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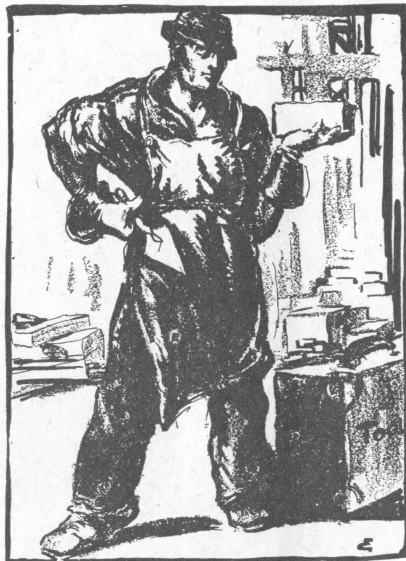
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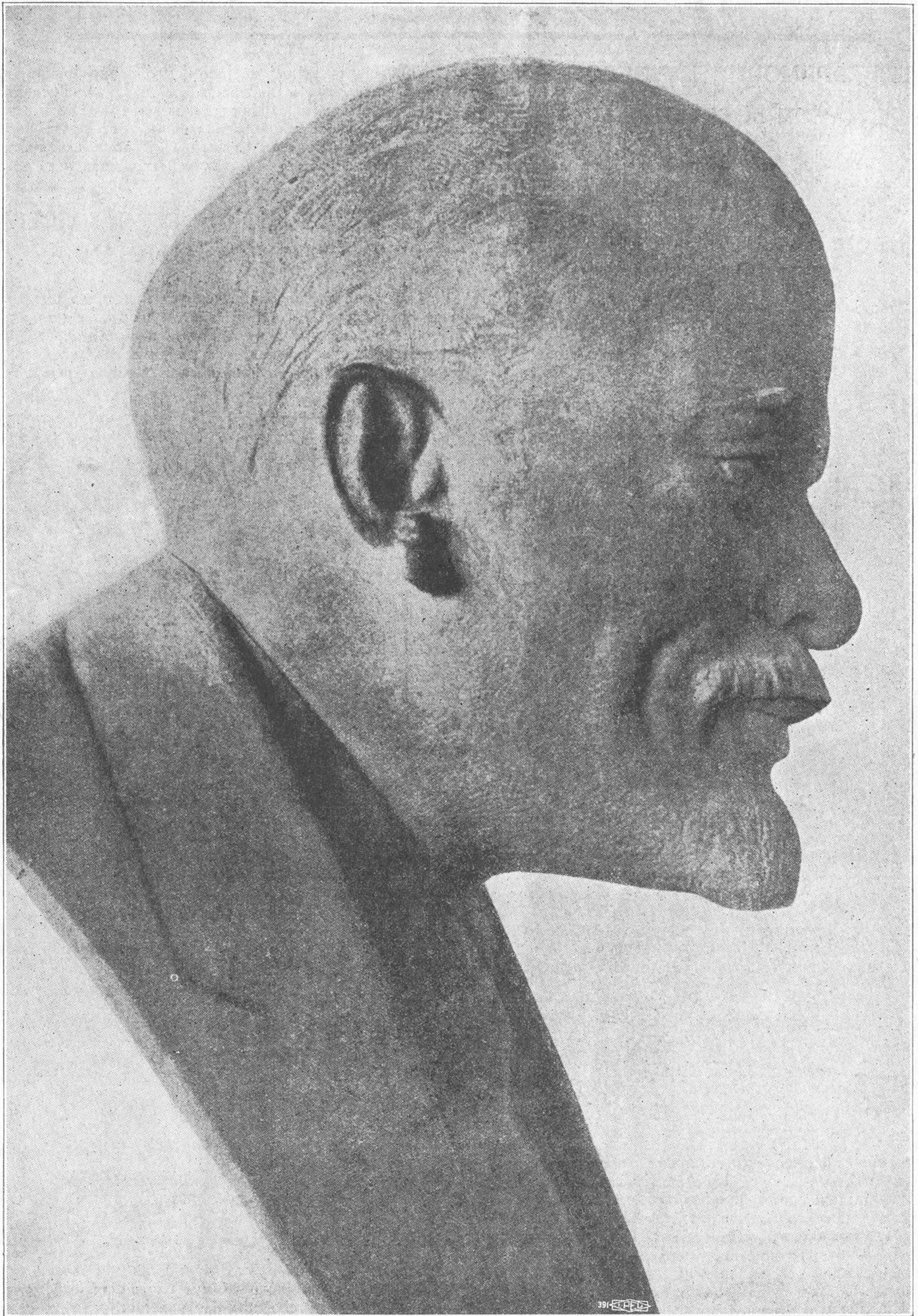
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overshadow all *the concrete and definite stages* through which the struggle would have to pass in order to complete the process and reach the stage of socialist revolution. While Lenin, visualizing more fully than anyone else the continuity of the revolutionary process and its permanency, at the same time he never for a moment lost sense or sight of the role of the peasantry at each particular period in the process of the revolution.

The difference between Lenin's and Trotzky's conception of the Russian Revolution was in a sense the difference between Hegel's conception of history and Marx's. For Hegel history was the development of an idea; that is, first comes the idea which, being the dynamic force in social life, sets in motion events and struggles, and in these struggles the idea finds its realization. In other words, history is the realization of an idea.

Marx took this Hegelian method of explaining history and turned it upside down, with the result that the "idea" assumed its proper place. It was no longer able to parade as the prime mover of social events, but had to satisfy itself with the more humble role of a *product and result* of economic and other material forces which were more basic to the life of society.

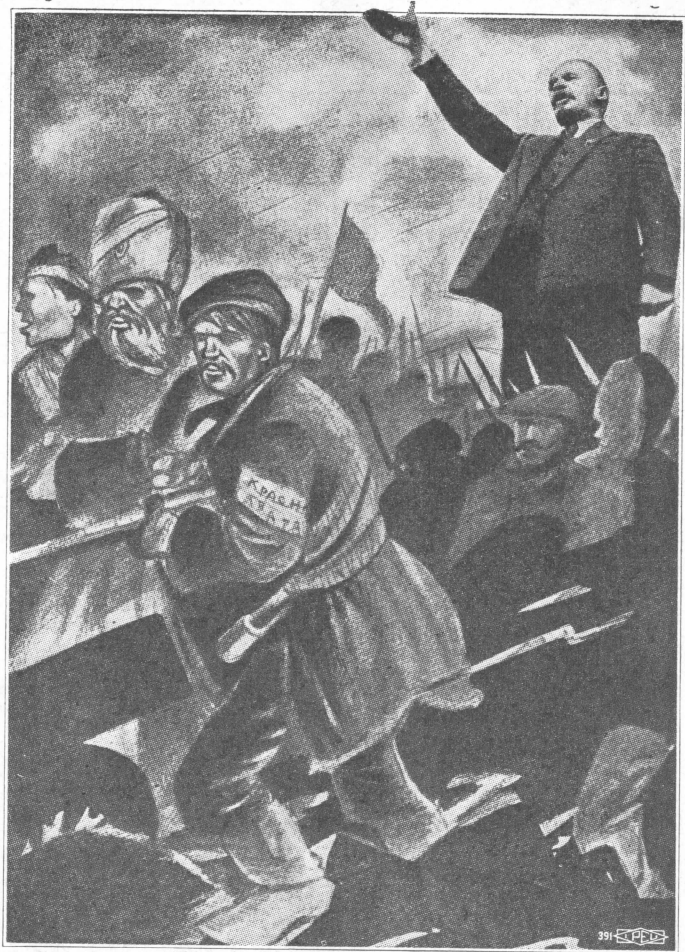
With Trotzky, who has a weakness for grand ideas, the "permanent revolution" became something of an Hegelian idea with all the magnetic powers of generating life. While with Lenin the idea of the revolution was merely the generalization of a process of a whole series of concrete struggles each with its own peculiarities, each demanding special strategy and tactics, each to be treated not alone as part of a grand scheme but on the basis of the peculiar economic and political conditions of that respective period.

The greatest revolutionist of all times was the greatest enemy of the revolutionary phrase.

The American party may pride itself on the fact that it occupied a great deal of Lenin's attention. Lenin, I believe, was the first one in the Communist International to appreciate fully the great importance of the American labor movement for the success of the world revolution. He was undoubtedly the first one to express these views in public.

Lenin liked America, the great concentration of its industries, its magnificent power of organization, and the grand scale upon which things are being done in the United States. Practical business efficiency, coupled with scientific methods of organization, was to Lenin a basic prerequisite for the success of the proletarian class struggle.

It goes without saying, of course, that Lenin had very little sympathy with the empty contempt for what some people call "theory" which is so prevailing in the American labor movement. Lenin used to say that this contempt for revolutionary theory means in practice submission to the theory of the bourgeoisie.



STILL HE DIRECTS THE STRUGGLE!

The truth of this statement we in the United States should know better than anybody else.

His famous struggles against the "economists" and so-called "practical workers" in the Russian movement was the most fruitful ideological struggle from the point of view of building the Communist Party. In this struggle (1890-1903) Lenin had established once and for all the role of revolutionary theory in the class struggle and the leading role of a Communist Party.

As Stalin says, the success of the social revolution depends upon the combination of two characteristics, the revolutionary sweep of the Russian and the ability to do things of the American. Lenin therefore knew that the moment the American labor movement becomes imbued and impregnated with revolutionary theory and spirit it will become the most powerful factor in the world struggle for proletarian power.

Lenin is right. And in commemorating the first year of his death, we can do nothing better than to dedicate ourselves once more to the great task of Bolshevizing our own party and of bringing the message of Leninism to the entire working class of America.



MEXICAN DELEGATES, CROSSING RIO GRANDE TO A. F. OF L. CONVENTION AT EL PASO, BEING INSPECTED BY U. S. IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS WHO STOPPED ALL WHO WERE NOT "SUFFICIENTLY WELL DRESSED."

in the left-wing program. These included resolutions calling for a General Labor Congress, to consist of representatives of trade unions, workers' political parties, shop committees, the unemployed, etc., for the purpose of consolidating the ranks of labor politically and industrially and to launch a militant attack on the capitalist system; the recognition of Soviet Russia, abolition of racial discrimination against the Negroes; nationalization of the mines and railroads; amalgamation of the trade unions; organization of and relief for the unemployed; demand that all the forces in the Pan-American Federation of Labor be mobilized for a struggle against American imperialism; condemnation of imperialist schemes against China; demand that the R. I. L. U. plan for international unity be endorsed and the solidarity of labor be achieved; protest against criminal syndicalism laws, against the deportation of Oates, Mahler, Moran, and Nigra; the organization of the youth; release of Mooney, Billings, Ford, Suhr, Rangel, Kline, Sacco, Vanzetti and other political prisoners; condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan and American Legion.

Almost all of these propositions were either ignored or voted down overwhelmingly. A flurry developed over the amalgamation question. Swales, the British delegate, stated in his talk that in England amalgamation movements were on foot affecting 3,000,000 workers. The A. F. of L. convention, however, showed its contempt for progress by voting down almost unanimously the amalgamation proposition. The resolution on Russia was treated with the usual avalanche of "red" baiting and misrepresentation. In the matter of the

release of political prisoners, the convention, following its usual course, tipped its hat to the subject by adopting mild resolutions protesting against the imprisonment of Mooney, Rangel, Kline, Sacco, and Vanzetti. Nothing was done about organizing the unorganized or to relieve the starving unemployed in the mining districts. No steps were taken to check the "open shop" drive, beyond a few empty threats by Gompers and Woll against wage cuts on the part of the employers.

In the face of this bankrupt condition Gompers had the brass to say that "The American labor movement is the strongest and best organized in all the world," that "labor has never occupied so favorable a spot in the nation's proceedings," and that "It is with immense satisfaction that we note the growth of constructive and progressive thought on every hand."

Class Collaboration

The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations are fast dropping the last traces of militant struggle and are developing an elaborate and settled policy of class collaboration in every sphere of their activity. In the Montreal A. F. of L. Convention, in 1919, the Plumb Plan, calling for "government ownership and democratic management" of the railroads was adopted. It has since been repudiated. At the Portland convention last year government ownership of super-power plants was endorsed. This year it was repudiated and a simple policy of government regulation demanded. The one time militant denunciation of the in-

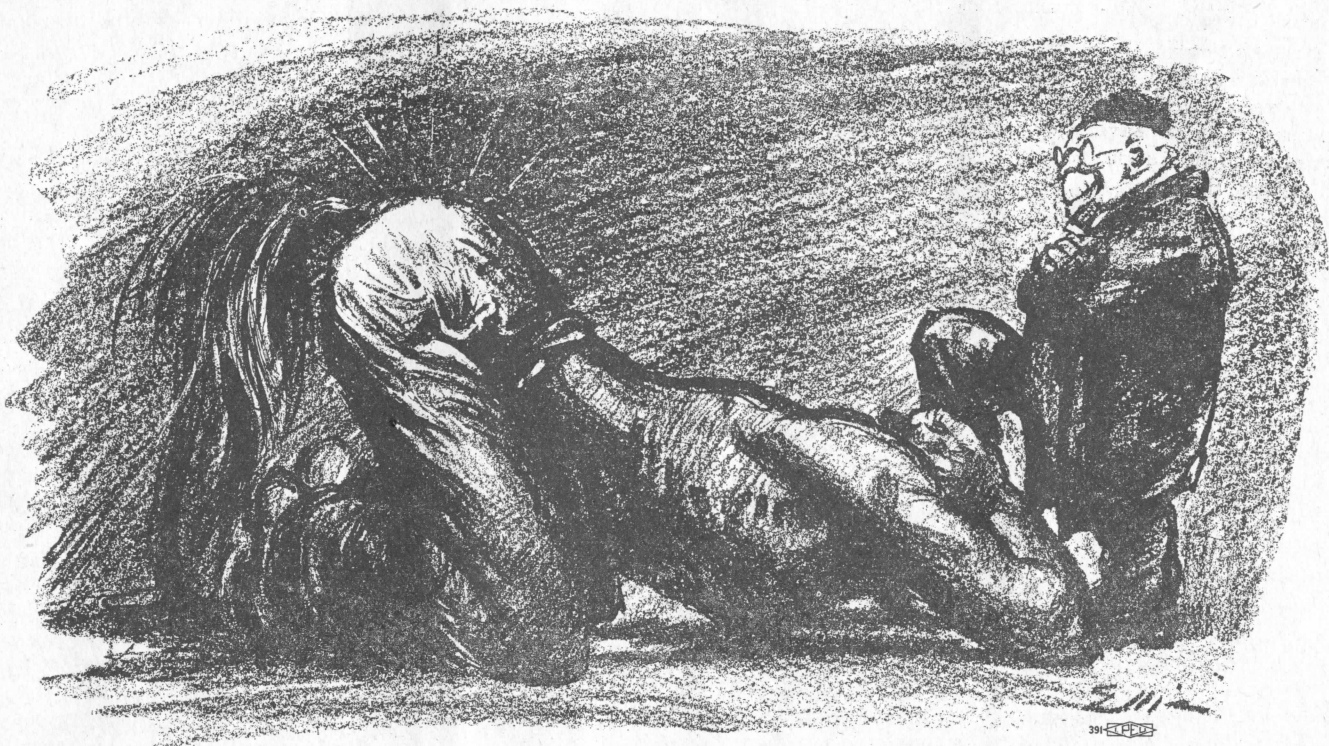
is a Gompers messenger boy. Although a convention delegate for ten years, he has never been known to take the floor. He is an official of the United Garment Workers and is used by that organization when it has particularly contemptible strike-breaking to do, as in the case of Michael Stern in Rochester.

A striking end to these three conventions was the death of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. He died of a complication of diseases, which were brought to a crisis by the high altitude of Mexico City. He was hurried at the point of death from Mexico to the United States, dying shortly after crossing the American border. The capitalist press mourns his death. Gompers was 74 years of age and connected with the labor movement for almost 60 years. He was a Jew, and born in London, England. He participated in the formation of the A. F. of L. in Pittsburgh in 1881, and has been an officer of that organization ever since. He was elected president in 1886 and has served continuously in that office, except in 1894 when he was defeated by John McBride. He was a member of the Cigarmakers' union.

The outstanding feature of the El Paso Convention was the powerful movement developed for the still further extension of the already complicated network of schemes of class collaboration. The meaning of this is clear. The policies of the reactionaries have failed utterly to maintain the trade unions in any semblance of militancy. The weak craft unions have proved unable to withstand the ferocious attacks of the well organized employers, and the political policy of the Gompers machine has been equally futile. The labor movement is in retreat before victorious capitalism. The growth of the class collaboration movement is the bureaucracy's recognition of that fact.

The bureaucrats see quite clearly that the old policy of the unions is obsolete. But they refuse to adopt the left-wing remedy for the situation, amalgamation, independent class political action, and a general policy of class struggle. In the crisis they adopt a policy of surrender. They aim to turn the unions into company unions, into mere adjuncts of the capitalist organizations—all they are interested in is to maintain some sort of an organization which will furnish them revenue enough to pay their fat salaries. Hence, the widespread development of class collaboration, as noted above in this article. The extension of the labor banks, the B. & O. Plan, and now the inauguration of the insurance scheme, as well as the long term agreement of the Miners, and many other similar developments all point in the same direction. The bureaucrats in the unions are unwilling to fight the employers, they want to subordinate the unions to them altogether.

In this crisis the duty of the left wing is clear and imperative. The revolutionaries in the Trade Union Educational League must renew the fight for the adoption of militant policies and leadership by the unions. The Gompersian leaders are hopelessly reactionary, nothing constructive can come from them. They are allowing the unions to be torn to pieces, and are helping the employers to do the job. The Socialists and the so-called Progressives are in the same boat. They have no ideals, no program, no militancy. The only quarter from which leadership can come is from the left-wing. The fate of the labor movement depends upon the growth and development of the revolutionary forces in the unions. We must realize this fact and redouble our efforts for the extension and establishment of the Trade Union Educational League in every phase and stage of the trade union movement.





YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE NUCLEUS COMMITTEE IN A RUSSIAN FACTORY

room. "The nurse examines the children when they come, and if they are sick, they are not accepted. But if sickness starts during the day, they are put in the isolation room till the doctor comes on his daily rounds."

"What happens if they are sent home," asked the settlement worker. . . . "If they are very sick, they go to our hospital. Otherwise our doctor calls at the house to see them" . . .

"But the mother loses a day's work. Does she get wages?"

"Oh, yes, she gets her wages, but not from the factory. The social insurance pays her wages on a paper signed by the nurse which says that we sent her home with a sick baby."

We were a trifle appalled at the heavy cost imposed on industry by all this care. Still more so when we found that every mother gets four months off when her baby is born. Her wages are paid by the social insurance, which also gives her a full layette for the baby, and then adds 25 per cent to her wages for a year, to offset the extra expense of the child.

"Mothers and babies must be a tremendous expense to industry," we remarked. . . . The director smiled: "Mothers and babies are always expensive to someone," he said, leaving us to think over the question of who, after all, should pay for mothers and babies.

Then he went on. "Of course the chief burden falls not on the individual factory, but on the social insurance. We pay an amount equal to 16 percent of our total pay-roll into the social insurance. The burden is distributed."

"But don't these mothers upset everything, going out every three hours? Tell us, as manager of a factory, how you like it?"

He looked puzzled at our point of view. "Of course it is inconvenient," he said "It is just as inconvenient for them as it is for us" . . . And again I got the point of view which considered the babies, not as the charge of one woman but as a community responsibility.

But we pressed the point. "If two women wanted a job from you and you had only one job, and the women were equally skilled, but one was a mother with a baby and one was not, which would you take?" . . . "But it would not be thus decided," he declared. "If I have no technical reason for choice, then the factory committee decides. They would ask first which is a union member. If both are members, they would consider which needs the job most. Perhaps it is the mother; perhaps, on the contrary, the mother has a working husband and the single woman is entirely alone. It is simply a question of need."

"But when you have to lay off workers, how do you choose?" we persisted. . . . "The shop committee helps pick out the ones who can be dropped with least suffering. Usually in that case the mothers are the last to go."

We couldn't get behind his reasoning anywhere. It was quite evident that he took it for granted that industries should provide for babies. So our factory inspector tried another tack. For she was from America, where they take it for granted (in theory at least), that mothers ought to stay home and look after young babies and children, to keep them out of mischief. She wanted to see how continuous was the

care provided here.

We were passing a sleeping room where a baby of a few months was staring wide-eyed at the world, and whimpering: "Ma—ma." The nurse was patting his hand gently and speaking in soft tones. The baby's eyes went from her to the ceiling and back. "Ma—ma," he whimpered, a little more softly.

"There, you see, he wants his mother," she said, accusingly. "Yes," said the nurse without apology. "It is his first day here. "He will get used to us."

"Do they stay here long," we asked. "In America one trouble is that the mother changes her job and the baby changes his nursery every few days." . . . "Here they stay long," answered the nurse. "We have even had three babies from one mother. When she takes one out, she puts another in!"

"Oh, yes, when she takes one out. When they are three years old; you send them away?" . . . "We send them to the kindergarten," answered the matron.

The kindergarten was a building equally large in the next block, also maintained by the factory, for children from three to eight. And when they are eight they go to school in the morning, but in the afternoon they have the Young Pioneers organization. All of these were near at hand. The fortunate mother of three youngsters in different places could come after work and pick them up at the Young Pioneers, the kindergarten and nursery and then slip round the corner to the Communal Residence where she had her apartment.

It was clear that the children were completely cared for, from two months before birth till the day when the boy or girl entered the factory or was sent to the worker's college or university. But our factory inspector turned to the president of the union.

"Is this your ideal?" she said. "That the child shall be cared for outside the home. Or it is merely done as a matter of temporary need? Do you intend always that mothers shall go to factories?"

His face lit up. "Certainly," he said. "It is our idea



A TYPICAL "MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE" in a Russian Factory, Representing The Economic Council, Union, and Shop Workers.

that a woman shall not stay in a little room, as a cook for a man and a nurse for a baby. She is a social being and a citizen, and needs to mix with her fellow-workers part of the day, just as her husband does. When evening comes, she also is at home."

Well, we were answered. And we passed out and saw the fine new dining-room just nearing completion, where 1500 workers will be able to get fifteen cent dinners. We saw one of the eight Communal Houses, where rent is from ten to fifty cents a month, according to the wages you are getting. We saw the Workers Club Building, with a group of Pioneers with red neck-kerchiefs coming out.

And we realized what a factory means in Russia, and why the women would rather go there than home. It is not merely a place to work, it is a social organism, the basic social unit of the Soviet Republic.

We Whom the Dead Have Not Forgiven

I cry to the mountains; I cry to the sea;
I cry to the forest to cover me
From the terror of the invisible throng
With marching feet the whole night long,
The whole day long,
Beating the accent of their wrong.

We whom the dead have not forgiven
Must hear forever that ominous beat,
For the free, light, rippled air of heaven
Is burdened now with dead men's feet.

Feet that make solid the fluid space,
Feet that make weary the tireless wind,
Feet that leave grime on the moon's white face.
Black is the moon for us who have sinned.

And the mountains will not cover us,
Nor yet the forest, nor the sea.
No storm of human restlessness
Can wake the tide or bend the tree.

Forever and ever until we die,
Through the once sweet air and the once blue sky,
The thud of feet, the invisible throng,
Beating the accent of their wrong.

—Sara Bard Field.

CITIES of a coming race
Are stones upon the prairies.
Silk to robe a scornful queen
Munches chinaberries.
Comes poison for a martyr's cup
On swaying, dromedaries.

A war to kill ten thousand men
Are casual words that quarrel.
Wool to make a conqueror's cloak
Grazes in the sorrel.
The wind propels a pointed seed
To make a hero's laurel.

Margie-Lee Runbeck.

ning up and down. At "levels" every hundred feet—vertically—some of the men get off, and go to the "face," that is, the working place. Some work in "drifts," merely tunnels, running out horizontally, starting from the shafts. The face of a drift is vertical, or nearly so, and the machine miner drills holes seven or eight feet long, more or less horizontally back into it with a compressed air drill. A good deal of dust is thrown out, unless the drill is one of the sort that washes out the chips with water. If the miner is sinking a "winze," which is a new shaft, started in the floor of some underground working, and not at the surface of the ground, he will probably be standing to his ankles or higher in water; while if he is "raising," that is, starting a shaft at the bottom, and going up through the roof of some underground workings, he will have a horizontal face, above him, and will probably not be able to use a water drill, as the water would all fall back on him. In that case, he "eats dust," which is thrown out of the hole by the compressed air exhaust. There is invariably plenty of other dust in the mine, for the companies prefer the dry drill method—it is quicker and less expensive. Every movement of the drill in a dry mine, every explosion, stirs up rock dust, and makes more dust. Even the cars that run down the drifts carrying ore and waste rock on very narrow gauge tracks, stir up dust in their passage. The mucker, shoveling rock into the cars, raises clouds of dust—all this in a confined space, and in mines of 2,000 feet depth or more, in a temperature ranging from 90 degrees to 100 degrees Fahrenheit.

Destroying the Miners' Lungs.

The dust in copper and zinc mines is largely flint, or silica. Its finer particles are flakes; under the microscope they look surprisingly like little knife blades. All underground workers have silicosis or "miners' consumption" to some degree. This is not true tuberculosis, though the symptoms are similar—it is merely an accumulation in the lung tissue of quantities of these flint knives which have sliced through the walls of the air passages. Silicosis paves the way for, and invariably induces true tuberculosis, sooner or later, unless the man quits his job.

Government figures prove the death rate from tuberculosis is thirteen times greater in Butte than in Michigan, which is also a copper mining state. (Bureau of Mines, Technical Paper 260).

Men, particularly in raising and sinking, work in cramped positions, and in very bad light. Miners' nyastagmus, a disease of the eyes, and also a trembling of the face and hands are therefore very prevalent. Cramped positions and falls are common to men working in "stopes," also. (Stopes are large chambers irregular in shape, from which ore is being taken.)

The excessively hot and humid atmosphere in deep mines is itself depleting and emaciating, raising blood pressure and raising the mouth temperature in some cases to 102 degrees, which is decidedly fever heat. The conditions make it impossible to think quickly and this increases the chance of accidents. (Public Health Reports, Jan. 28, 1921) In 1916, several thousand workers in the Mother Lode of California, were discovered to have hookworm, and it is certain now that other mines are likewise afflicted.

Leaving the overheated mine at the end of the shift, and walking in sweat-soaked garments to a "wash-house" is somewhat conducive to pneumonia, as many a miner or mucker has discovered.

Practically every worker in silver-lead mines is "leaded,"



AT THE BOTTOM OF A SHAFT PREPARING TO HOIST A LOAD OF ORE

or has what is called in another trade, "painters' colic." Not infrequently the miners die of it.

Then it must be observed that all this country is very high, 10,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level, and altitude alone plays queer tricks on men's minds. It makes them morose, and quarrelsome, usually, though sometimes hysterically jolly. Many a time I have come off shift at 7:30 a. m. with a raging headache and spots dancing before my eyes, and sat down to an utterly tasteless breakfast. It was not that the food was so bad but that we all felt too sick and tired to eat. Then for hours we would sit in one long row along the bunkhouse wall, not talking, not thinking, just sitting there with an utter loathing each of us for his neighbor. It's a great life. You really have to live it to realize it—and then you won't. You only see it properly after you have left it for several years.

Take a "leaded" or tuberculous miner, up eleven thousand feet, shut up in a bunkhouse with two hundred or two hundred and fifty other men, and you have a most uncertain proposition. He surely is ready to fight, and he usually fights his fellow workers. The problem is, how to use in a fight with the mine owner some of this rage that is now going to waste.

The national divisions, and the unsanitary working conditions, plus the inevitable stool-pigeons, explain, I think, why the best fighting proletarians in the world, and in some ways, the best educated to the iniquities of capitalism, fail to do better at present; why they waste their time in futile personalities and group conflicts, and sink into worse and worse economic and social conditions.

A powerful union could easily wring bigger wages from the companies, and force installation of dust-laying devices.

from our territorial branch, our place of living or rather sleeping, to the factories. Go to the masses—the best of many ways is thru the shop nuclei organization—that is the best ways to Bolshevize or to Leninize our Party. This is the experience of the Russian Communist Party, of the German Party, the Czecho-Slovakian Party. That will prove to be true also in America. Through factory or shop nuclei organization, the social composition of the Party will be improved. We shall be in a better way to gain the industrial proletariat in the basic industries in America. The aim shall be that the “absolute majority consist of industrial proletarians, so that the overwhelming majority of the party members may be included, in the factory, workshop and farm nuclei.”

Mobilize Members Quickly and Effective

The effects of the existing territorial branch on the Workers Party are too glaring to need much elaboration. The slowness and difficulty with which any party campaign, parliamentary, industrial, relief, educational, Daily Worker drive, strike, etc., is carried through, is patent even to the blind. But shop nuclei organization means speedy mobilization of the party membership for any activity or emergency. An order or instruction issued to the party membership through the territorial branches as today takes at least two weeks before meetings are called and an attempt is made to carry out the program. Hence generally a bad delay, incomplete results, even failure sometimes. Instructions or programs issued by the national office direct to the secretaries of the factory nuclei can bring action within one day, within one hour if necessary. The parliamentary campaign of the party of 1924, if carried on by a shop nuclei organization, would without a doubt have mobilized the membership with far greater ease, efficiency and results than the decadent party structure did. For other actions in unions, strikes, etc. the shop nuclei form is strikingly superior.

The Workers Party, has decided now to begin reorganizing into shop nuclei on a practical basis, selecting the places most suitable to the change. In the process of organization on the shop nuclei basis throughout the world, many lessons have been learned, from which the Workers Party of America will profit greatly.

No one under-estimates the problem of shop nuclei organization in America. With a small party, with the existence of seventeen language federations in the Workers Party, we have plainly one of the most difficult problems in the Communist International. Yet it can be solved to the satisfaction of the entire Party. The Party must keep uppermost in mind that it shall not destroy the old, the territorial branch, before the new, the shop nucleus, is functioning well. Every care and precaution must and will be taken not to destroy or hinder the language propaganda work. In fact, during the transition period, from the territorial branch to the shop nuclei and also during the time of shop nuclei organization only, the work of conducting the communist work among the foreign workers can, must and will be increased. Propaganda, within the factories among the foreign workers, carried on in an organized manner will be far more productive than the present unorganized, in fact, activity. It must be remembered by all that every measure attempted now by the Party to organize on a shop

nucleus basis is a transition measure until the party is completely reorganized. The transition program proposed below will undoubtedly be subject to change in the course of practise, though many features are basic and permanent. Every precaution is being taken not to harm in any way, quite the contrary, the most of the federations.

The Shop Nucleus, The Shop Committee, The T. U. E. L.

In proceeding to carry through the shop nuclei reorganization, the party members must also keep clearly in mind the types of organs employed by the working class in the struggle against capitalism. The three main organizations to be remembered are: the shop nucleus, the shop committee, or council, and the trade union committee, or T. U. E. L., or minority movement within the trade unions.

The shop nucleus is the political unit of the party based on the place of work and is the leader of the work among the workers. The shop committee or council is the organization, the delegated body, of all the workers, party or non-party members, conducting directly the job problems in a given factory, and aiming for the control of production. The Shop Committee also forms the basis of the industrial unions of the future. The trade union committee, the T. U. E. L. in America, is the organized minority movement within the trade unions with a program for revolutionizing the unions. None negates the other. All connect with each other. The shop nucleus, the political unit of the party is the mainspring and leader, properly, of the shop committee and trade union committee. It conducts the political struggle in the shops, leads the shop committee work. The existence of the political organization on the job cements properly the political and industrial work among the masses. The trade union committee, the T. U. E. L. carries on the political and industrial revolutionary work within the trade unions. The three together unify, solidify with one another, and make certain of revolution.



INTERNATIONAL WORKERS AID FEEDING STRIKERS' FAMILIES IN GERMANY

The Activities of American Agricultural Commune in Soviet Russia

A CAREFUL study of activities of American agricultural units, commonly known as communes, organized through the efforts of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, reveals the important part they are playing in the development of Russian agriculture of today.

As compared with other agricultural countries, pre-revolutionary Russia shows the lowest imaginable state of agricultural development. In economic bondage by the landed aristocracy and political slavery by the czarist autocrats, the Russian peasantry was in a state of virtual chattel-slavery and represented the worst pauperized elements in the world. The world war has caused a conspicuous shrinkage of the sowing area, life-stock and general inventory in the agricultural communities of the country. The civil strife, foreign intervention, blockade and the dreadful famine of 1921 have caused a further and final depression in the agricultural field. Thus, in 1922, with the cessation of hostilities and civil war when the country turned to its economic re-habilitation, we find the sowing area, life stock and inventory 50 per cent below the normal pre-war standard. Economic and political conditions were responsible for general illiteracy of the peasants and ignorance of modern agricultural methods.

While it is true that one of the first acts of the October revolution in 1917 was the transference of the entire land to the Russian peasants, yet this beneficial and long-desired measure could not work miracles and affect an immediate educational revolution among the millions of Russian peasants. Re-establishment of agriculture, as the most essential part in the program of general economic reconstruction of the country, has been of necessity rather a slow process.

With the question of civil war the Soviet government has launched an energetic campaign and has taken measures with a view of raising the standard of agricultural knowledge among the peasantry. The Government has published numerous agricultural pamphlets and books, organized agricultural exhibitions, schools, colleges, experimental stations, etc.

The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia aims to render assistance in this process for economic rehabilitation of Russia. The agricultural units organized by the Society become experimental model farms for the peasantry in the district where the American agricultural communes are active. It has been established that these communes which have settled on land in Russia, bringing modern implements and machinery, are oases among the primitive peasant settle-

ments and lands. Introduction of the rotation system, tractor work, well-established poultry and dairy farms, beehives economies, various shops, auxiliary to agriculture, comfortable living quarters and barns, have produced a marked impression upon the peasantry, who with much eagerness try to adopt the new and more advantageous agricultural methods.

What have the American agricultural units accomplished? A few illustrations will show the range and scope of the commune's economic activities.

The following figures represent the live-stock inventory of all American communes settled in Russia:

Inventory of the communes		At present.
at time of settlement		
Horses	64 heads	334 heads
Big cattle	79 heads	459 heads
Small cattle	166 heads	722 heads
Hogs	113 heads	1,147 heads
Fowl	62 heads	2,467 heads

The communes upon their arrival in Russia during 1922-1923 have taken over live-stock inventory estimated at \$8,000. Their live-stock inventory at the present time is worth \$71,000.

The activities of the American communes have come to the foreground especially this year in the regions affected by the drought and in the poor crop section. Below are given two comparative tables, showing crops gathered by the communes and local peasantry in two provinces.

The first table shows the crops of commune "LENIN," organized in New York in 1922, left for Russia in the spring of the same year, settled in Kirsaniv County of Tambov Gubernia:

Kind of Grain	Commune	Local peasantry	Differences
(pood to a desiatin.	Pood—36,1	English lbs.	Desiat.—2,61 acs.
Rye	54,4	33,3	21,2
Winter Wheat	57	29,5	27,5
Oats	41,6	16,9	24,7
Millet	66,6	4,6	61,8
AVERAGE	54,9	21,1	33,8

The difference is yet more striking in Saalsk County, of Don Region, where commune Seyatel (The Sower) has settled, as shown on the table below (in pood to one desiatin):

Kind of Grain	Commune	Local Peasantry	Difference
Rye	53	4,1	48,9
Winter Wheat	92,5	4,7	87,8
Spring Wheat	40	4,6	35,4
Barley	15	7,7	7,3
AVERAGE	50,1	5,3	44,8

The above difference, more than anything else, convinced local peasantry of the advantages of machine-farming and modern methods in agricultural work. In the localities af-



AMERICAN FARM MACHINERY IN A RUSSIAN COMMUNE

fectured by drought the communes show to the peasant that with the modern methods in farming he may even attempt to fight the elements.

The American communes are spreading the agricultural knowledge not only in the localities where they settle, but also direct educational work among peasants in other sections.

The agricultural communes, re-immigrated to Soviet Russia, have received from the Soviet Government, in all, about 21,015 desiatins of land, of which 10,401 desiatins were ploughed and 8,119 desiatins under sowing in 1924.

Aside from the agricultural communes, the Central Bureau S. T. A. S. R. had organized and sent to Russia six industrial groups, which have established in Russia several shops and factories.

The agricultural and industrial communes and groups organized by Central Bureau S. T. A. S. R., have taken with them to Russia:

1. Machinery and agricultural implements, gold rubls. in the amount 1,836,600
2. Personal effects in the amount 1,181,000
3. Cash in the amount 401,922

Over 1,600 persons have re-immigrated to Russia with the agricultural and industrial communes.

The entire work of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia is being directed and supervised by the central bureau of the society, located at 799 Broadway, New York City.

In Russia this work of organized re-immigration is supervised by the Permanent Committee on Immigration of the Council of Labor and Defence (KOMSTO) in Moscow.

The organized re-immigration to Russia has just started and judging by the success achieved by some of the communes—such re-immigration will increase tremendously, because thousands of Russian immigrants in America are convinced of the advantages of organized rather than individual re-immigration.



GIVING THE PEASANTS A PRACTICAL DEMONSTRATION OF VALUE OF MACHINERY

Consequences

By Jack Wilgus

THE mountains of Winding Bridge are honeycombed. Swift air courses dark caverns, laden with odors of blasting powder. Incessantly comes the falling of picks, muffled voices of men, shadows are always on the go, throbbing machines claw a hold as they work their iron jaws further into the mountains, and nature, hard driven, gives up its black treasure to the lines of waiting cars. Above is the haze-hung sky and in the village life moves on; a woman bends over a tub of clothes, another swings an iron in rhythmic motion. A young wife feeds a two-day old babe. She is listening with pleasure to a monotonous jangle without tune on the piano at Anderson's.

John threw his picks clattering to the ground. His wife, her hands dripping with soap suds, came to the door in wonderment. She was a pretty, red-haired girl, just seventeen, with the poise of a queen, so attractive that men on the street stared her devouringly from head to foot and turned to look after her; a seductive beauty that makes one remember as the night wears on and sleep won't come, that fills one with vague hatred for one's own "woman" where she sleeps, snoring, after a fearful day over an ironing board; a loveliness, John Prendle let it be known, he intended to keep all his own.

"Why, John So early?" she exclaimed, for a miner seldom shows himself when the sun is shining; his task is beneath the mountains.

"I'm home because I got fired."

"Fired!" Her voice echoed his dazedly, then burst forth, "How can it be John?" "No, you are kidding me, Boy!" "Why, John, it was only last night when you held me in your arms in bed that I told you we'd have a baby and now, winter coming on, the only thing you can do is—come home fired." She sobbed convulsively.

"I couldn't help it, Ellen," he said, looking directly down into her eyes. "I lent a hand to a new man who they had bringing coal out of the mine; he driving the electric, me on the last car of the train. For some reason, he couldn't stop 'em and the whole bunch ran away, me hanging on for dear life, riding like a man on a steer, just jumpin' through them dark twisting hallways; faster'n any roller coaster. Naturally, we upset on the curve outside; an' the superintendent, Holroyd, there to greet us as we came outa the mountain like fifty little demons. He was sure some sore, seeing all that coal spilled. Now a super ain't no right to lose his temper over an accident what I couldn't help, an' when he called me a name, I can't tell you why I up and belts 'im in the eye, and got myself fired for my pains. Now he's home, sick-a-bed, an' here I be."

His wife gave him a searching glance from yellow boots to the scar on his forehead, a scar he had brought home from France; her arms akimbo. Then, not in the least knowing why, she clutched him to her and kissed him fiercely.

That night John dropped in at Anderson's and a riot ensued. That huge, bare room became a seething pandem-

ance against attempts by FOREIGN CAPITAL or FOREIGN LABOR to get a foothold either in concessions, property or economic principles or aspirations."

The El Paso convention endorsed military training camps, the resolution of the American Legion (the organization of ex-army officers) asking for universal military service, it asked for representation in the war department and it demanded more battleships and endorsed the world court and League of Nations.

Of these policies Woll said:

"We did not lose sight of practicalities in approving these instruments of international concord. Organized labor declared for every measure of self-defense and for the defense of our people and institutions. We approved the training of the youth of the land to develop the body and mind and the spirit of patriotism.

The rejection of independent working class political action was hailed by Woll as "a repudiation of the thought that American wage-earners desire to institute a class government."

The American Federation of labor delegates were the guests of the Mexican government at the inauguration of President Calles and there was complete accord between the Gompers clique and the yellow socialists who swarm in and around his cabinet like flies around a dung-pile. This amity is due to the fact that the Calles government has capitulated in the most abject manner to the American bankers and because the Obregon government—its predecessor—had severed relations with the British government—the most powerful rival in Mexico of American imperialism.

"The Monroe Doctrine of labor" as voiced by the A. F. of L. bureaucracy means therefore that the A. F. of L. will fight exploitation of Latin-American workers—by any other force than American imperialism.

Mexico was attached to the chariot of American imperialism at El Paso. Let us see what was done to further the Dawes plan in Germany.

Every capitalist press correspondent at El Paso struck the same note relative to the conferences that were held between the Amsterdam leaders present and the Gompers clique. The correspondent of the Daily Worker—the organ of the Workers Communist Party of America—is also in agreement that at these conferences arrangements were made to absorb the Amsterdam International but the capitalist press disguises this by labelling it "a new world trade union organization."

The outstanding fact is that Grassman and the other Amsterdam spokesmen agreed to meet the terms of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

An exception must be made in this case of Swales, fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. who defended the Russian unions and the Soviet government in public speeches. How far he will go in organizational resistance is problematical.

The Amsterdam representatives, in the words of the Daily Worker correspondent, "frankly admit willingness to drop objectionable features if Gompers will join the organization." The death of Gompers since the adjournment of the convention will not alter these conditions which are:

1. The prevention of trade union unity.
2. Full support of all phases of the Dawes Plan.



DELEGATES OF THE AGRARIAN LEAGUE OF COMMUNES OF THE STATE OF VERA CRUZ, MEXICO, AT THE SECOND CONGRESS NOVEMBER 28 TO DECEMBER 3, 1924, WHO VOTED FOR AFFILIATION TO RED PEASANTS INTERNATIONAL

military and political questions. During the course of time, however, the strongest of the Tuchuns succeeded in subordinating to themselves certain of the weaker Tuchuns, and China thus became divided up not so much into separate provinces, as into groups of provinces, each headed by a super-Tuchun. For example, the three northern provinces (Manchuria) are controlled by Marshal Chang-Tso-Lin; at the head of the provinces of Central China—Chihli, Shan-si, Shen-si, Shantung, Honan Hu-pei—stands the war lord, Wu-Pei-Fu; at the head of the Southwestern provinces—Hunan, Kwei-Chow, Kiang-si—stands Tang-Shi-Yao. Moreover, each of the super-Tuchuns is always organizing movements for the extension of his influence. Behind each of the super-Tuchuns stands an imperialist power. The imperialists always support the wars between the Tuchuns with the hope of securing a firmer hold upon China, economically and politically.

The history of China since the world war is the history of the wars between the super-Tuchuns, which in their turn reflect the warring interests of the Anglo-American and Japanese influences in China.

Only the southernmost part of China, the province of Kwantung, which has a population of thirty millions and possesses several large ports on the Pacific, has not fallen under the control of a Tuchun. Authority there is exercised by the national revolutionary Party of Kuo Min Tang, led by Sun Yat Sen.

Around each of the super-Tuchuns there is a military clique which represents a sort of political center, decides the tactics of the Tuchun, and creates around him a corresponding political atmosphere. There are three political cliques, or parties, especially important in the life of contemporary China. The Chihli clique (named after the province of Chihli, the chief town of which is Peking), headed by the Chinese president, Tsao-Kun and by Wu-Pei-Fu; the Fintiang clique, headed by Chang-Tso-Lin; and the Anhu clique, headed by the important Chinese politician and reactionary, Tuan-Chi-jui. The first clique, which is at present the strongest, is supported by the Anglo-American imperialists, and the second clique by the Japanese. The Tuchun of the three Southwestern provinces, (Tan-Tsi-Yao) sympathizes with the An-hu clique, and is also well disposed towards Sun-Yat-Sen.

Such is the distribution of forces as regards the political and administrative power in China.

The Situation in Southern China.

From what has been said, it will be seen that the territory of the national revolutionary Party of Kuo Min Tang represents only a very small part of China. It is astonishing, therefore, how this party managed to win a province and not to submit to the so-called Central Government of China, or to any of the Tuchuns. The reason why the Chinese republicans foregathered in this province and managed to conquer it, lies, most probably, in the fact that Kwantung, especially Canton, was the place from which the Chinese emigres left for foreign ports such as Java, Singapore, Japan and America. As a matter of fact, the Kuo Min Tang Party assembled its revolutionary forces abroad. Shortly prior to the revolution and immediately afterwards, many emigrants returned to their home country, chiefly to the province of Kwantung. Here was the strongest center of the Kuo Min Tang and here were its strongest connections with the masses.



THE ARMY OF SUN YAT SEN IN CANTON

Moreover, both the South and the Southwest of China tended to separate themselves from the rest of the country and to remain independent, at least as long as Central and Northern China were ruled by imperialists.

This tendency is explained by the fact that the merchant capitalists of Southern China were interested, not so much in the home market, as in the islands of the Pacific, where they acted as middlemen in the British and American trade. The exclusive influence of British capitalism in this part of China undoubtedly helped to strengthen this tendency. Also an important factor, no doubt, was the fact that Southern China has a different language from the rest of China. But in any case, when the old constitutional parliament was dispersed in 1913 by the military dictator, Yuan-Shih-Kai, Southern China became the asylum of the revolutionary exiles from whence they directed their movement against the Northern militarists. Canton, the capital of the Province of Kwantung, one of the largest ports of China and situated within five hours from Hongkong, the British stronghold in the Pacific, which was seized from China by the British after the famous opium war, became the center of the revolutionary party of Kuo Min Tang, and is now the center of the nationalist government headed by Sun-Yat-Sen.

Kuo Min Tang and Sun-Yat-Sen did not succeed in establishing themselves at once in Kwantung. In 1918, and again at the beginning of 1922, Sun Yat Sen was obliged to flee from the town and once more became a political emigre. Only in February, 1923, did he finally return to Canton, and his party became the governing party of the Province of Kwantung.

Although the territory of Kuo Min Tang consists of a single province, its influence makes itself felt in a number of other provinces, and is regarded with sympathy practically thruout the whole of China. In certain provinces its supporters act legally, in others illegally, but its supporters are almost everywhere.

Up to January of the present year, however, Kuo Min Tang, as we have said, had neither a program nor a real organization. It occupied itself chiefly with the preparation of military movements against the Northern militarists and against the generals of South China, who, without possessing large armies, are always striving to seize some province