formation of fractions within these societies, is thus an urgent duty.

With regard to the methods to be pursued in Communist co-operative work, the decisions of the Enlarged Executive show the fundamental lines laid down by the resolutions passed by the organization bureau, and by the co-operative section of the E. C. In October, 1935, to be entirely correct and in no need of iteration. The conditions of the present general political situation, and the prospects additionally set by the Enlarged Executive of a disturbed and accelerated revolutionary development, render it more urgently incumbent on the Communist Parties to apply the principle of devoting attention to the current questions of practical daily life to work in the co-operatives.

If we put forward definite Communist demands and propositions with reference to the daily questions arising in the co-operative movement, and in its local, national and international organizations, we shall be able to make use of the immediate interests of the co-operative societies for showing the masses of the members how the gigantic apparatus of the co-operatives could be developed into an effective means of defense against the exploitative practices of the apparatus of capital, and how the organization of the workers' consumers must work hand in hand with the other organs of the revolutionary class war towards the proletarian overthrow of capitalism, if this organization is actually to fulfill its purpose: The raising of the standard of living among the people,

and the battling of the greed of the voracious capitalists, who force us prices.

BASED on our criticism on an accurate knowledge and analysis of the general economic situation, and of the practical business conditions in the co-operatives, we must, in our criticism in the leadership, show the members that the reformist co-operative society interests which they profess to represent; that this bureaucracy, by working together with the bourgeoisie during and after the world war, is driving the co-operatives to ruin, and delivering them over into the hands of banking capital.

The question of combating surry and high prices, acute in almost every country at the present time, should be specially raised in the co-operatives. In place of cooperation with the bourgeoisie is directly dependent on a firm alliance with the trade unions and factory councils. For in the first place the economic power of the co-operative is directly dependent on the purchasing power of the working class, and in the second place help from the trade unions and factory councils is necessary if the co-operative societies are to succeed in having their demands (freedom from taxation, credit—control of private trade) acceded to in a capitalist state.

THE necessary conclusions to be drawn for Communist co-operative work from the above are: The Executive are therefore as follows:

Join the co-operative societies! To the masses of co-operative society members!

Active participation in the daily life of the co-operatives!

Exercise expert criticism and make definite demands!

Work against high prices and the struggle for existence as starting points!

Get into contact with the trade unions and factory councils!

Go forward with the current demands of the co-operatives to the revolutionary mass struggle.

## A PAGE FROM THE JOURNAL OF A WOMAN COMMUNIST IN 1919

By Working Women's Organization.

IT is 6 a. m. It is dark. I wake up as if electrified. "What is the matter?" Then the thought strikes me in a flash. This morning we see our comrades off who are going to the front—4 of our best, dearest and most active comrades, who, full of enthusiasm, had volunteered to work for the party which is near and dear to them. They include also three youths of 15 and 14 year and three women.

Just as another party reluctantly with one child after another when necessity demands, we considered long and carefully the case of every one of these comrades—either member of the factory committee or active educationalist, or good agitator, or much valued expert—but it did not occur to us that the best should be kept back. No, we were determined to give up those who were best, for work over there where they were needed more than here.

VERY solemn was the moment when selection and deliberations of the committee ended, and the chairman of the nucleus said his parting words to them. With shining eyes and burning cheeks they went on their errand, united and full of enthusiasm. I felt determined to sound our "Onwards comrades, onwards!"

I start running along the frozen ground oblivious of my age, quickening my pace moved by the thought, "To be! To meet with them!" A horse is standing outside the club laden with various baskets and sacks, in the club there were already a good few men and comrades full equipped for their journey, and also those who have come to see them off. Seven a. m. was the hour appointed for the meeting. Soon everyone will be

and for those who are seeing them off. Everyone is in an elated mood. All are there. The tea drinking is at an end. The order to start is given and the ranks are being formed in the foyer of the club. They are drawn up in lines, the chairman of the nucleus appears on the platform where the band used to play and all eyes are turned towards him.

And then he spoke with emotion and yet powerfully and firmly. If there revolutionary class war waverers or timid people, this speech would have been heroes of them. But here everyone was no waverers or timid people, few were such with courage and enthusiasm.

IN the dim morning light the snow which the sun rays lit up with red and the Communist banner made especially for the occasion seemed in unison with the feelings of the frame of mind of all those present. Such impressions and experiences are worth many a full and colorless life.

The speeches and parting words had come to an end. The International was sung, the banner was unfolded and floated majestically in the air. THEN came the presentation of the banner, the Communist swearing allegiance, the parade and the band march music.

They went away, proud, bold and erect. They were a crowd followed them to the station. There many speeches and orations from all the organizations. The train is in sight. The band plays the International. No tears in the eyes of those who have come to see them off. No tears, and yet there was no one dearer to all our hearts than these comrades who were going away. We accompany them as far as Moscow.

IT is broad daylight. There is some joking, but on the quiet, and we all continued to be in a solemn mood. We formed ourselves into a column

and went to the other station. It is here to distinguish the women from the men: the same brand new caps, the same kind of boots and snappers on their backs. Those who used to see them of keep pace with them. Friends and comrades of our comrades were given enough words to last them for the journey, for here is scarcity everywhere.

The big family, which we really are, and which is wonderful, is finally decided that everything that was possible had been done. Then words, the final good byes and parting words, the last dance of music, and the train has gone.

WITH the feeling of having done their duty those who stayed behind vowed to keep the promise made to those who had gone to the front—to work hard for the reconstruction of our devastated economy.

## 1905 Rebels Plan Reunion Celebration at 20th Anniversary

A celebration in memory of the 20th anniversary of the Russian revolution of 1905 is being planned in Chicago by old rebels of the 1905 revolution. The revolution of that year awakened the masses, it shook the throne of the Czar, but it was not strong enough to overthrow the old order. As a result of that, a terrible massacre broke out, killing thousands of workers. Many were exiled to Siberia; some were shot, some were confined to other countries.

A conference of the old rebels who are living in Chicago is being called to organize a meeting and discussion on the occasion. Old rebels are requested to send their names and addresses to the Chicago office of the Navy Mr. 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

That worker next door to you may not have anything to do to night. Hand him this copy of the DAILY WORKER.





# White Terror --- A Weapon of Bourgeois Imperialism

By V. KOLAROV

THE white terror is gradually becoming the dominant system of government in capitalist countries. There is not only the case in the Balkans, where "democracy" was always the screen behind which the ruling classes from time to time accomplished their usual vile deeds. In contradiction to the past this screen has now been removed and the bourgeoisie publicly shouts down and sends gallows for all those who infringe their rule, fabricate false documents, burn and shamelessly provoke, and organize wholesale destruction of their victims.

It is not only in the countries which have experienced revolutionary upheavals during the post-war periods, where the triumphant bourgeoisie becomes frantic at any sign of discontent of the people—here capitalist "civilization" is met with the greatest difficulty from the storm of "destructive forces" and is guarded by legions of spies and provocateurs, with the aid of espionage laws, courts, mass arrests and shootings. In the same methods find their echo in the countries of classical "democracy" and of age-long tradition of "freedom loving," and carry out in such countries as these. The great European "democracies" which only considered terror useful as a means of paving the way to "civilization" among the "low" races of the colonies is no longer ashamed of trying the same methods which are used on the backs of their own peoples.

**PACIFIST** and "generous" France of Painlevé and the "left bloc" now engaged in the bloody African adventure are becoming more and more impudent in their mockery and violence against the Communist Party, which is striving to hinder French imperialism from suppressing the

freedom of a small nation. The government is taking stock in the arsenal of repression of the capitalist powers and is taking down from dusty shelves ancient "laws of exception" (les lois scelerates), prepares new ones more adapted to its aims, carries out arrests, searches and sentences. At the very same time the capitalist agencies, by means of false, mud throwing and false documents are trying to create an atmosphere of hysteria.

The tactic of "political freedom" and the country of all "civil benefactors," Great Britain do not lag behind other countries under the conservative government. The "Zinoviev letter" with which the imperialists flooded the petty-bourgeois was the first cowardly step. Fascist attacks on representatives of the revolutionary movement, now becoming more frequent, are also becoming systematic. The speed with which the British proletariat also gives free play to British imperialism which has such extensive practice in India and other colonies.

**PRIOR** to the war the bourgeoisie had no need of terrorist methods for maintaining its policy and carrying out its policy. It felt itself strong, and force, energy and self-assurance were all that were needed in those days. The bourgeoisie was convinced of the stability of the fundamental capitalist society; it was therefore "democratic" and "pacifist." Its "humane doctrines" defended it from the masses of the people. So-called democracy stood in the first ranks of the fighters for brotherhood and "international peace." International socialist congresses passed high level resolutions against war, but the government was not at all concerned that these threats would remain on paper and thus convincingly and calmly began

preparing for a world onslaught. After the war and the upheavals that followed it, the world bourgeoisie already had lost its "innocence." It no longer hid its aggressive aims. Pacifism was transformed into an out-of-date doctrine of whining old women. The capitalists were openly preparing for new robbery and aggressive wars. The capitalist thieves, prepared for new bandit attacks and compelled their vassals to submit to their conductors' baton. These vassals are the little thieves who cynically hand the only goods that are left in their hands—the blood and flesh of their robbed and ruined peoples. In Morocco, the French imperialists are an imperialist team of the whole world opposing the RIF peasants. In China an imperialist team of the whole world headed by the British lion is tearing into, shreds the living body of 400 million people. In India and Egypt they want to alienate the vast walls of the revolting slaves by blows of the capitalist whip.

**BUT** the most intense hatred is being concentrated against the United Proletariat in Russia. Under the trade mark of "the anti-Bolshevik bloc" a blockade of the great workers' and peasants' state is being effected and a general attack against it is being prepared on the part of all forces of capital and reaction.

However, these adventures of the imperialists from which they will reap but one compensation, are being met with the open opposition of the masses. The revolutionary convictions, which the whole capitalist world has experienced, are the victory of the revolution in Russia in particular, have left deep traces on the consciousness of all toilers. The latter are on the watch everywhere, and are everywhere becoming restive; the social patriots no longer remain the united inspirers of their

(thought. And also the masses, by dint of custom, continue to fill the ranks in this very day, these masses, as has been shown by the events in France, are by no means displaying any readiness to follow them in their treachery. Moreover, in every country a front line detachment of the revolutionary movement—the Communist Party—has been formed, and its influence on the workers and peasants is becoming more and more extensive and profound. The ruling classes can no longer carry on their predatory policy in peace and quietness, firmly guarding the traditions of "liberalism" and "democracy." They feel the necessity to adopt new principles in their methods of government more appropriate to the times, and are therefore willingly adopting fascism. I am not of the opinion that in the event of extreme necessity they will not renounce even Zankovism . . .

The white terror aims at terrifying the masses of the people, breaking down their resistance, reinforcing their wavering policy, and the predatory bourgeoisie as a facilitator of the realization of their plans of conquest. Will the bourgeoisie succeed?

It might meet with certain partial and temporary successes. It might even set alight once more the world conflagration. But it will never succeed in finally suppressing the revolutionary movement and in saving its own skin. It is torturing to death the proletarian masses, and the innumerable victims which it is claiming from them will have but one consolation—their own consciousness of the tolling masses that their historic role is not only to bury capitalism but also to be revenged on the hangmen.

## Developing the Activity of Shop Nuclei

ARTICLE EIGHT

By MARTIN ABERN.

IT is not necessary," writes Zinoviev, "to write long theses, but to start from the most simple things, to follow the prescription of this workman, first to gather together four men, then another four men and then distribute the work among them. This is Leninism and the practical organization of the work."

The chief lesson we learn in the attempts thus far to organize shop nuclei in Chicago and elsewhere is the hesitancy to carry on actual work of some sort in the shop. The tendency is: "First let us learn more about the plan." Our slogan, however, may be: "Education thru organization and activity of the shop nuclei." There are many things which every shop nucleus, small or large can set itself to accomplish and take up at once.

**FIRST**, gather together all the comrades, from language and English branches, who work in the same shop—and then get them acquainted with each other! Make it a sort of report of party members.

**Second**, Elect a group of officers, secretary, literature agent, industrial organizer, nucleus executive and decide certainly to meet regularly and often.

**Third**, At the nucleus meeting, assign every member a task, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

**Fourth**, At a second meeting, hold a discussion on the question of the shop and how to remedy them in shop hours, unionization, "bulldozing" foreman, conditions of production, etc. Organizing the Work of the Nucleus. Gradually, as the comrades get to know and have confidence in one another's ability, etc. and have discussed shop and party problems, and other matters of interest to them, ideas and plans for conducting party work in the shop will flow from every comrade.

The Nucleus Builds Our "Daily" WE must get the DAILY WORKER to the fellows in the shop.

## Get Ready for Reorganization

THE Organization Department has announced its plan to mobilize the membership for the reorganization of the party into shop nuclei and international branches.

During the conduct of this campaign to reconstruct our party, a series of articles on organizational questions is being printed in every organ of the party. Questions and problems confronting our membership in the building of our party will be answered and analyzed in the DAILY WORKER by Comrade Jay Loveston, head of the Organization Department, and other party members.

THE DAILY WORKER has also established a special section for the Organization Department. In this section there is being printed articles on the progress of the organization campaign, the experiences of the comrades in the work of organization, and letters and reports from comrades giving their experiences in carrying on the party's activities thru the shop nuclei.

These articles will be living articles, and of intense interest. Watch these columns closely.

one comrade. A plan is worked out whereby comrades approach other workers, either in the shop, or at their homes, and give or sell them the daily, or if it is sold at the gate. Plans are laid to get subscribers.

Months later, THE DAILY WORKER needs money if it is to live, reads a communication from the National Party office to the shop nucleus. The nucleus considers. A meeting is called, perhaps on pay day. A collection from the members of a day's pay is donated right on the spot. Comrades suggest: let's approach other fellow workers in the shop who read the DAILY WORKER for donations. This is done. A good sum is sent to the DAILY WORKER. Reports show that nearly every shop nucleus in Chicago, Gary, Southern Illinois, and the rest of the district, made a donation in the present DAILY WORKER drive.

The nucleus considers more carefully. Other party literature, leaflets, pamphlets, papers, are brot to the shop, placed in various spots, where workers can get them. Every

member of the nucleus is given the duty of discussing working class problems with some worker in the shop; to visit him at his home; to, in time, get him to join the nucleus.

Getting into the Struggle of the Workers.

**MINE** operators and the faker Farmington are trying to railroad militant coal miners to prison on a trumped up conspiracy for murder charges. The nucleus meets. These fighting miners, upon whom depends the life of the progressive miners' movement, must be saved. Moral and financial aid must be given these men. Maybe other workers in the shop already know what "railroading" and "rats" on the job mean. They want to help but don't know how. Our comrades quietly circulate lists of the International Labor Defense, striving to defend the Zeiger miners. Money is raised on a defense issue, which nearly always strikes a responsive among workers. A basis is laid for organizing an I. L. D. branch on the job, secretly or openly as con-

ditions permit. The workers learn to understand better, why these Communists are here. They are getting closer to the Workers (Communist) Party.

Perhaps the shop is a union shop. The union needs to be one up on the problems of the various local unions in which they belong. They are, of course, in the party fractions in the unions. They bring to the fraction meeting the union's problems. They grasped from job conditions. They consider ways and means of bringing the issue of the big antiracket strike before their local union and to get support for it. That may strike home at once.

Maybe, if the union is much more awake, the abstract, to the union, the problem of imperialism, is brot up, and it is found to mean, among other things: Get the marines out of China! We don't want the American youth slaughtered to make gold and get concessions for Rockefeller and Morgenthau. A resolution is passed and sent to Washington, etc.

The Labor Party is Heard.

**ELECTIONS** are on. Whom shall we vote for? Ask the workers in the shops. Our shop nucleus meets. The plan, program, and campaign outlined by the Central Executive Committee, for a labor party are before them. During lunch time, our comrades engage systematically in argument and discussion with fellow workers on the question of a republican break and democratic parties, what they ever done for the workers; on the LaFollette movement, the aim of the Workers (Communist) Party, the program of the Workers (Communist) Party, etc. What do the shops think about their union "going into politics"? Our comrade leaves a leaflet, "For a Labor Party," in their hands. The Workers (Communist) Party, at least, dwell on politics.

And so on endlessly are problems and issues bound to arise in the shop nuclei. They will solve them if they will understand that: The way to start is to begin.



# The Presentation of Proletarian Films

ARTICLE IV.

The Presentation of Proletarian Films  
PRODUCTION alone does not overcome all the obstacles to the use of proletarian film by the labor organizations. A difficulty equally grave with that of production is the question of exhibition possibilities; the question: "How can we bring our proletarian films before the broad masses?"

This problem is unfortunately no easier, than in certain countries even harder, than the problem of creating the films. The state, with its bourgeois administration, has surrounded also this field with a veritable barbed wire entanglement, but its monopoly be broken thru and attacked on any side. The most important and most significant means in the hands of the bourgeois government against the presentation of revolutionary films is the censor. All capitalist countries have an extremely strict and sharp censorship, that is much stricter than existing press or dramatic censorship. Censorship regulations are put forward on the ostensible ground of "protecting good taste," for saving the youth from the evil influence of bad films, and other Jesuitical excuses. In truth, as is proven by the actual practice of the censors, its function is first of all to establish political control of all motion pictures.

As examples we can cite the attitude of German film stations, of which there are several, in Berlin, Munich, etc. When our movies pass all films containing outspoken, base-faceted monarchist propaganda, they reject categorically pictures of proletarian tendency. It is denoted that in a Russian film the scene showing soldiers taking their oath be eliminated because one sentence pledges the recruit to defend socialism with his life. Censorship is today one of the greatest obstacles to the presentation of proletarian revolutionary films.

But even after these troubles are fortunately overcome there beckons another, namely, the economic difficulties of presentation. Most countries, to nurture their own film industry, impose heavy import duties and other restrictions against foreign films. So, also, Germany in 1924 ruled that only German producing firms could import foreign productions. Since naturally, no working class organization possessed its own studio they would be barred from the use of Russian films, were it not for these various byways to attain them. Similar restrictions prevail in almost all countries.

But even with the extraordinary good fortune to obtain the films with the aid of a commercial film company and on top of this to get it thru the censors, "What shall we do with this freshly imported and released picture?" In what manner can we now bring it before the general public, before the broad masses of workers and peasants?

THE normal way chosen by commercial film concerns is that of the big film exchange. In every country on earth there are these big exchange organizations which supply the theaters with films. All principal exchanges are interlocked with the major production units and more or less dependent upon them. Hence it is understandable that the entire question of film rental is viewed from the angle of profit, and that the choice and distribution of films is made solely upon this basis. In recent years the leading film companies of Germany, as the Ufa, etc., have embarked upon the policy of owning or controlling the theaters in all principal cities and villages. Ufa thus compels the opticians to view its own productions and those of its subsidiaries. In Berlin alone Ufa now has twenty theaters, as many as Ashinger has saloons.

It is unnecessary to show all the other difficulties connected with the commercial exchange, but it is sufficient to state that only in extremely rare instances, in exceptional circumstances, is it possible to distribute pictures of proletarian or revolutionary tendency thru the commercial exchange.

WE must therefore, discover another way in which to bring the Russian films out of the storage vault and actually before the broad masses. Many are the means by which this can be done and we will briefly consider a few.

It is possible for workers' organizations to commission proletarian films to make contact with small theaters in single cities, and to show them there. Not yet have all small theaters been robbed up by the trust. Especially in the provinces, a large number of small and relatively independent theater owners. It is possible to make contact with them and to book working class films occasionally. The German I. W. A. did this successfully in the Rhein district and in centrally promising industrial sections, or also in cities and villages as in Czechoslovakia or France, where the Communist Party wields considerable influence or is perhaps actually in control of the local administration. In many cases this has been successful. It is not the best basis for extravagant hopes, at most perhaps 5 per cent of the theaters can be approached in this way. All that remains to be served exclusively thru the big film bureaus tightly bound by long-term contracts.

Other means must therefore, be found to actually bring the films before the broad masses, and despite all obstacles and administrative and organizational difficulties, the method of direct arrangements is as yet the most promising. This is the method used in New York, Chicago and other principal cities. Theaters were rented for periods of a day to more than a week, and with typical large scale American publicity methods, the proletarian Russian films were shown. The first films, among them "Russia Through its Soldiers," proved a sensation and achieved tremendous agitation success. Hundreds of thousands of workers have seen these films, and the financial surplus of \$25,000 can be cited as an added by-product result. But after the first two pictures the sensation waned, interest flagged, and financially and organizationally the success was less.

Similarly, the British I. W. A.'s experience; during the last year's labor party congress they ran several Russian films in rented theaters in London and achieved a most possible excellent success, although financially the result was less satisfying.

Under this method of showing our pictures in rented theaters there remain a large measure of possible conflicts with theater owners who try to enforce personal censorships, help by the owner, etc. The method inaugurated by the I. W. A. in Germany, France and Czechoslovakia seems to me to be the one applicable and best.

In Germany and in France, the I. W. A. decided to organize its film activity independent of the bourgeois exchanges or theaters. In both countries the I. W. A. Central Committee decided in the beginning to purchase several motion picture film projectors. This is a measure strongly recommended to all working class organizations. Our own apparatus makes us independent of the theater and of question of show places. In recent years apparatus has been perfected to such an extent that one can show pictures in any available room irrespective of electrical facilities or sources of power. What makes this particularly valuable to the Communist Party is the possibility of projection in the open air, making feasible its use in times of election campaigns or other major activity in night meetings in the market square to complete and support the addresses of the speakers.

According to all experiences, gathered over years of activity in this very film propaganda, the provision of our own apparatus must be advised as a condition precedent to effective and successful film propaganda. It is important that a good conditioned, technically adequate projector be provided by a dependable projectionist whose work, rendered real enthusiasm, as a party member, is a special party pro-

paganda activity of great importance.

It would be a mistake to assume that the mere ownership of apparatus guarantees the success of every proposed showing. For that in which series of other conditions are requisite. Showings in the big cities, the headquarters of the organization, are relatively easy and inexpensive to book. It becomes more difficult to invade the provinces, where this form of work is most needed, and where it is much more effective. For these are metropolises, where the workers are spoiled by the high-class trust theaters. These showings must be painstakingly prepared and organized far in advance. Experience indicates that film tours in given districts often fail, when, for instance, the Berlin headquarters depend upon 2 or 3 workers in the Rhine, the first two of whom are unsatisfactory, about half of the dates fail thru because halls cannot be obtained because no propaganda is made, etc.

Despite the overhead costs bound up in this method, the I. W. A. of Germany has decided to arrange all showings direct from Berlin, instead of leaving it to the various districts. It was always planned, of course, to properly arrange the tours to cut traveling and other costs to a minimum. But the present total inexperience of our comrades in the use of film propaganda makes it necessary to arrange at least that first showings direct from headquarters.

A FURTHER difficulty is that the comrades, particularly of the smaller villages, do not have the nerve to put up effective, really attractive advertising campaign. They cannot bring themselves, in their publicity, to call, even to shout, which is indispensable in the winning of masses to our shows. In the district paper there would be a screaming half-page advertisement for Harry Piel or Henry Forten, and down below, made up like an obituary or a respectable peddler notice, the invitation of a labor organization calling workers to a proletarian film show. It is, therefore, necessary to provide two posters for every single showing, that the entire publicity scheme and material be worked out to a minimum. Definite instructions to our comrades: Notice on the 11th, Advance ad on the 12th, posters, handbills, etc. on the 13th. Only in this way is it possible to avoid that of slighted showings only 3 actually take place. If, on the other hand, these necessary provisions are made one can reckon that 50 effective, real showings will be a success, as our experience in Germany has actually proven.

HUNDREDS of showings have been arranged by the I. W. A., drawing thousands of patrons and for the most part overfilled halls. An effective complement to the film can be a musical program, choral societies or spoken choruses, used especially in certain cities in connection with the "Ladies Warning." A combination of our half-yearly runs of Red Revue of Berlin with a good film would result in an unprecedented success.

In France the I. W. A. in consideration of railroad schedules difficulties has equipped a fully-equipped movie caravan that travels from village to village and gives its showings.

Another way as to the financial side of film showings. These failures were caused by the District Comrades in the matter of advertising expenses. This is absolutely wrong. Only those showings are profitable that draw mass audiences. The price of a proletarian film showing the admission price must necessarily be lower than that of their competing movie theaters. The made up by increased attendance. And mass attendance is achievable only thru widespread, striking, screaming advertising. There is in the arrangement of our showing it is unwise to stint, rather to plunge a little to reach all local industrial and the street public as well. Sumus spent for this purpose will undoubtedly come back thru the increased attendance.

UNTIL now only the I. W. A. organizations in America, Czechoslovakia, France and Germany have carried out this film propaganda on an extensive scale. In other countries, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria and various other countries only single films have been presented. It is the task of all Communist Parties and organizations to exploit the propaganda possibilities, and to ascertain in their own way the best technical and organizational possibility for carrying out of this film propaganda. Our present report can only give examples from our past experience.

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