

"The idea becomes
power when it pene-
trates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

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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 agricultural 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 resolution 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 Inprekorr 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 tenants"—almost 100 per cent from the truth—"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 that 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:

	1890	1900	1910	1920
Rural	64.6	60.0	54.2	48.6
Urban	35.4	40.0	45.8	51.4

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

40 per cent, it will be seen that the true extent of the preponderance of industry is obscured:

Year of 1919	In mill. whole	Pct. of
Net value of all agricultural products	\$18,768	40
Net value of all mineral products	3,095	7
Value added by all manufactures	25,042	53
Total	\$46,905	100
Year of 1909		
Net value of all agricultural products	\$6,702	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-

son between agriculture, mining, and mechanical industries:

	Percentage of "Gainfully Occupied"	
	1910	1920
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	33.2	26.3
Extraction of minerals	2.6	2.6
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	27.8	30.8

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 B. 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	1,016	6
Value added by all manufactures	2,529	53
Total	\$16,247	100

Not only has agriculture been continuously falling back in relation to industry, but also, between 1910 and 1920, there was for the first time in America a positive decrease in the number of those "gainfully occupied" in agriculture, the exact figures of the two periods being 12,659,082 and 10,953,158. 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 10,953,158 "gainfully occupied" in agriculture in 1920,

(Continued on page 5)

OUR OWN PEOPLE

By Ruth Stout

HEADQUARTERS of Local 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of New York City they stay up all night and watch, to keep Sigman from capturing them by force, as they have captured Locals 2 and 9. A crowded street—policeman looking for trouble—a policeman with 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 that 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 more pay. But then the boss would take a few workers and make one head over them, so that one man had six or eight people under him. He would get 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 fought against that—this must be stopped—and they won.

In 1913 the waist makers had a strike which again improved conditions of the industry, but one trouble right along was that the Jewish and Americans 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 I thought we should get American girls to approach the boss—I have 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 know 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 faking; 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 the 1919 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 would not make the waists. The only thing we could do was to make a stoppage—to refuse to work at all.

But the 1919 agreement made it a crime to make a stoppage, so we made six or eight or ten dollars a week for eight months. The employers had work but we did not make it. We could see what they were cutting and 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 from striking and they kept having open shops. What use of 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 past. If they would take a nice big loft 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 and teach them and exploit them to the worst extent 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 see everytime 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 jobs. The executive took it up and sent a committee to make us go to work. We explained we cannot and will not work unless we know we get everything that is cut. We had gone back once or twice with the boss's promise to give us everything, but always he cheated us.

THERE was a conference in Boston and I and two members of the executive went and explained the situation. The question is: Are we to sit eight months in a shop and not make a living? We had a fight and I cried, 'I was so much younger then; I would not cry today!' (Her black eyes flashed; true, she would not cry today). We came back and continued the strike; finally, the boss came and held up his hands, and said 'Honorable 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 the union did nothing to check them they sprang up everywhere, with these terrible conditions, competing with the big shop, and many employers went into jobbing so the big shop went out gradually,—safely to say more than one half the industry is jobbing. We call them bedroom shops—cockroach 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 sometime 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 only have to work in these miserable conditions, but pay not secure—many lose their last few cents.

WHAT can the union do to eliminate those conditions? They say: Yes, true, but we cannot do anything. We say: We have to begin to have another policy and see to it that we do organization work all the year round by our own people. Not by those, as they have 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 eight people to go to Brooklyn. And 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 used 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. Then he got \$75. The business agent is the man who does the work. The managers do very little work; they

hire gangsters to do their work, and the only thing the gangsters do is 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 300 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 you,—not gangsters. Since 1919 to date because of the many disappointments that workers were suffering 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, so we are no more a separate industry. When the waists were so glorious there were of course waist locals; now there is no reason for waists being separate but the union wants to keep them separate and I'll tell you why, in a minute. We told the union this, but they said that there were still waists, showing that they did not know what they were doing. I took Fannia 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 skirt, and yet they are still having that local, and the manager getting \$100 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 so they must have a business agent and a secretary. And they are making dresses in the same shops; the skirts are no more there. And they work fourteen hours more a week for the same work, and that is what I call legal scabbing with the consent of the union, which is a crime. There must not be two locals in the same trade; 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 that they give us the dress shops which belong to our local, according to their own decision a year before. And now I'll tell you why they want 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.

ANOTHER thing is that they wanted to raise our dues from 35 cents to 50 cents. The membership won't pay the fifty cents because they feel that nothing will be done with the 50 cents just as nothing is done for the 35 cents. And two weeks 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 amounted 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 care? They have 55 votes and we have 15 in the Joint Board.

So 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 Commissions, 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 locals 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 went, 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 Communists in order to cloud the issue, because they only have to say that we 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 charges on us, a day before they sent 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 9, 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, §4 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 conflicts between nations, 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—in 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 for tasks in peace 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 dejectedly 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 and war 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 celebrations and 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, Abd-el-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 Abd-el-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 Riffs 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 on the agenda, or rather, as the official communique says, the question of the "situation in Morocco was discussed." Renaudel, 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 a 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 "three signatures": 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, but who advocates "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 within the party of the semi-pacifist tendencies, which are fairly well represented in it, but are in fact absolutely helpless against the actual support of the war on the part of the party leaders. Of course, no one thought of securing the support of the increasing number of socialist workers who are joining the anti-war campaign of the Communists.

EVEN Het 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, those 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 take part in the movement." (Het 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...

China: The discussion on these mighty revolutionary events ensued 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 manouever" 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 forming a 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 6th: "The presidium 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 presidium should ask for information from known Chinese trade unions whether help is possible (?) and 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 is 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.

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 excited discussion between the British and the continental comrades, we read amongst other items:

"It (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."

THUS agitation is made on behalf of the Geneva Protocol which "alone" etc., 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 Democracy, with the Germans at their head, a vile agitational measure against Soviet Russia. Thomas

in Great Britain uses the Railwaymen'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 "Vorwaerts" on account of the sentence of the three Fascist juvenile murderers invites the German government to break off relations with Soviet Russia.

In a leading article on the occasion of the dispatch of the new German note to Paris the "Vorwaerts," July 19th, formulates the foreign policy of social-democrats 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 are seeking the solution in 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 are working with the highly developed capitalism of imperialist powers against—whom? Against the Soviet Union, China and Morocco.

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. First 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 Republic 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 Bolshevik mass parties, by the enlarged executive of the Comintern (April, 1925). First of all it is of the utmost importance to recognize the necessity 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 for revolutionary 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 adequate attention to the co-operatives, and during the present period of Bolshevization, and of systematic building up of our parties as real leaders 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 declares that the Communists have to work in them even when they are in the hands of arch-reactionary leaders, there are in all countries huge co-operative organizations, again mass organizations of the proletariat. The International Co-operative Alliance (London) alone comprises 100,000 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 wrest these many 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 enlist this gigantic organization of the exploited, created in the course of decades, in the united proletarian fighting front against capital.

An intense fractional activity within the co-operative organizations gives 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 profiteering in food practiced by the capitalists, against high prices and speculation, join the co-operatives. But the social reformist managers 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 obscurity with the torch of Leninism, to show the proletarian housewives, gathered together in these organizations in compact masses and 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 imperatively incumbent on the Bolshevik 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, tho at the moment they may still be vacillating

irresolutely to and fro. The Leninist tactics of recruiting allies for the decisive revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, culminating in the Soviet Union in the magnificent success of the unshakeable 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 state and municipal officials, private employes, artisans, technicians, etc., in the co-operatives.

STARTING with their most primitive needs, with their daily cares, we find here the opportunity of gaining for the first time the ear of these 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 to their own interest not to take part against the proletariat, but to support the working class, or at least not to place obstacles in the way of 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 dealing with the daily vital interests of the peasantry—questions which are invariably on the agenda of these peasants' co-operative organizations or can be placed on it—forms the best possible opportunity of proving to the largest strata 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. C. I., in October, 1924, to be entirely correct and in no need of alteration. The conditions of the present general political situation, and the prospects adduced to by the Enlarged Executive of a diminished speed of revolutionary development, render it the 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 exploitation and starvation practices of capital, and how the organization of the workers' consumers must work hand in hand with the other organs of revolutionary class war towards the overthrow of the capitalist system, if this organization is actually to fulfill its purpose: The raising of the standard of living among the people,

and the bridling of the greed of the usurious capitalists, who force up prices.

BASING 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 of 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 combatting usury and high prices, acute in almost every country at the present time, should be specially raised in the co-operatives. In place of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, we must demand a fighting alliance with the trade unions and factory councils. For in the first place the economic power of the co-operative is directly dependent upon the purchasing powers 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 decisions of the Executive are therefore as follows:

- Join the co-operative societies!
- To the masses of co-operative society members!
- Organize participation in the daily life of the co-operatives!
- Exercise expert criticism and make definite demands!
- Use the fight against high prices and the struggle for existence as starting points!
- Get into contact with the trade unions and factory councils!
- Go forward from 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 Organizer.

IT is 6 a. m., it is dark. I wake up as if electrified. What is the matter? Then the thought comes to me in a flash. This morning we see our comrades off who are going to the front—48 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 years and three women.

Just as a mother parts 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 dearest to us for work over there where they were needed more than here.

VERY solemn was the moment when selection and deliberations of the comrades had ended, and the chairman of the nucleus said the last parting words to them. With shining eyes and burning cheeks they went on their errand, united and full of enthusiasm. How determined and joyful sounded our "Onwards comrades, onwards."

I start running along the frozen ground oblivious of my age, quickening my pace moved by the thought, "I want to be, I must be with them." A horse is standing outside the club laden with various baskets and sacks. In the club there were already a good few workers 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 there.

AT the refreshment bar tea is ready for those who are going away

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 a line, 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 were ever in Communist ranks waverers or timid people, this speech would have made heroes of them. But here we had no waverers or timid people, everyone was aflame with courage and enthusiasm.

TN the dim morning light the snow which the sun rays tinged with red and the Communist banner made specially for the comrades seemed in unison with the feelings and frame of mind of all those present. Such impressions and experiences are worth many a dull 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. The whole crowd followed them to the station. There—more speeches and ovations 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 difficult to distinguish the women from the men: the same brand new fur caps, the same kind of boots and knapsacks on their backs. Those who came to see them off keep pace with them. Friends are wondering if our comrades were given enough provisions to last them for the journey, for there is scarcity everywhere.

The big family, which we really are was worrying about its dear ones, but finally decided that everything that was possible had been done. Then came the final good byes and parting words, the last sound 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 czarism and capitalism. As a result of that, a terrible massacre broke out, killing thousands of workers. Many were exiled to Siberia; some were more fortunate and fled to other countries.

A conference of the old rebels who are living in Chicago is being called to organize a monster celebration for the occasion. Old rebels are requested to send their names and addresses to the Chicago office of the Novy Mir, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

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

Statistical Background of the Agrarian Question in the U. S.

(Continued from page 1)

approximately 40 per cent, or between four, and four and a half million, are propertyless workers. This is the agricultural proletariat, the basic stratum for the revolutionary movement in the rural districts. It is, in turn, due to historic and economic differences, to be divided into many groups, each of which presents distinct problems; such as, (a) the "hired hands" of isolated farmers, more or less fixed as to residence, very conservative and dominated by the employing farmers almost completely (probably the largest single group); (b) the Negro farm workers of the southern cotton states, the most submerged and exploited creature in America; (c) the wage workers on "large scale" farms (not a large group as yet, but growing faster than any other group in agriculture); (d) the migratory workers, who follow the harvests, having no fixed residence; (e) workers engaged in agriculture in the summer and industrial pursuits in the winter (differing from the migratory workers in having a fixed residence); (f) members of the family of "farm owners"; and so forth.

Of the total of 6,448,343 operators of farm establishments in 1920, there were 2,454,804 tenants as against 3,993,539 owners and managers. It is among the two and a half million tenant farmers that will be found the largest number of the semi-proletarian elements, according to Lenin's classification. Almost one-third of these are Negroes, in the south, numbering 714,441; many of the others are former "owners" in the process of being squeezed out of agriculture as independent operators; the tenant farmers, as a whole, while continuously increasing in number, occupy a most unstable economic position, which is more and more becoming a disguised form of wage slavery. The following table shows the constant growth of tenantry in the United States for the past 40 years:

	Percentage of All Farms			
	1920	1910	1890	1880
Owners and managers	61.9	63.0	64.7	71.6
Tenants	38.1	37.0	35.3	28.4

The approximately four million "owners" of farms present every variation of social stratification possible. And it is only indirectly that we can arrive at an approximation of the relative numbers of "poor," "middle," and "well-to-do" farmers. The census of the U. S. was not designed for the purpose of bringing out the facts of class division in this country.

It is possible to get some degree of light on the question by an examina-

tion of that great institution of American private property, the "farm mortgage." The mortgage is the first step in the dispossession of the farm owner from his land, it is the invasion of "outside capital" into the domain of the free and independent producer. And there is no doubt that to a large degree the extent and rate of growth of farm mortgages in the United States is an indication of the number and rate of increase of poor farmers in relation to the total farming population.

In 1890, the first census report on mortgages, the percentage of all farms which were reported as free from mortgage, was 70.9 per cent. In the year 1900, this had fallen to 66.5 per cent. At the last census, in 1920, only 52.8 per cent of all farms were reported as free from mortgage. Thus there is only slightly more than 2,000,000 farmers, of whom we can definitely say that, in their overwhelming number, they represent the middle and well-to-do farmers of America, who, with their families, constitute the backbone of the bourgeois social system in the rural districts of America.

The first approximate classification which must be made, in view of the foregoing, in our efforts to develop the fundamental groups within the agricultural population, would be as follows:

Group in the year of 1920	Approximate Number	Percentage of Total
Workers	4,500,000	41
Tenants	2,500,000	23
Mortgaged farmers	1,800,000	16
Full owners and managers	2,200,000	20

Approximate total 11,000,000
Size of Agricultural Establishments.

EACH of the foregoing groups could be analyzed with any degree of exactness, only if data was available for each group as to the size of the undertakings, the various degrees of technical development as shown by number of head of livestock, amount of machinery, buildings, etc. Unfortunately, such classified information is not available, so it will be necessary to use another, indirect method, of superimposing the classification by size and technical development of all farms, upon the classification by land tenure.

The average number of acres in each tenant-operated farm is 107.9 acres. This is almost exactly two-thirds of the size of the average owner-operated farm, which is 162.2 acres. There are approximately two and a half million of these tenant-operated farms of a little over one hundred acres average.

Size-groups of all farms (without regard to tenure) with comparison of 1880, 1910, and 1920, are as follows:

Size group	Number of farms			Percent of total in 1920
	1920	1910	1880	
Under 20 acres.....	796,535	839,166	393,990	12.4
20 to 49 acres.....	1,503,732	1,414,376	781,574	23.3
50 to 99 acres.....	1,474,745	1,438,069	1,032,810	22.9
100 to 174 acres.....	1,449,630	1,516,286		18.9
175 acres and over....	1,223,701	1,153,605	1,800,533	18.9
Total	6,448,343	6,361,502	4,008,907	100

The technical equipment of these various size groups (leaving out the group 175 acres and over as definitely well-to-do farmers and requiring no further analysis from us), is as follows:

Average value per farm, by size	of technical equipment.					
	Buildings		Machinery		Live Stock	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
Under 20 acres.....	\$ 967	605	\$146	56	\$ 306	195
20 to 49 acres.....	827	474	193	76	434	270
50 to 99 acres.....	1,497	848	412	156	834	522
100 to 174 acres....	2,245	1,182	712	241	1,414	869

Of the 800 thousand farms of 20 acres and under, there could be very few with more than two horses and two cows (and if any swine, at the price of a horse or cow). The value of machinery allows of little more than a few plows, harrows, cultivators, etc. When we come to buildings, however, we find the average quite high, higher than that farms of 20 to 49 acres. The explanation of this is without question that this class contains a very large proportion of middle or well-to-do farmers who do not depend upon the produce of the farm for a livelihood—who have, as it were, partially retired, or who have never been farmers in the full sense. There must be a much lower percentage of tenants in this size-group than in the groups over 20 and under 175 acres.

More than two-thirds of the total number of farms are included in the groups 20 to 175 acres. It is from this group that must come most of the tenants and a large part of the mortgaged farmers, with much the heavier part of these poor-farmer elements coming under the class of 99 acres and less. These latter farms will in most cases have 2 to 3 horses and 4 to 6 cows, while its stock of machinery is still quite limited.

Tentative Estimate of Agrarian Groups.

FROM the above we can make a tentative estimate of the principal groups, as containing landless and propertyless workers, four and a half millions; poor farmers (semi-proletarian and practically propertyless) two millions; middle farmers (economically in a dangerous position in America; at this time, but formerly the most "substantial" citizenry of

capitalism) two millions; while the well-to-do and rich farmers amount to about two and a half millions.

These figures give us the barest ap-

proach, the first faint sketch, of the extremely complicated problems involved in agriculture in the U. S. Compared with Europe, for example, the acreage of American farms seems fantastically high; but the size which, in Europe, would indicate a rich peasant, in America would quite as easily indicate rent racked tenant or a land poor mortgaged farmer. There is further, for example, the extreme specialization which has taken place in American agriculture, which cuts the country into quite distinct sections, each dominated by a different set of crops, different social conditions, different stages of technical development, ownership, etc.

In spite of (or on account of) the extreme productivity of American agriculture, it is true more clearly here than in any other country, that capitalism never develops evenly and harmoniously. American agriculture is characterized by the most acute contradictions, brot about by the most uneven development of agriculture as compared with industry, uneven development of different branches of agriculture, uneven development of agrarian districts, high degree of specialization in some respects together with a very low degree in others, the accentuation and aggravation of social differences carried over from the past (Negro problem, etc.), and a hundred and one other factors which go to mold the groups, sub-classes and classes within the rural population of America.

In the next article we will examine the statistical outlines available for the several principal agrarian divisions in the U. S. and the different problems which they present.

Youth Day on the Red Square in Moscow



Rykov, Zinoviev, Kalinin and Stalin greeting the demonstrations on Youth Day.

Our First Communist Press Day

By J. LOUIS ENGDHAL.

THIS week has seen the passing of the first International Press Day, Sept. 21, held at the suggestion and under the guidance of the Communist International.

Nothing could more clearly differentiate the Communist press from the capitalist, the social-democratic and the so-called "trade union" press, than the aims and the ambitions of this Press Day.

Bolshevizing Our Press.

THIS day was set aside as an effort in the struggle to Bolshevize our press; to sharpen it to become a more effective weapon in the class war. This meant the clarifying of its working class character; bringing it into closer and still more intimate touch with the workers at their places of toil. Special and most important stress was therefore, laid upon contributions direct from worker correspondents, not merely as a feature of this special issue, but as an important daily aid in the editorial work of our Communist newspaper.

The Communist daily, more and more, seeks to imbibe itself ever deeper in the daily life of the workers, in order to be the better able to fight labor's battles.

On the other hand, however, we find not only the capitalist press closed and in opposition to the workers, but the same holds true for the social-democratic, or "socialist," as well as the "trade union" press, in a varying but equal degree.

The "Friends of Labor."

NOT that the capitalist newspaper denies that it is a friend of labor. It hypocritically insists, that it is his best friend, advising the workers on all occasions to desist from class action for their own benefit. The strike, however, always reveals this capitalist press in its true light, in a way that the workers can understand. But all workers are not affected by strikes or similar class conflicts, nor are any workers on strike all the time. So the anti-working class character of the bosses' press, that reveals itself during these conflicts, is often too quickly dimmed for the worker not yet class conscious. Only the best informed workers can quickly detect in every article, news and editorial, the poisonous propaganda of these enemy publications. The workers in general have not yet learned that the praise of these kept harlots of capitalism, that is being so fulsomely poured forth these days upon the heads of conservative labor officials, and in support of labor's every reactionary act, is the best testimony of treason to labor and loyalty to labor's enemies. Yet increasing numbers of workers must grow to realize this.

Some sections of the "Brass Check" press have carried on deliberate and well-planned campaigns to debauch the workers; to win them away from the building of their own class press. This has been especially true of the Hearst string of dailies and of the so-called Scripps-McRae newspapers, that boasted of their "labor editors," and of their "trade union columns." But these efforts were mainly to win the favor of the trade union officialdom as a means of betraying the workers. The McNamara case, the newspaper strike in Chicago in 1912, and the more recent strike on the Seattle, Wash., Post-Intelligencer, have joined in effectively putting the anti-labor stamp on William Randolph Hearst, while the Scripps sheets have been only a little less fortunate in hiding their allegiance to those who fatten off the workers.

CITY workers and farmers have also had their bitter experiences with the so-called trade union dailies, chief among which were the Seattle Union Record and the Minnesota Daily Star. Those in control of the financing of these publications put out the "Welcome" mat for the city and land workers as long as they showed a willingness to invest their meager earnings in much lauded stock. The pretense of a fight for the interests of the workers and farmers was kept up as long as it did not conflict with the desires of the management, which

employed every possible capitalist trick to make of these dailies profitable business enterprises. The inevitable result was the enslavement of these dailies to big advertisers with the ultimate and complete betrayal of its labor support. The fate of the Seattle Union Record and the Minnesota Star should show labor the way of all so-called "trade union" dailies.

IT took the "socialist" daily press a little longer to travel the same road. The "socialist" New York Call, for instance, expired under a dose of "popularization" administered to it by New York trade union officials, with the liberal aid of their treasuries, after it had surrendered all pretense to any "socialist" character. The Milwaukee Leader, the "socialist" daily edited by Victor Berger, lives today at the whim of the big department store advertisers of the Wisconsin metropolis, to at least one of whom, Gimbel Brothers, Berger openly apologized for having criticized it during the war days. Berger's Milwaukee Leader may now be said to be completely submerged in the morass of capitalist journalism in the state of Wisconsin, beyond the confines of which it has ceased to have any influence.

BUT one of the most revealing facts about these dailies, that have carried the labor label, is that they take no interest in the great struggles of the workers, outside of the casual news interest, abetted by the customary capitalist news service report that they receive. They have no policy toward the important anthracite coal strike; no definite stand to be taken on the important conventions of the railroad workers being held at Kansas City, Mo., and at Detroit, Mich., except to echo the reactionary programs of the official conservative regimes, politically as well as industrially.

On every field of battle, whether in strikes or on the convention floor, it is our Communist organ, the DAILY WORKER, that gives voice to the de-

mands of the militant rank and file, struggling to make progress against this combined host of enemies.

Even the Communist press is not impervious to these diseases that beset and destroy the "socialist" and trade union press. It is only thru the most thoro Bolshevization that the Communist press, especially the foreign-language Communist press that is inherited from the "socialist" party, can fight off and rid itself of these dangerous tendencies. One of the tragic examples of this failure to submit itself to a thoro Bolshevization is the case of the New York Volkszeitung, that was the voice of the German workers in the "socialist" party before 1919, but was since then and until recently recognized as our German Communist daily in the United States.

THE Volkszeitung never made a serious attempt to throw off the numerous social-democratic diseases that beset it. As a result its struggle for the workers was poisoned to the point of ineffectiveness.

It might be well to cite a concrete example. The Volkszeitung publishes columns of advertisements of small businessmen. But even these small businessmen come in conflict with their workers, altho some of them are looked upon as "good fellows," and others have been members of the "socialist" party of long standing, even back in the old country. Since some of them have done well, they have contributed financially to the Volkszeitung, as a memorial no doubt, to their own past, but now dead revolutionary activities. But even such "good" bosses die, and the present editorship of the Volkszeitung, that calls itself Communist, must needs pay them tribute, referring to one especially who, "in spite of his sympathy for the cause of the worker, was not spared his struggles with the workers." It was this very boss, a sausage manufacturer, who nearly destroyed Butchers' Union No. 174, in New York City, but the Volkszeitung must needs pay him tribute, because

he had shown himself a "good fellow" with his plunder.

THIS tendency finds its expression in many ways, but usually in a hopeless attitude toward everything that the workers attempt.

The Volkszeitung showed it again in its editorial attitude toward the present heroic struggles of the Chinese. It belittled the efforts of the Chinese as merely a nationalist attempt that could not succeed. The nationalist revolution was rejected as no good, while it was pointed out that the time had not yet arrived for the Communist revolution. What alternative then, but continued and complete submission? This is merely a thinly veiled effort to keep up a pro-Bolshevik front thru philosophizing about labor's problems, instead of actually entering into the struggles of the workers.

It is the same disease that breaks into full repulsiveness when an editor, of one of our foreign-language publications, for instance, declares that it is not important to publish the material sent to him by the national organization of our Workers (Communist) Party, that it is more important to give space to the "news" notes of some semi-working class fraternal organization with which it happens to be in close touch. Merely another effort to dodge the open fight for the workers led by our party, that depends upon our press as its most effective weapon.

Sept. 21, 1925, was set aside as a day for the Bolshevization of our Communist press. But the effort put forth on that day must be renewed every day thruout the year. This is being done in the editorial rooms of the DAILY WORKER, where the voice of the working class, sounding thru our worker correspondents, grows ever clearer and louder. Forward to a year of effective Bolshevization that will build stronger our Communist press.

The Lenin Party and the October Revolution

By N. KRUPSKAYA.

Seven years ago, at the height of the imperialist war, the October Revolution—the greatest of all revolutions—shook the world.

Who made this revolution? The Lenin Party alone?

Certainly not; the masses—the workers and peasants—made it together with the party.

War, with its devastations and oppression, had made life intolerable to the workers and peasants and to the soldiers who were drawn from these sections of the population.

They could not stand it any longer.

To suppress the rising the government deceived the people: the soldiers, workers and peasants were told that they were fighting for the defense of their country, and that for such a cause one must be ready to lay down one's life.

Lenin Party Echoed Workers' Needs.

The Lenin Party opened the eyes of the masses; it told them the truth and nothing but the truth; it explained to them the causes of the war and showed them how capitalists and landowners are profiting by wars and are using them for the enslavement of the masses.

And in spite of all the efforts of the capitalists, landowners and their lackeys to besmirch the Bolsheviks, to make the masses believe that Lenin was a German spy, the workers and peasants realized that Lenin and the Lenin Party spoke the truth.

The Lenin Party issued the slogans: "Down with the predatory war," "The land to the working population," "All power to the Soviets."

These slogans touched the heart of every worker and peasant, for they echoed their most intimate thoughts and desires.

They saw that the Lenin Party was standing up for their interests, and the more their eyes were opened, the

more they began to believe in Lenin and his party.

Comrades, said the Lenin Party to the workers, you cannot win unless you have the support of the peasantry and unless you make yourselves worthy of the confidence of the latter. Side by side with the peasants, you are bound to win.

Comrades, said the Lenin Party to the peasants, the workers will help you to obtain peace and land and to shake off the yoke of the landowners and rural authorities. Follow it.

And the workers and peasants joined forces; together they had suffered from the oppression of landowners and capitalists and the rule of the nobility—and together they rose.

The Lenin Party did its utmost to help them to their victory, and the peasant and proletarian masses were victorious.

In October they took power into their own hands, and immediately the decree concerning land and peace was promulgated.

Fought Devastation.

And after October the Lenin Party continued to defend the interests of workers and peasants. Those were difficult times. The Brest-Litovsk Peace was made under very hard conditions, but it rescued the country from war. Capitalists and landowners offered a fierce resistance to the Soviet power, the power of the workers and peasants. Foreign powers helped the former in every possible way. They wanted to help the Russian bourgeoisie to suppress the workers and peasants who had rebelled, but they were unable to do so.

The worst enemy with whom it was most difficult to fight was—ruin and devastation. The country had to make great efforts and bring many sacrifices in its struggle against this ruin and devastation. But the Lenin Party did everything it possibly could to help the Soviets to overcome this ruin and devastation, and one can see already

that they are in their death throes.

When Lenin was taken ill, the doctors forbade him to work, to read papers and to meet comrades. This was very irksome to Vladimir Ilyitch. And he frequently said: "Can they prevent me from thinking?" And he thought night and day trying to find ways and means to bring the working and peasant classes nearer to complete victory, to help them to overcome all difficulties and to make their lives bright and free from the fear what the next day might bring.

Lenin's Last Articles.

When he was already bedridden, and his right side was paralyzed, but was still master of his speech, he dictated to a stenographer his last articles. In these articles he urged his party to continue to work in closer union between the working and peasant classes to improve our apparatus and to work continually among the masses in order to help workers and peasants to organize their life, to become more conscious and cultured, to understand better their common interests and to adopt gradually newer and better collective forms of work—cooperation.

Lenin's injunction to his party was to continue to develop the October work, and the Lenin Party means to fulfill this injunction.

Locate Arctic Explorers

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25.—After 48 hours of worry because no communication could be established with the Bowdoin, carrying Commander Donald MacMillan, the Arctic explorer, the airplane carrier Peary re-established communication today, according to advices to the national geographic society.

The Peary is now near Battle Harbor, Labrador, and the Bowdoin is lying in a cove off Greenland waiting for the equinoctial gales to subside before trying to sail across Davis Straits to Labrador.

White Terror---A Weapon of Warlike 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 villainess. In contrast to the past this screen has now been removed and the bourgeoisie publicly shoots down and erects 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 saved with the greatest difficulty from the storm of "destructive forces" and is guarded by legions of spies and provocateurs, with the aid of expulsion laws, courts, mass arrests and shootings. The same methods find their echo in the countries of classical "democracy" and of age-long tradition of "freedom loving," and not only 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 also on the backs of their own peoples.

"PACIFIST" and "generous" France of Poincaré 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 same time the capitalist agents, by means of slander, mud throwing and false documents are trying to create an atmosphere of hooliganism.

The cradle of "political freedom" and the country of all "civil benefactors", Great Britain does not lag behind other countries under the conservative government. The "Zinoviev letter" with which the imperialists fooled the petty-bourgeoisie was the first cowardly step. Fascist attacks on representatives of the revolutionary movement, now becoming more frequent, are also becoming systematic. The speedy revolutionizing of 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 authority 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 of capitalist society; it was therefore "democratic" and "pacifist". Its "humane doctrines" defended it from the masses of the people. Social democracy stood in the first ranks of the fighters for brotherhood and "international peace." International socialist congresses passed high sounding resolutions against war, but the governments were sure 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 adventure. The imperialist thieves, prepared for new bandit attacks and compelled their vassals to submit to their conductors baton. These vassals are the little thieves who cynically hawk 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 oppressing 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 silence the savage wails of the revolting slaves by blows of the capitalist whip.

BUT the most intense hatred is being concentrated against the Union of Soviet Republics. 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 gain but one compensation, are being met with the open opposition of the masses. The revolutionary convulsions, which the whole capitalist world has experienced, and 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 restless; the social patriots no longer remain the unlimited inspirers of their

thought. And altho the masses, by dint of custom, continue to fill their ranks to this very day, these masses, as has been showed 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 brutalization of the Balkans is one of the stages of degeneration of capitalist culture after the world war.

THE white terror aims at terrifying the masses of the people, breaking down their resistance, reinforcing the wavering power of the predatory bourgeoisie and facilitating 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 a world conflagration. But it will never succeed in finally suppressing the revolutionary movement and in saving its own rule. The hellish tortures to which the white terror is subjecting the proletarian masses, and the innumerable victims which it is claiming from them will have but one result: it will drum into the consciousness of the toiling 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 workingman, first to gather together four men, then another four men and then distribute the work among these. 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 get-together 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 conditions in the shop and how to remedy them: wages, 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," says

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 members in the rebuilding of the party will be answered and analyzed in the DAILY WORKER by Comrade Jay Lovestone, 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 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 or 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 Struggles of the Workers.

MINE operators and the faker Farrington 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 support 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 Zelgler miners. Money is raised on a defense issue, which nearly always strikes a response 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 what these Communists are. They are brot a little closer to the Workers (Communist) Party.

Perhaps the shop is a union shop. The nucleus meets to take up 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 meetings opinions and problems grasped from job conditions. They consider ways and means of bringing the issue of the big anthracite 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, tho 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 Rockefellers and Morgans! A resolution is passed and sent to Washington, etc.

The Labor Party is Heard Of.

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 the republican and democratic parties, what have they ever done for the workers; on the LaFollette movement, the aim of the Workers (Communist) Party, the role of Wall Street, capitalist, government, etc. What do they think about their union "going into politics?" Our comrade leaves a leaflet, "For a Labor Party," in their hands, The workers' minds, for the while 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, (and 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, lest 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 film 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. While the censors pass all films containing outspoken, base-faced monarchist propaganda, they reject categorically pictures of proletarian tendency. It is demanded 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 bobs up another, namely, the economic difficulties of presentation. Most countries, to nurture their own film industry, now 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 studios they would be barred from the use of Russian films, were it not possible thru various by-ways 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, then comes the question, "What shall we do with this finally 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 exchanges which supply the market with its 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 exchanges. 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 exchanges.

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 some of them.

1. It is possible for workers' organizations possessing proletarian films to make contact with small theaters in single cities, and to show them there. Not yet have all small theaters been gobbled up by the trust. Especially in the provinces are there numbers 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 central Germany. This method is particularly promising in industrial sections, or also in cities and villages as in Czecho-Slovakia 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. But it is not the basis for extravagant hopes, at most perhaps 3 per cent of the theaters can be approached in this way. All the remainder are served exclusively thru the big film bureaus tightly bound by long-term contracts.

2. 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 by the I. W. A. in the United States. 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 the Shadows," proved a sensation and achieved tremendous agitational success. Hundreds of thousands of workers have seen these films, and the financial surplus of \$25,000 can be cited as an added favorable result. But after the first two pictures the sensation waned, interest flagged, and financially and agitational 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 a rented theater in London. Agitationally, they met with excellent success, altho 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, high rents, dependence upon dates set solely by the owner, etc. The method inaugurated by the I. W. A. in Germany, France and Czecho-Slovakia seems to me to be the one applicable and best.

3. 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 apparatus 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 thru 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 run by a dependable projectionist whose work, rendered real enthusiasm, as a party member, is a special party pro-

pagandist 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 this a whole 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 than in the metropolis, 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 decides upon a two weeks' tour in the Rhine, the final results are unsatisfactory, about half of the dates fall 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 the first showings direct from headquarters.

A FURTHER difficulty is that the comrades, particularly of the smaller villages, do not have the nerve to put an 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 Porten, and down below, made up like an obituary or a vegetable peddler notice, the invitation of a labor organization calling workers to a proletarian film show. It is, therefore, necessary to provide colorful posters for every single showing, that the entire publicity scheme and material be worked out in advance with definite instructions to the committee: Notice on the 11th, Advance ad on the 13th, posters, handbills, etc., on the 14th. Only in this way is it possible to avoid that of eight projected showings only 3 actually take place. If, on the other hand, these necessary provisions are made one can reckon that 90 out of every 100 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 "Lenin's Warning." A combination of our half-year running Red Revue of Berlin with a good film would result in an unprecedented success.

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

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

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

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