

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

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Statistical Background of the Agrarian Question in the United States

By EARL R. BROWDER.
Second Article.

WHAT are the class relations in the agrarian population within the different divisions? What special problems are presented by each agricultural division? The following is an attempt to find a rough approximation on the basis of the 1920 census. It must be remembered that 1920 was a peak year in agriculture, and that since then there has been a decided shift downward. These figures will give us, however, a basis for later examination of the changes since 1920.

There are nine divisions upon which the U. S. census is based. These are: New England (comprising Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut); the middle Atlantic (comprising New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania); the east north central (comprising Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin); the west north central (comprising Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas); the south Atlantic (comprising Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida); the east south central (comprising Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi); the west south central (comprising Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas); the mountain division (comprising Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada); and the Pacific division (comprising Washington, Oregon, California).

Divisional Differences.

SHARP differences manifest themselves in agriculture as between the various divisions. The first glimpse of this condition may be received by a comparison, by divisions, of the percentage of acreage, of population, and of rural population. This is as follows:

Division	Percentage of total Acreage	Percentage of total Population	Percentage of total Rural
New England	2.08	7.00	2.99
Middle Atlantic	3.36	21.06	10.87
East North Central	8.26	20.32	16.39
W. North-Central	17.18	11.87	15.21
South Atlantic	9.05	13.23	18.78
East South Central	6.04	8.41	13.42
W. South Central	14.45	9.69	14.15
Mountain	28.89	3.16	4.13
Pacific	10.70	5.27	4.08

Let us, very briefly, summarize the most important points of comparison contained in the above table:

(1) The first three divisions (14 states), containing but 13.70 per cent of total acreage of the U. S., have almost half of the total population, or 48.38 per cent. Within this same area, however, are less than one-third of the rural population, or 30.25 per cent. This is the industrial area, in which the city completely overshadows the farm.

(2) The west north central, containing the 7 wheat states, shows the most even distribution of total and rural population in proportion to acreage, with the preponderance of population in agriculture. This area produces almost half of the total wheat crop of the United States.

(3) The three southern divisions (16 states) have a ratio of urban and rural population almost exactly the reverse of the first three divisions, spread over a little more than twice as much territory. With 29.54 per cent of total acreage, they contain 31.33 per cent of total population, of which the rural population amounts

to 46.35 per cent, or almost half of the total for the United States.

(4) The last two divisions (11 states) are the "wide open spaces" of wild west fiction, and while the frontier is gone, yet this area, comprising 39.59 per cent of the total acreage, has but 8.43 per cent of the total population, which includes 8.21 per cent of rural population.

(5) The wide differences between these main groups, and the differences between the various divisions, indicate the extremely inharmonious and uneven development of agriculture, the most important aspects of which require further data to develop.

New England Division.

THIS group of six states, extremely important in the social and political life of America, is witnessing a degeneration of agriculture. The actual number of farms declined, between 1910 and 1920, from 188,802 to 156,564, a decrease of 17 per cent. The percentage of rural population decreased from 23.7 to 20.8, which is the smallest proportion of any division in the U. S. While the average size of farms is almost the same in 1920 as in 1850, (108.5 acres and 109.6 acres), yet the average number of acres improved dropped sharply, from 66.5 in 1850 to 39.1 in 1920. The main line consists of dairy products. The principal product in addition to dairy is hay and forage, which occupies from 77 to 91 per cent of acreage; only one state in this division has a crop of greater value than hay—tobacco in Connecticut, with 5.9 per cent of acreage, produces 43.2 per cent of total crop values, while hay, with 77.3 per cent of acreage produces 30.8 per cent of values.

The status of persons engaged in agriculture, classified by tenure of land, and approximate numbers of each category, is:

Workers	99,000
Tenants	12,000
Mortgaged farmers	53,000
Owners full	92,000
Total	256,000

The percentage of workers is almost the same as for the country as a whole. The percentage of tenants much smaller, (about one-fifth) while that of mortgaged farmers is more than twice as large. This is another reflection of the stagnant condition of agriculture in New England, where the outstanding change for generations has been merely a decline, rather than any radical change.

The racial and national composition of the agrarian population in New England also differs from other divisions. While a larger proportion are native-born whites than the general average for the United States (81.8 per cent compared with 75 per cent) at the same time the proportion of foreign-born whites is twice as high (18 per cent compared with 9 per cent), both these groups being higher than the general average because of the almost complete absence of Negro farmers in New England while Negroes make up 14 per cent of the general total.

The number engaged in agriculture is thus seen to be exceedingly small (one-quarter million out of total three and a quarter million "gainfully occupied"), as compared with mechanical and manufacturing industries with more than one and a half million, while transportation alone engaged 215,000 persons in New England.

There are more than 53,000 farms (over one-third of total) that are less than 50 acres in size. Of these about half are less than 20 acres each. Over 29,000 farms report no horses; almost 27,000 report no cattle; over 70,000 report no swine. The average number of horses to the farm (averaging only those farms which have horses) is 2.4, as against an average for the entire country of 4.2. The same figure for swine shows 4.5 per farm against 12.2. This must be offset, to some extent, by the higher value of livestock per head in New England. The value of implements, per farm, is lower than in any other division except the southern, being \$590. The same thing is true of value of livestock, which averages \$1,042 per farm.

More than one-third of the number of mortgages are upon the smaller farms. It may also be assumed that those farms without livestock are principally among the smaller ones. Upon the basis of these figures, the category of poor farmers, those who are so deeply indebted for the "property" which they hold as to be practically propertyless, and whose means of production are limited to a few tools and their own labor power, can be estimated at 35,000.

Of the remaining 122,000, we can assign 57,000 to the position of "middle" farmers, possessing the average amount of farm property but in an economically precarious position; and 65,000 as well-to-do and rich farmers, who possess enough property, implements, livestock, etc., to feel secure in their livelihood. The latter figure is the number of farms of 100 acres and over, whose implements and livestock average in value, according to size of farm, from \$2,000 to \$9,000 per farm. Of these, over 40,000 are sufficiently well-off to own automobiles, while 24,000 have gas or electric lights installed in the farm houses. The proportion of farms with water piped into the houses is larger in New England, by far, than in any other division, totaling 74,954. This last item, which in many states would be almost decisive in classifying the farms involved as "well-to-do," carries not so much weight in New England on account of the swiftly declining condition of agriculture and the fact that this territory is so much longer settled than the rest of America, and is hemmed in so tightly by industrial communities which press their commodities even into the declining agricultural districts.

Classification of agrarian population in New England, in terms of our original thesis, may be tentatively summed up as follows (in round numbers):

Workers	99,000
Poor farmers	35,000
Middle farmers	57,000
Well-to-do farmers	65,000
Total	256,000

Applying the same tests, and examining the same relative figures, for the other divisions, it will be necessary for economy of space to sum up each division more briefly, noting only the outstanding differences in each division.

Middle Atlantic Division.

WITH a total population of 22½ millions, the middle Atlantic division has a rural population of something over 5½ million, of whom 660 thousand are "gainfully occupied" in agriculture. Of this later figure, approximately 425 thousand are operating farms. In an area comprising

but 3.36 per cent of the whole of the U. S., this division contains 21.06 per cent of the population. Slightly less than 3 per cent of the total population are actively engaged in tilling the soil. (Contrast this with the division showing the greatest percentage, east south central, with more than 20 per cent).

This is chiefly a dairy-farm division, with the next most important products being hay, potatoes, tobacco. Agriculture here is fitting itself to the production of those things required by the cities in a fresh and constant stream, and to such auxiliary and subsidiary crops as fit into such a scheme.

Other pertinent items, summarized, are: Number of farms, decreasing (more than 48,000 farms abandoned between 1910-1920; acres per farm, no change (most of abandoned farms are small, so average of those remaining shows slight increase); tenantry, 20 per cent, decreasing between 1910-1920; foreign-born, about 12 per cent, and increasing proportion; Negroes, very few (only 1,536 in 1920); average equipment, buildings, \$3,153 (largest of all divisions), machinery \$845 (exceeded only by west north central and Pacific); livestock \$1,384 (exceeded by four divisions).

Approximate numbers in each category, according to our classification of farmers, would be (in round numbers):

Workers	235,000
Poor Farmers	70,000
Middle Farmers	104,000
Well-to-do	251,000

Total.....660,000

East North Central Division.

THIS division approximates closest to the general average for the entire country, and at the same time presents the most rapidly changing conditions; for the census period 1910-1920. In 1920 it had 21½ millions population, of which 39.2 per cent was rural, as compared with 1910 when it had 18¼ millions of which 47.3 per cent were rural. With an increase of 3¼ millions in the total, the rural population actually decreased by 200 thousand. With 8.28 per cent of the country's total acreage, it contained 20.32 per cent of the population as a whole and 16.39 per cent of the rural population. A little less than 8 per cent of the total population are actively engaged in agriculture, numbering 1,633,790 of whom 1,084,744 are farm operators.

Dairy farming is the backbone of this division; the two largest crops are corn and hay, with wheat and oats next in order. Potatoes, minor cereals, tobacco, play a smaller part. Poultry and eggs contribute a considerable sum to the total production. This division presents a more diversified and balanced production than the others, but here also can be seen at work the process of specialization. Dairy farming is becoming more and more the dominant element.

Other items: Number of farms, decreasing (38,743 less in 1920 than in 1910); acres per farm, increasing (large farms increasing in number, small farms going out of business); tenantry, increasing (27 per cent in 1910, 28 per cent in 1920); foreign-born, 13.3 per cent in 1920, decreased from 16.7 per cent in 1910; Negroes, very few and decreasing. Average equipment—buildings, \$2,666; machinery, \$725; livestock, \$1,403; number of farmers' automobiles, 513,000.

(To Be Continued)

A Worker Describes Progress of Shop Nucleus in Ford Plant

We herewith print excerpts from a report by a comrade functioning in a shop nucleus in one of the Ford plants in Detroit. This report is very instructive. It shows precisely what can be done to bring the workers closer to our party, and make our party a living political body.

The comrade writes as follows:

Regarding my experience in the shop nuclei, let me say that I have learnt many things and adapted myself accordingly. When the subscription drive for the DAILY WORKER was on I have taken as many as 15 copies to the shop for my mates to read. I did not have to lose any of my sleep looking up my prospects. They were working with me every day. I would speak to them in regard to some article, and explain it to them during the noon hour. No time lost. If nothing could be done I proceeded with the others. In the past a name was turned over and we would go and visit the worker with hopes of getting him interested to subscribe for the paper. Many times he would not be at home and we would try again.

How the Work is Done.

The comrades who are not members of the nucleus claim that we expose ourselves to the masters, by our membership in the nucleus. From experiences, I find just the reverse. From conversations in the shop you can easily find out who is who, let the other fellow talk, and find out who

he is. When I bring a member to the nucleus branch, I know who I am bringing in. As before, no one knew him. All we were interested in was that he obligate himself to the principles of the Party. For example, we have an application from one who works in the shop, and he has been a member in the party in Indianapolis. We have a committee elected who can find out whether he was a member in Indianapolis and at the same time we got his location where he works, and go thru the department once in a while to see him, without his knowing it. The committee is satisfied, but will not give him any important work and he can't do any damage. But a Communist must expect danger. He must prepare for the worst, for the real revolutionary crisis is not here yet. The fact is that they do know that I am a Communist, but they never caught me. . . . The general foreman knowing that I was well read and supporting Soviet Russia, would ask me some questions regarding some "red" news in the paper. But I have been wise enough not to be caught.

In all of my fifteen years of labor movement activity, I never saw the comrades take so much interest in having the papers distributed at their respective plants as this May Day. In the past, the comrades went from house to house where they were unmolested with their work. But this year, especially at the Ford shops,

with all the police interference the comrades went at it in a revolutionary spirit. They were going to have their shop mates read the paper, and they were interested to have their shop organized. We have learnt a few things from that May Day distribution and will try to do better at the next distribution. Only a few comrades wanted to distribute at their shop; the comrades from one shop worked with the papers at another shop, so as not to expose themselves to the master.

Literature Distribution

One of the Ford plant nuclei distributed five thousand copies at the shop gates, and at midnight distributed 1,500 more, to the night workers, as they were leaving the shop. This shop nucleus had, at the time, a membership of fourteen members. But it was these fourteen members who distributed 6,500 DAILY WORKERS out of a total of 20,000 ordered by the entire district for the occasion. At the Ford plant shop nucleus, 3,000 special May Day issues of the DAILY WORKER were distributed. Three of the comrades were arrested while doing this party work. One of the comrades was badly beaten up by the sheriff because he refused to obey in answering the questions put to him. All of the comrades were released when they came up for trial.

These nuclei are now taking steps to reorganize themselves so as to include all party members working in

the various departments who are still members of language branches. As soon as this reorganization is completed, steps will be taken to propose a special shop nucleus paper for the Ford workers.

The organizing secretary of this shop nucleus writes as follows:

The nucleus has taken steps in assisting in the reorganization work. The organizer has been given full power to appoint comrades to go before the federation branches, from which they have been transferred, and get the eligible comrades to transfer into the nucleus. For example, one or two comrades who have been transferred from the Russian branch will go to the Russian branch and convince them, in their language, why they must join the shop nucleus. In this way we expect results quickly, enlarging our nucleus and at the same time, it will be educational in the reorganization work, because these comrades who will go before the branch meetings will deal with their experiences in the shop nucleus. The nucleus needs more members to carry out the work mapped out for it, and will do all it can to get comrades transferred from the various branches. At the same time, the organizing of new members will continue.

In my next report I hope to be able to report that our struggle is bitter. But as Communists, we will fight until our objective is realized, the Communist society.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY CHICAGO MEMBERSHIP MEETING, OCT. 7

THE Chicago, District 8, membership meeting of the Workers (Communist) Party, section of the Comintern, after listening to the report of Comrade Ruthenberg, the representative of the Central Executive Committee, declares:

1. The resolutions of the party commission unanimously adopted by the fourth national convention of our party, lay down a correct basis for the work of the party members among the masses, thru which alone our party can grow into a mass Communist Party. We declare our wholehearted support to the resolution on the immediate tasks of the party, on trade union work, on the labor party campaign, imperialism, work among women, agricultural work and other major campaigns of our party.

2. We welcome the action taken by the national convention for the liquidation of Loreism in our party. Our party has already reached the point of development where opportunistic deviations by leading members can no longer be tolerated. In the expulsion of Lore and several of his aides from the party and in the removal of Comrade Askeli from the editorial board of the Finnish organ, Tyomies, the national convention indicated that the fight against opportunism will be intensified in our party. We pledge our wholehearted support to this campaign.

3. The resolution on the Bolshevization of our party marks a new step forward for the American Communist Party. The thoroughgoing reorganization of our party on the basis of shop nuclei and the development of a centralized apparatus mark necessary and significant steps toward the Bolshevik centralization of our party and lay a sound basis for the party's carrying on real Communist work. We pledge ourselves energetically to take up the campaign for the reorganization in the least possible time.

Comintern Decision.

4. The last resolution of the Communist International sent to our Fourth National Convention by the presidium of the Communist International declaring that, "it has finally become clear that the Ruthenberg group is more loyal to the decisions of the Communist International and stands closer to its views," lays the basis for the unification and development of our party. We declare our acceptance of the last resolution of the Comintern dealing with

our party and that we will loyally support the Central Executive Committee elected on the basis of this decision in carrying on and intensifying the work of the party.

5. This membership meeting of District No. 8 declares that the interests of the party demand the sincerest and most tireless executions of all decisions of the Communist International regarding our party. This is particularly necessary when Lore is openly working to discredit the Communist International and its decisions and to destroy the possibilities for building up a powerful section of the Communist International. Especially at this moment, therefore, any attempt to question the character of or to discredit the latest Communist International decision or in any way to interfere with its successful execution would be playing into the hands of the Loreites and other enemies of the Comintern, would be a blow struck against the Communist International and its American section—the Workers (Communist) Party.

6. The division between the group of Comrade Foster and Comrade Cannon in the former majority over the question of their respective attitudes toward the Communist International decision, indicates the importance of the question of the attitude of our party and its members toward the Communist International decision and is further proof of the crisis our party is going thru in the process of Bolshevization.

Approve Convention.

7. We declare our approval of the unanimous decision of the national convention to accept and carry out without reservation the last resolution which the Comintern cabled to the fourth convention of our party.

8. The Chicago District 8 membership meeting declares its fullest endorsement of the Central Executive Committee and strongly urges all members to forget their past factional differences; to drop all factional strife, and to rally as one solidified, united Communist Party for new constructive activities for Communist campaigns, under the leadership of the Central Executive Committee chosen by the Fourth National Convention of our party.

When that argument begins at lunch time in your shop tomorrow—show them what the DAILY WORKER says about it.

LITHUANIAN SECTION CONFERENCE OVERWHELMINGLY PLEDGES SUPPORT TO CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Oct. 9.—The conference of the Lithuanian Section, Workers (Communist) Party of America, held here today, after hearing the report of the representative of the Central Executive Committee, William W. Weinstone, and after considerable discussion, voted 44 against 1 to accept the report, and the following resolution which was introduced by Comrade Weinstone.

The national convention of the Lithuanian Section of the Workers Party, having heard the report of the Central Executive Committee representative on the situation in the party, and the immediate tasks confronting the Workers Party and the Lithuanian Section, declares its approval of the report.

2. It expresses approval of the decisions of the fourth national convention in the Bolshevization and reorganization of the party, the labor party activities, trade union work, agrarian, women, youth, Negro and other activities.

3. The convention wholeheartedly endorses the expulsion of Lore from the party and the removal of Askeli from the Finnish organ Tyomies as a demonstration of the fact that the party can no longer tolerate such opportunistic elements of Lore in the party when they continuously pervert our principles and they adopt an attitude of open warfare against the party and the Communist International.

4. The convention expresses its agreement with the decision of the Communist International regarding the leadership of the party which was unanimously adopted at the national convention.

5. This decision declares that the "Ruthenberg group is more loyal to the Communist International and closer to its views." The convention declared that the former majority comrades carried out this decision of the Communist International at the national convention in a responsible Communist manner and calls upon all comrades to carry out this decision in the manner of loyal followers of the Communist International.

2. The convention pledges its full support to the Central Executive Committee and Communist International in the great tasks assigned to it by the national convention.

After the resolution was passed, the question of reorganization was taken up. Comrades Binba and Andruilis spoke on this vital question and it was evident that every delegate present understands the importance of the reorganization, and is ready to partici-

pate with all energy in this important task.

The report of the bureau was unanimously accepted, and every important question was discussed fully by the delegates.

The conference was lively and laid a sound basis for concerted and increased efforts on the part of the members of the Lithuanian section of our party.

Factory Workers to Receive Preference at Health Resorts

MOSCOW, Oct. 9.—In accordance with the directions of the All-Russian Trade Union Council at least 80 per cent of the general number of patients being sent this year to the health resorts of the Crimea and the Caucasus, will be factory workers. The remaining accommodations will be given to office workers, responsible officials, etc. The central administration of social insurance grants about 200 rubles for each patient, and the average health resort treatment is reckoned at 5 to 6 weeks.

The available places are distributed among the various trade unions. Thus, for instance, the Railwaymen's Union has been allotted 570 places, which means that about 2,000 railwaymen will have the benefit of health resort treatment thruout the season.

The Moscow trade unions send several thousand people to the health resorts in the vicinity of Moscow. In addition, about 60,000 Moscow workers will have an opportunity of spending their holidays in rest homes.

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The Anthracite Strike, A John L. Lewis Strike

BEN GITLOW.

THE strike in the anthracite has been turned into a war against the militant members of the United Mine Workers of America who are supporting the program of the Progressive Miners' Committee. In Scranton the largest city in the anthracite region, four militant miners are behind prison bars. They are Patrick Toohey, a young fighting miner, who defied President Lewis at the tri-district convention, which was held before the strike was called and formulated the demands for the recent strike; August Valentine, a young miner, who has been in the thick and thin of the miners' struggle in West Virginia; Alex Zarek, a big-hearted Russian, who wants to see the strike conducted in the interest of the miners, and Alex Reid, secretary of the Progressive Miners' Committee, a militant miner, who spent 29 years in the bituminous fields digging coal.

WHY have these militant miners been arrested? Only when one knows the real situation can an answer be given to the question. 153,000 miners have been called out on strike in the anthracite region. No one knows better than John L. Lewis, the appointed president of the United Mine Workers, that there is no genuine strike in the anthracite. The present stoppage was desired by the coal operators. J. L. Lewis just helped along the scheme of the operators. The coal operators are not making any attempt to mine coal. There is absolutely no need for it. John L. Lewis knows this also. The strike has been called for the express purpose of giving the coal operators an opportunity to utilize the cry about a coal shortage to force the sale of inferior grades of coal that has been accumulated in the millions of tons in the last two years. This coal which in normal times is practically worthless because no market can be found for it, is now due to the strike, being sold at exorbitant prices. The operators are coining millions of dollars while the miners are starving. The operators are very thankful indeed to John L. Lewis, because in addition to affording them an opportunity to sit back and pocket big profits, J. L. Lewis has taken care that the properties of the operators shall not be damaged during the suspension. He has made an agreement with the operators to keep on the job the 10,000 maintenance men whose business it is to see that the mine properties are repaired and kept in good shape. The keeping of the maintenance men on the job is a conspiracy on the part of Lewis and the operators to prevent any effective struggle on the part of the miners against the operators. It gives an opportunity for the coal operators to continue the suspension for as many months as it is necessary to dispose of their surplus stocks. The operators are not concerned about the starvation of the miners that is taking place now because the store keepers have decided not to grant credit to striking miners and John L. Lewis who will not starve and whose only object is to sell out the miners, will hypocritically assume a fighting attitude and permit the starving of the miners to continue.

FOR what consideration has John L. Lewis called this strike? Only two demands actually were presented to the operators. One for the check-off and the other for a ten per cent increase in wages. That Lewis will not insist on an increase in wages is apparent to every one acquainted with the anthracite strike situation.

Lewis has entered into a conspiracy with the coal operators at the expense of the miners, the coal operators to make millions in additional profits and the Lewis machine in return to get the check off. That is why there are no picket lines around the mines. That is why no strike meetings are being held. That is why there is no rank and file strike committee in the field. That is why there are no strike headquarters throughout the district.

The militant progressive miners, however, knowing the deplorable conditions confronting the miners in the anthracite have started a campaign to

turn this strike into a genuine struggle in the interest of the miners. They have raised the slogan of a minimum living wage for all miners regardless of output. They have raised the issue of a six-hour day and five-day week for the anthracite miners; they have raised the issue of the labor party; they have started a move to make the struggle effective by getting all the maintenance men to quit their posts and join the striking miners; they have raised the slogan against a check off settlement; that there can be no settlement without wage increases, and many other demands of vital importance to the miners.

NUMEROUS meetings were held by the Progressive Miners' Committee and the Workers Party, which is supporting the progressive demands. Leaflets with these demands have reached miners in the thousands throughout the district. The workers were beginning to seriously consider the proposals presented to them. The operators and the reactionary officials of the United Mine Workers became alarmed. The capitalist press began to scream against the reds. The authorities began to smash and break up meetings and the reactionary corrupt officials headed by Cappellini, president of District No. 1, the largest district of the United Mine Workers in the anthracite with a membership of 70,000 raised a howl against the militants and insisted upon having the meetings of the progressives and the Workers Party broken up and those responsible for them prosecuted. The reactionary officials of the United Mine Workers are in back of the persecution of the progressive elements because they realize that the progressive movement must not be allowed to get a foothold if they are to put thru their deal without any objections from the rank and file in selling out the strike for the check off.

Let us examine some of the outrageous activities of these corrupt officials. When a hearing was held in Scranton on Monday afternoon on the arrest of the four militant miners, the following officials of the United Mine Workers of America were in the courtroom: D. W. Davis, International representative of the United Mine Workers of America, and James Gleason and John Boylan of the executive board of District No. 1.

MR. GLEASON made a vicious talk against the militant miners under arrest. He said the men came for the purpose of disrupting the miners' union. He informed the court that Patrick Toohey, who had succeeded in joining the miners' union, had been relieved of his membership card in the morning. (This, in spite of the fact that Toohey has been a good loyal member of the organization for the last eight years.) This is a gem from the lips of Gleason, the labor leader of the miners. In the courtroom against members of his own organization, Mr. Gleason made the following statement: "These men are seeking to undermine the principle of our country's constitution and the government itself. There is no room for any of them in any organization of the United Mine Workers, whose constitution provides that any man known to hold membership in a radical order shall be dropped from the rolls of the union." This Gleason who is doing everything in his power to send fellow miners to prison because they are fighting in the interests of the workers wanted to know from the authorities who was financing them in their nefarious work. Gleason is a good Lewis lieutenant and his sentiments were approved by the other two reactionary Lewis officials, who were in the courtroom to use their influence in railroad innocent loyal and devoted members of the United Mine Workers to prison for a long time. Better lickspittles and flunkies than these the operators cannot find to do their dirty work.

NOW listen to another high official of the the United Mine Workers and a cog in the Lewis machine and you will believe you are listening to an agent provocateur of the coal companies and the department of justice. This time Mr. James A. McAndrew, secretary of District No. 9, of

the anthracite region, makes a statement as follows:

"After carefully reading the literature before me, I come to the conclusion that the demands stated in the circular are greatly in excess of the demands presented by the United Mine Workers and that the attitude expressed to John L. Lewis is very unfriendly. In their message to the miners, the reds intimated



PAT TOOHEY

that Lewis is not to be trusted and warn them to be very careful that he does not double cross them when an agreement is reached between the miners and the operators. This action itself is believed to be sufficient proof that the work is that of radicals who, if apprehended will be punished to the full extent of the law and charged with conspiracy to destroy the mine workers' union. The members of the union have been warned to pay no attention to the circulars and to treat them as being extraneous to their organization."

This McAndrew wants to punish loyal miners to the full extent. He wants the authorities to arrest them and to send them to prison for a long term of years if they refuse to remain quiet when John L. Lewis sells out the interests of the miners to the coal operators.

I HAVE received a letter from a worker in the anthracite region, which is very illuminating. He writes as follows:

"The situation has changed here considerably since you left. We can no longer secure permits for meetings of the progressive miners. The union officials have definitely stated that they will start prosecution against any miner or any worker who is caught distributing the Workers Party leaflet or any leaflet where the Lewis machine is

attacked as treacherous, will be arrested by the authorities and prosecuted."

This letter comes from District No. 9 and is in line with the declaration made by Mr. James A. McAndrew.

Lewis is now in Scranton. He is to confer with a committee representing the chamber of commerce over the possibility of settling the strike. In Scranton the United Mine Workers' reactionary officialdom is prosecuting the progressive miners. Lewis will try to settle the strike for the check off. The check off will be a betrayal of the strike because it will in no way better the conditions for the anthracite coal miners. Thru these persecutions Lewis may be able at this time to betray the miners. The miners, however, when they will return to the mines if the strike is immediately settled, will find that they are the victims of two groups—the exploiters and the corrupt reactionary Lewis officialdom. They will discover that in spite of the strike, conditions for them will have become worse. They will then remember the fight that the progressive miners who were railroaded by the Lewis machine to prison, made for them. They will look towards the progressive movement and the progressive movement in the United Mine Workers will grow in the anthracite districts. If Lewis cannot settle the strike immediately, then the progressives will be able to fight back the persecutions and definitely establish the movement for a real militant fighting organization of the rank and file among the miners.

THE actions of the Lewis machine in the anthracite, their treacherous activities against the workers who slave in the mines is very apparent in the anthracite strike. The miners must organize to get rid of officials who will bring union fighters before capitalist judges for the purpose of sending them to capitalist penitentiaries. The miners must get rid of the corruption and treachery of the Lewis machine. There must be no more J. L. Lewis strikes in the mine industry.

This can be achieved by building up the Progressive Miners' Committee. A powerful Progressive Miners' Committee of the rank and file will prevent agent provocateurs of the Lewis machine from sending to prison Toohey, Valentine, Reid and Zarek. A big progressive movement will drive Lewis and his gang from the miners' union and will put the real fighters for the miners, the progressives and militants in charge of the organization.

-help!



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The British Trade Union Congress at Scarborough

By CARL BRANNIN.

THE British labor movement is definitely swinging to the left. Indications of this were seen when the miners, railwaymen and transport workers joined hands on a certain Friday last July to protect the miners from a wage cut and forced the Baldwin government to subsidize the mining industry for nine months rather than make the workers suffer for the greed of the operators. This "Red Friday" demonstration of working class solidarity announced to the world that the limit had been reached—that British labor was of a single mind to stand together and fight. The recent (Sept. 7-12) Trade Union Congress at Scarborough, gave definite confirmation of this new orientation. The 726 delegates representing nearly 4½ million organized workers, met in an atmosphere of high morale over the setback given the employing interests.

THE opening speech of Pres. A. B. Swales seemed to set the pace for the congress, but what is really true, is that he was only voicing the sentiments of the rank and file, when he hit straight from the shoulder at the whole capitalist system:

"There are surely signs over the whole field of industry which indicate that vast and revolutionary changes must take place in industrial structure to meet the changed conditions. Men and women are not going to remain content with a condition of society which condemns millions of human beings to want the necessaries of life, while as a result of education and knowledge they know too well and see quite clearly that nature in its bounteousness can supply all their legitimate needs by the proper organization of society upon a basis of collective ownership.

"INDUSTRIES are in an appalling condition and the employing class stand aghast at their own handiwork. For almost a century and a half their has been the task to apply the economic policy of industry. Deny it as they may the present chaos is of their making, for they consistently and persistently denied the workers the slightest measure of control. Having produced these conditions, the possessing class are afraid of their own production and now they cry to the unions: 'Let us come together; sit down with us and examine the present condition of trade and commerce. . . . See if we cannot together save our system from tottering to its last fall.' Many of our good comrades who in the days gone by, taught us to believe there was no remedy other than the abolition of capitalism seem afraid, now that the system is collapsing, and appeal for a united effort to patch up the system with the aid of the present possessing class.

THOSE who believe that a new order of society is inevitable before we can remedy the existing evils—and to which in this address I have directed attention—cannot do other than rejoice that at last there are clear indications of a world movement rising in revolt and determined to shake off the shackles of wage slavery. Just as our people have passed out of serfdom into serfdom, and out of serfdom into wagedom, so will they finally pass out of wagedom into freedom.

"The new phase of development, which is world wide, has entered upon the next and probably the last stage of revolt. It is the duty of all members of the working class to so solidify their movement that, come when the time may for the last final struggle, we shall be wanting in neither machinery, nor men, to move



A. B. SWALES, President

forward to the destruction of wage slavery and the construction of a system of society based upon co-ordinated effort and world wide mutual good will and understanding."

SINCE the memorable "Black Friday" of 1921, when the Triple Alliance of Railwaymen, Miners and Transport Workers fell to pieces before the attack of the employers, British labor has been learning some things in the hard school of experience.

They have seen their purchasing power diminish by millions of pounds. They have felt the sharp pangs of hunger as unemployment has mount-



Mrs. Tomskey and Mrs. Swales at Scarborough.

ed to near the two million figure. They have witnessed the insufficiency of the "dole" to provide even an existence standard of living. They have seen the development of industries in Indian and the colonies and the consequent closing down of similar factories in England. They have felt the effects of the Dawes' plan as German coal has gone to markets that were formerly British. They have seen the threat of coolie labor at from 8 to 16 cents per day in the Far East. They have been smashed between the eyes by the refusal of the British government and the banks to finance large machinery orders from the Russian textile trust and from other Russian industries.

Now they are beginning to recognize the point of the propaganda of the Communist and left wing militants and to register their response by definite action. What they have heretofore considered as being purely in the realm of theory has been translated by everyday events into living reality. The decisions of the congress upon the various resolutions bear out this principle.

THO the decisions of the National Minority Movement convention (Aug. 29-30) had been refused consideration by the general council of the T. U. C. because the N. M. M. was not an affiliated body, with only a few exceptions every position endorsed by the latter was ratified by the congress. On the granting of more power to the general council, on a sound and far-reaching program dealing with unemployment, on acceptance of trades councils as affili-

ed bodies to the T. U. C., the action of the congress was unsatisfactory. (The formation of workers' defense corps was not covered by a resolution.) But on international trade union unity, the Dawes' plan, imperialism, shop committees and trade union aims and broader trade relations with Russia, the delegates took a stand identical with that of their comrades of the N. M. M. The first three items might be taken as the most important on the agenda.

WHEN M. Tomski, chairman of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, rose to address the congress as a fraternal delegate, he was given an ovation more pronounced than that accorded to any other speaker. He expressed his gratification that the faith reposed by the Russian workers in their British comrades had been fully justified and that events were moving toward the formation of one international of all the workers of the world. In no other way could the workers protect their standard of living and prevent a recurrence of world wars.

"International working class unity," said Tomski, "is a development which will go forward in spite of the bitter attacks of the capitalist press and the reactionary attitude of a group of the leaders in the Amsterdam International."

WHEN the speaker had finished and the Internationale had been sung by the delegates (the first time in the

traced and attacked by the whole capitalist world. You will be compelled to face what Russia faces now."

Even J. H. Thomas who hates Soviet Russia as much as he likes Lord Inchcape (and that's saying a good deal) did not dare raise his voice against it. The resolution was carried with only two dissenting votes.

For the first time since its enactment, the official British labor movement had an opportunity to register its opposition to the Dawes' plan. This scheme for sweating German labor was denounced by an overwhelming vote. Even J. H. Thomas, J. R. Clynes and Margaret Bondfield, members of the labor government that put this over, did not dare raise their voices in its favor. A. J. Cook, secretary of the Miners' Federation, speaking for the resolution, said that there had been a time when the British workers had not been opposed to the Dawes' plan. It was because they had not understood it. But now with British mines shut down, 200,000 miners unemployed and German coal going to Italy and other former British markets, their eyes had been opened to its effects.

THIS Trade Union Congress believes that the domination of non-British people by the British government is a form of capitalist exploitation having for its object the securing for British capitalists (1) of cheap sources of raw materials; (2) the right to exploit cheap and unorganized labor and to use the competition of that labor to degrade the workers' standards in Great Britain.

"It declares its complete opposition to imperialism and resolves: (1) to support the workers in all parts of the British Empire to organize the trade unions and political parties in order to further their interests, and (2) to support the right of all peoples in the British empire to self determination, including the right to choose complete separation from the Empire."

A. A. PURCELL, vice-chairman of the congress, moved the foregoing resolution, with definite emphasis upon the menace of the coolie standard to British workers. John Bromley, secretary of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, whose appearance denoted a prosperous business man, but whose remarks were along the lines of the class conscious worker, followed in the same vein. Harry Pollitt (Bollermakers) clear-headed secretary of the N. M. M. expressed the Communist position. Then J. H. Thomas, secretary National Union of Railwaymen and colonial secretary of the late labor government, arose to offer a weak opposition. There was no question as to how the vote would go but Chairman Swales decided to make a demonstration by a card tally. The count showed 3,082,000 for and 79,000 against.

Thus begins the passing of one of the hoary traditions of Great Britain—the sanctity of the British empire.

THE general council was instructed by a later resolution to consider sending a delegation to India and the Far East to help in the organization of the workers there.

The convention expressed solidarity with the striking Chinese workers and condemned British diplomacy there.

An account of the Scarborough convention for American readers would be incomplete without mention of the fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor. Messrs. Adamski (United Garment Workers) and Evans (Electrical workers) were

(Continued on page 5)



A. A. Purcell



George Hicks

system of exploitation you will be os-

The British Trade Union Congress at Scarborough

(Continued from page 4)

the gentlemen favored with this pleasant excursion. The British delegates accorded them a respectful hearing while they consumed an hour and a half reading their pamphlets on labor banking and investments, the B. & O. plan and workers' education of the innocuous type. They seemed blissfully ignorant of the significance of the issues of the congress and the spirit of international solidarity there displayed.

What the British trade union movement thinks of the idea of class collaboration is forcefully embodied in the statement on "trade union aims" which was adopted by a large majority.

THIS congress declares that the trade union movement must organize to prepare the trade unions in conjunction with the party of the workers to struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

"At the same time congress warns the workers against all attempts to introduce capitalist schemes of co-partnership which in the past have failed to give the workers any positive rights, but instead, have usually served as fetters retarding the forward movements.

"Congress further considers that strong, well-organized shop committees are indispensable weapons in the struggle to force the capitalist to relinquish their grip on industry, and, therefore, pledges itself to do all in its power to develop and strengthen workshop organization."

THO unemployment in Britain is steadily growing worse—the official register showing 1,300,000 and the actual figures being something like 2,000,000—the congress failed to respond to the plea of Harry Pollitt to adopt a strong program of demands on the government for relief. He emphasized these points; a nation-wide campaign to organize the unemployed; to cement bonds between unemployed and employed workers so that they would fight better together in strikes; that the labor party in parliament should pursue a policy of obstruction until definite action was taken by the government to stop the closing down of industry and the credit blockade against Russia. He quoted J. M. Keynes, liberal economist, as declaring that unemployment was be-



A. J. COOK
Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

ing artificially fostered by the employers as a means of weakening the working class preparatory to the wage-cut offensive against the miners next May.

The congress adopted a strong resolution calling for increased trade with Soviet Russia and scoring the

Baldwin government and the banks for shutting the door in the face of the Russian textile delegation who wished to spend 25 million dollars for machinery in English metal works. Except for this, the discussion on unemployment related solely to changes in the present form of relief machinery.

THERE is no question but that the British workers are in favor of "amalgamation" but they still regard the one big union as yet in the realm of theory. Resolutions both for and against it were voted down. The discussion revealed that such industrial unions as the General Workers' Union were regarded by many trade unionists as trying to gobble up other unions whose right to existence was as fully justified. Where the average A. F. of L. convention would devote a large part of its time to a discussion of jurisdictional disputes the T.



Bob Smillie



Fred Bramley

U. C. settles such matters outside by inter-union conference and uses its convention for more weighty matters. The amount of territory covered in the five days' session and the business-like purpose of the delegates was very noteworthy.

IN the first two days of the convention when Clynes, Thomas and Cramp all opposed the immediate granting of more power to the general council and the matter was referred back to be settled by a special conference of union executives, there was a feeling of disappointment on the part of the rank and file left wingers. Purcell, Hicks and other progressives on the G. C. had been expected to take the floor in this fight, but they had remained silent. However, as the convention progressed and one radical resolution after another was adopted, it became evident that the reactionaries had no ground for satisfaction at the general tenor of the conference. The delegates apparently had felt that the G. C. had sufficient power already to handle any direct attack on working class standards and that if more was needed, it would be quickly forthcoming thru a meeting of the executives, as in the case of "Red Friday" last July.

Whatever criticism may be directed at the average British trade unionist for not seeing very far ahead of his nose (in this respect he is like his brother worker in every other land) except Soviet Russia, it is of some moment that he is willing to meet realities when they are thrust in his face and deal with them in a radical way without fear of being dubbed a Bolshevik. He is fortunate in having leaders here and there who seem willing to go as far and perhaps take a chance on going a bit farther than the rank and file. The majority of the workers are not particularly interested in cataclysmic revolution—that is not the issue just now—but when matters come to a show down, they will not allow a deluge of epithets from the capitalist press or even the "cold steel" of Lloyd George and Lord Londonderry deter them from the accomplishment of their goal.



HARRY POLLITT
British Communist Leader, Delegate from Boiler-makers to Scarborough Congress.

TO SAKLATVALA

Comrade, we are told that you can't come across,
Kellfogg, plute spokesman, says we havn't room for you;
We were kind of looking forward to havin' you with us,
That you might take the curse off the rest of the crew.

We intended to meet you with the best that we knew,
Give you of our finest, as we give to those we own;
As workers in the cause that we know to be the true,
You are one of us, we planned to make it known.

Today Kell' wins or better say his masters,
Their victory will pass, Canute was not more futile than they;
"Communists keep out!" they cry while fast and ever faster
They are raising us at home here in the U. S. A.

Soviet Russia gains, the working class succeeds,
One-sixth of earth's surface turned to the workers' care;
This fact they hate, dark ways for capital's need,
"The way out," they cry to their prophets, "is it here? Is it there?"

Onward, we say to the workers, push up and take it all
Deceived us enough, they have robbed us too many a year;
The country stinks with graft, capital rides to a fall,
Comrade, in keeping you out they show their own fear!

—H. C. FILLMORE, Worker Correspondent.

TO PRESENT 'VICHREST' SUNDAY, OCT. 11, AT EMMET MEMORIAL HALL

"Vichrest," the Ukrainian drama in 5 acts, will be presented this Sunday, Oct. 11, at 6 p. m., at Emmet Memorial Hall, corner Ogden Ave. and Taylor St. Ukrainian singing and dancing is part of the drama. After the performance there will be dancing till late in the night. Arranged by the Russian and Ukrainian branches of the Workers Party.

The scenery for the play is especially painted by Lydia Gibson.

Freiheit Orchestra Notice.
NEW YORK, Oct. 9.—Members of the Freiheit Symphony Orchestra are requested to report every Thursday evening, at 8:30 p. m., to rehearsals at 133 Second avenue, corner 8th street. All workers who play a musical instrument are welcome. For information get in touch with Nathan H. Alterman, organizer, 1369 Intervale ave., Bronx, New York City.

Build the DAILY WORKER

What Saklatvala Symbolizes

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE.
ARTICLE III.

BRITISH iron, steel and coal—the basis of Britain's former industrial supremacy—no longer dominate the world markets.

Her textile industry cannot meet Indian, Chinese and German competition.

Her shipbuilding industry is idle.

Her shipping trade has shrunk with the narrowing of the world markets and American competition.

Her foreign investments were liquidated in order to partially defray the cost of the war in 1914-18 and have never regained their former importance. American capital dominates the foreign investment field and Great Britain herself is a debtor nation.

FOR the second time in recent history Great Britain's balance of trade will this year be unfavorable.

In 1924 her imports were 1,186,956,000 pounds.

Her exports in the same year were 915,051,000 pounds—an unfavorable balance of 271,905,000 pounds.

This year her imports have increased to 1,349,707,000 pounds while her exports have increased only to 937,774,000 pounds—her unfavorable trade balance leaping to 411,933,000 pounds.

The British press is hysterical.

IN the London Times ("the bloody old Times," as Cobden called it) for Sept. 19 there was an article by Sir Phillip Gibbs entitled, "Is England Done?" He states that this question is on the lips of thousands of Englishmen and Americans visiting England. He says:

They see the beggars in our streets, they hear the hard luck stories on the tops of busses, see or think they see the dwindling of effort and vitality, a creeping up of pessimism, a spreading of pauperdom that shocks them.

Then Sir Phillip, after acknowledging the hopelessness of the situation for the masses of the population, proceeds to denounce the trade unions, and the Scarborough conference with "its avowed purpose of revolutionary action." Like all of the British ruling class Sir Phillip has no solution ex-

cept to ask support for the England that was but is no more:

"If our working folk are pauperized until they lose the will to work, or if they follow revolutionary leaders into the ways of violence and destruction—I do not believe they will—then indeed we shall see the passing of England and all that was good and gracious in its life. Our Oriental empire will be a flaming anarchy, in which the weak and innocent will perish. The world will lose its strongest rock of defense against brutality and tyranny and the ethics of the jungle. If we give way, the outposts of civilization will be driven in.

"Is such a thing possible? Yes, in my belief it is possible."

J. L. GARVIN, editor of the Sunday Observer, sounds a similar hopeless note:

The Trade Union Congress has shown a strong swing towards Communist sentiment. The Stockport constituency which the unionists (tories) carried by a large majority at the last election has been handed to the socialists in the by-election. Week by week the number of unemployed is mounting toward its old figure of 1,500,000. This means as a nation we are earning less in proportion to our numbers while in the mass we are consuming more than ever . . . unless the Baldwin government, as regards trade and unemployment, can rise above nullity or mediocrity, John Bull will resort to the newspapers and declare a vacant situation.

ANOTHER voice of the ruling class is that of Sir George Hunter, shipping magnate, who three weeks ago appealed to Premier Baldwin to do something (he did not make any suggestions) to avert "impending ruin." The London Daily Herald, official organ of the British labor party, in its every issue furnishes a wealth of evidence, not only of the continual decay of industry in Great Britain but of the temper of the working class and the brutal arrogance of the rulers.

ON Sept. 17 The Herald published an editorial entitled "Emigrate or Starve!" This editorial deals with

the proposal of Lord Rothermere to abolish unemployment insurance so that those who cannot find work in Great Britain "will be compelled to emigrate to the dominions." Of this proposal The Herald says:

It is difficult to know which is the more shocking—the heartlessness of this, or its scarcely believable folly.

Here is the chief proprietor of a newspaper which has the largest circulation in the world so ill-acquainted with public affairs that he does not know the dominions decline to receive our industrial unemployed.

The only immigrants they want are those who can make a living on the land, and of those we have none to spare. Lord Rothermere's blether about "converting the shiftless pensioners of our labor exchanges into prosperous farmers and graziers" is either criminally ignorant or brutally insensate.

The idea behind such talk is "Get them out of the country. Let them starve somewhere else." That is what Lord Rothermere proposes in his gratitude to the workers for making him, with their daily pennies, a multi-millionaire.

IN the columns of The Daily Herald a discussion on the question of "Shall the Workers' Arm?" is being carried on and never has there been such an outpouring of working class opinion. The majority trend of this opinion is not apparent at this time but the tremendous meaning of such a discussion in parliamentary England cannot be over-estimated.

As for the die-hards of the ruling class they have already made up their minds on the matter. Fascist organizations have sprung up in many centers, violence against the workers is on the increase and the British courts, those bulwarks of democracy, are acquitting regularly those who are accused only of the shooting and beating of strikers and Communists.

THE American capitalist press is watching the British situation closely and true to its class instincts speaks approvingly of the prospect of a fascist dictatorship in Great Britain. Says The Chicago Tribune of Oct. 1:

It would seem that Communism has a strong influence among large numbers of British workers, and the critical question now is whether the comparatively moderate leaders like Thomas, MacDonald, Henderson, and the intellectuals like Snowden and the Webbs have really lost control of the rank and file, while still able to manage the representative machinery of the labor party. Great Britain's present acute economic condition is, of course, favorable to extreme radicalism, and there may be a serious effort to paralyze British transport and production and establish a revolutionary regime. But we doubt that the British middle class will take it lying down. Recent dispatches from England indicate that something resembling a fascist movement may be in train. It won't be a replica of Signor Mussolini's procedure, but it is likely to be quite as decisive. There is no tradition of dictatorship or autocracy in modern Britain, and the British are too competent in republican forms of action to need a dictatorship, at least for more than a momentary crisis. But the proletarians in England have to deal with a class very different from the aristocracy of Russia or Russia's pitiful middle class. They have to deal with men and women of character and self-discipline, having a deep solidarity and loyalty, and plenty of experience in co-operative effort, intensified during the late war, and capable of organizing a more formidable resistance than any proletarian movement can overthrow.

The British people may have to come to grips with the Communist threat sooner or later, and while every rightminded person must hope civil war will be avoided, we suspect that Great Britain would be the better for a clear showdown now, which will compel intelligent British labor to take sides where it belongs, with the middle class, and to repudiate the Bolshevik delusion of the extremists.

(To be continued)

The Beginning of the End

By Sinbad

AT the beginning of this year, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the president of the revolutionary government of China with its capital at Canton, went north in an endeavor to effect the convening of the national people's conference and its proposed predecessor the preliminary conference. The purpose of the preliminary conference is to abolish the unequal treaties which bind China hand and foot. Tuan Chi-Jui, the chief executive, who had gotten his position from the Fengtien militarists and had made it more secure by dependence upon the imperialists did all in his power to obstruct the course of any project contradictory to the will of both the Fengtien militarists and the imperialists. The proposal for the convening of the preliminary conference fell thru and Dr. Sun Yat Sen died a few days after his arrival in the north, his main aim remaining unachieved.

Take Advantage of Sun's Death.

Taking advantage of Dr. Sun's death, certain militarists, subsidized by the imperialists urged about 15,000 Yunnanese mercenaries who had been under the orders of the Canton government, to revolt and take the city into their own hands so as to give the imperialists the chance to attack the national revolutionary movement at its heart.

Most of the Cantonese troops had gone to Swatow, a city a few hundred miles west of Canton, to drive out the remainder of the troops belonging to Chan Chiung Ming, another of the imperialist subsidized militarists. The Yunnanese militarists who had the job of guarding Canton seized the golden opportunity and established

themselves at the head of the government.

Revolutionary Troops Take Town. As soon as news of the betrayal reached the faithful revolutionary troops, they fell back to the vicinity of Canton and gradually formed an iron ring around the usurpers and after a week's skirmishing the Yunnanese were completely routed and their leaders, Yang Hsi-Min and Liu Chen-Wan escaped to Shanghai by way of Hongkon. According to current reports they were materially aided in their escape by the British consul. Thus the reactionary elements within the Kuomintang were exterminated.

Three Groupings.

From the time of the October coup d'etat, the group in power has been resolving itself into three factors: First, Feng Yu-Hsiang; second, Chang Tso-Lin; and third, Tuan Chi-Jui.

Feng Yu-Hsiang was the one who carried out the technical part of the coup. Chang Tso-Lin was the warlord who being decidedly against Wu Pei-Fu necessarily became nominally united to Feng Yu-Hsiang. Tuan Chi-Jui is an old statesman whose career has been checkered with faithful service to whoever has hired him.

Revision Not Arbitration.

As soon as the coup was a fact Tuan Chi-Jui was placed nominally at the head of the Pekin government. By convening a so-called reorganization conference instead of calling the preliminary conference proposed by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, he prevented what might have materialized into the abolition of the unequal treaties. The recent imperialistic atrocities in differ-

ent parts of China have caused the people to demand the abolition of the unequal treaties. The demand was too strong and too sincere for Tuan to entirely ignore, but it needed the Kuomintang manifesto of June 22, demanding abolition of unequal treaties within the shortest period of time to cause Tuan to issue a note to the diplomatic corps at Pekin requesting a revision of the treaties. It need not be pointed out that there is a great difference between a demand for abolition and a request for revision.

The recent defeat of the South China reactionaries leaves all the strength and efforts of the Kuomintang to be directed towards the abrogation of these obnoxious treaties and the return of the settlements and concessions granted to foreigners thru coercion.

Feng Stands for China.

Feng Yu-Hsian is the only one of the northern triumvirate who sincerely demands the annulment of the unequal treaties and who is prepared, as he says, to fight to the last against imperialism.

But on the other hand stands Chang Tso-Lin, openly the tool of imperialism, with a well-equipped modernly-trained army and adequate financial support from his masters. It would be highly erroneous to even for a moment suppose that Chang Tso-Lin will also support the people's demand for abolition. The condition created by such a stand would be the immediate loss of his imperialist support without which any demand made by him would be of little value.

The situation in regard to the annulment of the unequal treaties resolves itself thus: Chang Tso-Lin with

an abundance of imperialist support against the proposal; the revolutionary Kuomintang whose sole purpose is the achieving of the economic and political independence of China coupled with the will of the 460,000,000 Chinese in support of the proposal.

Battle Has Started.

The battle has already commenced. A boycott against all imperialist products has been declared. Strikes with an unprecedented number of participants are carrying on with vigor and steadfastness of purpose. Shipping which is the pulse of imperialist commerce, is tied up all along the Chinese coast from Vladivostok to Singapore. The death-knell of imperialism has been sounded. This is the beginning of the end.

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The Task of Reorganization in District Number 1

By JOHN J. BALLAM

THERE can be no Bolshevik party without a Bolshevik organization.

These ten words contain the meat of the question. What is a Bolshevik party? It is one that has its roots deep in the masses and leads them in their struggles, permeating the workers with the ideology of Communism, and organizing them to achieve their historic mission—to do away with capitalism. It is a party in which every member is equipped with the knowledge and understanding of the fundamentals of Marxian-Leninism in theory and practice. In brief, a Bolshevik party is a party which is ideologically and organizationally prepared to carry out the proletarian Communist revolution and to assume the responsibility for the administration of the workers' and farmers' government—the Soviet state.

THE first and immediate task of our Workers (Communist) Party is to Bolshevize itself, organizationally. This involves the reorganization of our party on the basis of the shop nuclei. The national convention has decided that this task must be completed within the next six months. The organization department of the C. E. C. has worked out complete and detailed plans which should be studied by every party member.

Every member must face this task with the determination to solve all difficulties and to overcome all obstacles. There must be no doubts or misgivings. In carrying out the plans of the C. E. E. for reorganization every member should do so with the enthusiasm which grows out of the conviction that we are laying the foundation upon which will be erected the future Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in the Americas.

WHERE the report on reorganization has been made in Dist. No. 1 the membership have accepted it without opposition. An analysis of the membership of Dist. No. 1 will show 34 Finnish branches, 12 Russian, 1 Lettish, 7 Jewish, 9 Lithuanian, 8

Armenian, 3 Scandinavian, 2 Ukrainian, 2 German, 7 Italian, 2 Greek, 1 Estonian, 2 Polish and 3 English. Ninety-four branches with a total membership of 2192 in good standing. Ninety per cent of these work in the shops, mills and factories of New England. The actual carrying out of the reorganization in this district, while complex, should not be over-difficult.

Let us take, for example, the textile industry. In Lawrence, Mass. we have 120 members in German, Russian, Lithuanian and Armenian branches. Of these we have 61 working in the cotton and wollen mills, who can be organized into shop nuclei at once. Where three or more comrades work in the same mill they can proceed to form the shop nucleus in each mill, and begin functioning without very much difficulty. The Russian branch maintains a club room and the German branch controls a very fine building.

These language groups have already the basis for very effective Russian and German workingmen's clubs. Those who are not in any particular industry can be formed into the street nuclei or international branch and after a membership meeting in Lawrence of all the shop and street nuclei have elected their city executive committee the first steps in the reorganization of Lawrence will have been completed.

IN Maynard, Mass. we have a large Finnish branch of 135 members and a Russian branch of 12 members. Sixty-five of our Finnish comrades are weavers and nine of the Russian comrades are textile workers. These can be organized at once into shop nuclei and begin functioning. Both the Russian and Finnish comrades maintain club rooms and the problem of their functioning within these as a language fraction is comparatively simple. This same process can easily be carried out in Woonsocket where we have an Italian and Ukrainian branch most of whose members work in the cotton mills; and in Lebanon, N. H. where we have a Finnish branch of

which 21 are weavers all members of the U. T. W.

If our members who work in the textile mills had been so organized in the shop nuclei during the last campaign against wage cuts our party could have won greater results and leadership.

In Gardner, Mass. we have a large Finnish branch most of whose members work in the only industry in town—furniture and chair factories. These comrades could be reorganized in the shop nuclei without delay by the local committee. These examples are typical of the rest of the district.

In Boston we have 24 branches. The Russian, Letts, Jews, Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Armenians maintain club rooms in different parts of the city. Here the industries are diversified and our comrades work at various occupations. At least 25 shop nuclei can be formed and the rest of our comrades organized into the street nuclei or international branches.

AT first sight the task of reorganization seems to be exceedingly difficult. In practice it will be found that nine-tenths of the problems will be solved easily once they are undertaken with enthusiasm and real Communist spirit. In a large industrial section like New England the loss of membership due to readjustment in reorganization should not be over ten or twelve per cent. After reorganization our party in Dist. No. 1 will grow rapidly especially in the textile and shoe centers.

The main objections that I have met from the comrades seems to be the following:

We cannot speak English well and so cannot function in the shop nuclei.

Answer: One's English is not improved by remaining in our present language branches; our comrades will learn to understand each other and to carry out their Communist tasks in the nuclei, under the direction of the leading committees of our party.

The party will disappear from the view of the masses and only the non-party foreign-language workers

clubs will be open to their observation.

Answer: The shop nuclei, while limited in their activity to the factory and the industrial section where they are organized will operate to bring us into closer touch with the workers in the mill and locality—bringing the party's political and industrial campaigns to the immediate attention of the workers in the mill and factory and mine, while the general mass meetings and collective activities of the party in a city or sub-district will be under the direction of the City Executive Committee or the leading committees. All the nuclei will work together to make these campaigns successful.

The foreign-language speaking comrades will not have the same opportunity to work among their fellow-workers as now.

Answer: The language workers clubs will give greater opportunity than exists at present for propaganda in foreign languages. By forming the fractions in these clubs our foreign-language comrades can carry on educational work, cultural, sports, defense, and other activities on a wider scale than at present drawing in much larger masses of the foreign-born into our party campaigns and for recruiting larger numbers into the shop and street nuclei of our party. Where formerly hundreds of the foreign-born workers were attracted to the federations, under reorganization thousands can be brought under our direction and influence and the language press and propaganda increased an hundred-fold. There is no phase of party work which will not be immediately benefited thru the reorganization of our party.

Let us, then, go to work with a will. Let us turn the energies of our party, which have been largely wasted during the factional struggle of the past months, into intensive, constructive effort. Let us go to work and by Bolshevizing our party forge the weapon with which the workers can carry out the proletarian revolution in America.

The Tenth Year of Organization of International Leninism

MOSCOW, Sept. 5.—(By Mail.)—

"Today is the tenth anniversary of the Zimmerwald conference, which was the first appearance of organized Leninism on an international scale," writes Zinoviev in an article entitled "The Tenth Year of Organized International Leninism."

"The Zimmerwald Left" formed at the conference was the first organized expression of International Leninism. The teachings of Lenin were formulated long before Zimmerwald. His efforts in the 'nineties against menshevism, his tactics during the Russian revolution of 1905, his work at the Stuttgart congress of the Second International, all this had an international significance, nevertheless, the first organized international nucleus of Leninism was the Zimmerwald left, from which the Comintern is directly descended. Zimmerwald was a chip of the Second International, it consisted of the center, a small right wing and a left, which commenced to form itself in 1917. The majority belonged to the center and was only captured by the left on very rare occasions. Zimmerwald represented the best of the Second International. But what did even this best look like? Beside Lenin sat Tchernov, Martov, Ledebour, Modigliani and Grimm.

"The French internationalist Brisson, declared that he was a Frenchman, and a socialist, and that he would vote against the war credits as long as France was in a good military situation. Kautsky, Haase and Hoffman protested against the undertaking to vote against the war credits. Even the honest revolutionary Ledebour threatened Lenin almost physically, telling him that it was easy to vote against the war credits in exile. The French internationalist Dugene, approved of the German socialist democratic party and the French social-

ist party when they voted for the war credits. Zimmerwald was a conglomeration of rosy-hued pacifism up to Leninism. One section of the Zimmerwaldians developed towards the right like Modigliani, Morgari, Grimm, Tchernov and Kautsky whilst others, Radek, Serrati, Ernst Meyer, Paul Froelich, Platten and Lapinsky found their way to Communism. The Zimmerwald left began its work under the most difficult circumstances. Its financial resources amounted to 100 francs. Soon after Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Klara Zetkin and Franz Mehring joined it. The working out of the program was not carried thru without difficulties. The Polish internationalists Liebknecht and Luxemburg, stood between menshevism and Leninism. With what devotion Lenin worked! It is almost unbelievable that only a decade has passed since then and that today the sixth part of the world in a Soviet

state and the Comintern the most powerful international organization, causing the capitalists many sleepless nights.

THE Second International is rotting, despite the breathing space that it has received as a consequence of the breathing space which capitalism itself has been able to obtain, and the Comintern is developing. It is true that the Comintern is now going thru its most difficult period. The conquest of the majority of the decisive sections of the proletariat is going more slowly than we thought, and there are also set-backs. But the Russian movement has experienced them also between 1908 and 1912. The Hoeglunds and the Rosmers are running away, but there were always deserters and liquidators. We know how Lenin thrashed the deserters and the liquidators and we must do the same with the waverers and those of little faith who do not understand the sig-

nificance of this difficult stage in our development. The Comintern is only beginning to fulfill its historical tasks. It has not yet gone one-half the way. Since the adoption of the united front tactic, four years have passed and only now can we see its great results, the agreement between the English and Russian unions, the growing struggle for trade union unity, the increasing number of workers' delegations to Soviet Russia, the growth of the Communist Party influence in England, the worthy attitude of the Communist Party of France towards the Morocco war, the policy of the Comintern in China, etc. The Comintern has found the way to the masses despite all the difficulties. Our chief task is now the carrying out of a still broader and more systematic united front tactic, a still stronger propaganda for trade union unity, still greater action to win the social democratic and non-party masses and to find with them a common tongue against the treacherous leaders. The bourgeoisie declare that it will recognize the Soviet Union when the latter parts company with the Comintern. Our answer to this is clear. The Soviet Union pursues its way basing itself upon the working class slowly rising from the depths and not upon the slowly descending bourgeoisie. The XIV party conference of the Russian Communist Party has declared war upon the national limitation caused by the N. E. P. and the slower tempo of the revolution. The Communist Party of Russia is overcoming this limitation. On the Tenth Anniversary of Zimmerwald the Soviet power controls one-sixth of the earth's surface, and the Comintern unites the minorities in the working class. N. E. P. in Russia is becoming socialism, the Comintern will capture the majorities in the working classes and capitalist Europe will become proletarian Europe."

GARY

By WORKER CORRESPONDENT

One summer day I took a car to visit Gary for a spell,
And as I spied it from afar quoth I, "It surely looks like hell!"
A little later and my nose assailed me with a sulphurous smell,
Thought I: "The likeness grows and grows, this atmosphere sure smells like hell!"

Later a dull and sullen roar annoyed me with its constant swell,
So I kept thinking more and more, "This bedlam surely sounds like hell!"
When I beheld the molten steel, which from the white hot furnace fell,
Quote I: "This business makes one feel, it surely makes ME feel like hell!"

With burning thirst I sought a drink from greasy "top" (they have no well),
The liquid made me scowl and blink and say, "This water tastes like hell!"
When to the hospital I came and viewed the wreckage, foul and fell,
Said I, "This is the devil's game, and Gary certainly is hell!"

THE FILM ACTIVITY OF THE I. W. A.

ARTICLE V.

IN the field of film propaganda the I. W. A. has been a trail blazer. On the one hand it sought thru special I. W. A. films that showed its work, activity and undertakings, to build up its own organization; and on the other to further the ideas of the revolutionary international working class movement, and particularly of Soviet Russia, thru the medium of general proletarian motion pictures.

The first two films produced by the I. W. A., "Down the Volga" and "Famine in Soviet Russia," were taken in Russia in the fall of 1921 and shown the following year before millions of workers all thru Europe and North America and Argentina. These films showed that as the result of the drought of 1921, a terrible crop failure caused widespread famine along the Volga and in other Russian districts; it showed the relief measures taken by the Soviet government and by foreign relief organizations. Our experiences and successes determined us to continue in this field of work. In 1922, 1923 and 1924 the I. W. A. showed a whole series of additional films of revolutionary-proletarian content thruout the various countries. Since 1923 the I. W. A. has gone into production itself, and made connections with the highly artistic production group "Russ" in Moscow, from whose studio came the world-famous "Polikushka," starring Ivan Moskvin.

ASIDE from the I. W. A. the principal effort at proletarian film production in Russia is made by "Proletkino." But unfortunately its products have thus far found little way to the other countries. (Note: "Kombrig Ivanov," shown in America as "The Beauty and the Bolshevik," was made by Proletkino.) Since 1922 the I. W. A. headquarters in Berlin, thru the establishment of a special film division, has sought to systematically supply the entire world with proletarian films. We have met with partial success. Thru the efforts of the I. W. A. we have succeeded to show films in Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Bulgaria, United States, Canada, Argentine, Australia, South Africa, Japan and Russia. Of the films brought to the screen by the I. W. A. we can list the following:

1. Famine in Russia, taken in 1921, and used mainly in winning support for the relief campaign against the Russian famine.
2. Down the Volga, taken for the same purpose, but which already showed the alleviation of the needs as a result of relief activity, and the resumption of economic improvement among the peasants and workers.
3. The Congress of the Eastern Peoples, a short film showing the thrilling demonstration of eastern peoples in Baku in 1921.
4. The Third Congress of the Comintern, containing the best photos of Lenin speaking.
5. Five Years of Soviet Russia, a cross-cut of the political, economic, military and cultural life of Russia in 1922.
6. Russia Through the Shadows, a feature film concerning the life of Russia during 1923, which secured a tremendous reception particularly in the United States and awakened a spirited sympathy for Russia.
7. Mother and Child in Soviet Russia, a gripping film which shows the care given children and young mothers.
8. The Red Army. Pictures of the creation and development of the Red Army of Soviet Russia and its various subdivisions, cavalry, artillery, infantry; the political teaching in its clubs, the struggle against illiteracy.
9. Children's Homes and Care in Soviet Russia, a film showing the care given by the Soviet state to the war and famine orphans of fallen workers and peasants.
10. First of May in Moscow, 1922. Magnificent pictures of this people's day, in which half a million workers and peasants participated.
11. A Soviet Diplomat's Last Journey, showing the transport of the body

of Vorovsky, the Soviet representative at Lausanne, Switzerland, from Berlin to Moscow. Tens of thousands of German workers take part in a torchlight procession as his body is taken thru the streets. Its arrival in Moscow and its interment under the Kremlin wall.

12. The Death of Lenin, containing the most mighty scenes of any topical film ever made, bearing the body to Moscow, borne to the Trade Union headquarters by Kalenin, Kameneff, Zinoviev and others of his old comrades, a million workers and peasants file past during two days. This film has made the mightiest impression and has enjoyed the greatest success among the broad working masses.

13. In the Heart of Red Russia, a film showing the development and life of Soviet Russia during the year 1924. Soon to be distributed commercially in Germany and England.

14. The Fifth Congress of the Comintern.

15. Soldier Ivan's Miracle. A light comedy ridiculing religious superstition.

16. People's May. Showing May Day demonstrations of the international proletariat in the principal cities thruout the world, 1923, including Berlin, New York, London, Paris, Stockholm, Zurich, Christiania, Prague, Leningrad and Moscow.

17. Famine in Germany, dealing with the results of inflation and the consequent struggles of the workers, the Trade Union Congress in Chemnitz, etc.

18. The I. W. A. and Its Activities in Russia, showing activity thruout the world, relief in Germany, and economic support in Soviet Russia. Takes in fisheries in Astrachan, farms in the Urals, and reveals the great improvement in Russian agriculture.

19. Recruiting Film of the I. W. A., a short, directly agitational film.

20. An entire series of short news reels on the Russian and International labor movement.

WITH but minor exceptions these films were shown thruout the countries already listed. Altogether about 25 million people have seen these pictures. There can be no doubt as to the assistance rendered by these films in giving the I. W. A. the popularity it enjoys today among the broad masses of workers and farmers. What has been done thus far is considered only the beginning of our film activity. The international headquarters of the I. W. A. has decided to give special attention to the film division and to the film production center in Moscow, and to build up especially this branch of its activity. After years of effort we have succeeded, at first in conjunction with a film concern, now entirely in our own production unit, the production of new and technically and ideologically faultless films, and to place them at the disposal of the working class organizations. As a characteristic creation of this new period of our film activity we need only cite "Lenin's Warning."

This picture shows in the experiences of a young working girl the struggles and evolution of the Soviet Republic and the decline of its enemies, the white guardist emigres skulking in foreign capitals, particularly in Paris. The film depicts in gripping manner the civil strife in Leningrad in the fall of 1917, in which the 13-year-old girl, Katya, loses her father in the defense of the workers' barricades. The girl goes to her grandmother in the country and goes to work in a big textile factory. This gives the director a chance to contrast the factory conditions during the decline of czarism with the steady improvement from year to year of Soviet industrial development. As, in the beginning, the terrible aftermath of famine and civil war is truthfully shown, the optience is shown the orgies of the emigres in Paris. But after a few years the picture is otherwise, Russian industry is getting to its feet, the lot of the worker is better. Communal kitchens, reading clubs, educational circles are organized in the factory, the currency is stabilized, but the emigres pawn their last smug-

gled jewels and stand face to face with work or want.

WHAT makes the film especially valuable is the exact execution of decisive direction, with gripping tragic moments, and a uniform high artistry on the part of the cast. Particularly striking is the wonderful feeling brought in by the child actors who take part. One sees a picture—Paris, the white guard emigres are studying the progress of invading interventionists on a map before them and dream of regaining their lost paradise—there is a dissolve into the battle scenes as the Red Army defends its home and its revolution—another cross dissolve, one sees five sturdy Russian children, also studying a map, and discussing strategical problems in the defense of their land. Another picture—the meeting room of the factory, a worker proudly shows the first silver Soviet rouble, everybody crowds around, with joyful face—dissolve—the Soviet coin changes into the last czarist rouble, in the hands of a fugitive aristocrat, his last rouble.

Added value is given by the extremely clever way in which the influence of Lenin on the development of Soviet Russia is visualized. First in the years 1920 to 1922 where he is shown as a speaker at the Second Congress, then symbolically as the helmsman of a ship under the Soviet star weathering thru a severe storm.

The heights are reached in the last reel when a workers' meeting, gathered to commemorate the anniversary of the 1905 revolution, received the report that Lenin is dead. Just then telephone connection is destroyed by the blizzard. None will credit the report. A young comrade jumps on a horse and in a thrilling ride thru the storm goes to check up on the report. The meeting waits an hour, two, three, four. The horse founders, another is borrowed from a peasant who asks the reason for the haste. The verification of the report stamps heartrending grief upon the faces of the entire family, even down to the youngest child. And what sorrow and mourning by the same report given to the waiting meeting!

AND then the great, wholehearted, inspiring response when, after his burial, there comes his warning from the grave, an appeal to class conscious workers and peasants to fill his place by mass affiliation with his party. Old peasants, scarcely able to write their names, hasten to join; women, and among them Katya, accepted amid the cheers of the great meeting. And as a symbolic finale, Lenin directing armies of thousands of workers with their banners on the road to freedom.

In short, in treatment as in ideology—the strictest unity, living pictures, rapid continuity of scenes that grip the watcher in constantly mounting suspense, relieved only in the conclusion with its all-embracing agreement and desire to co-operate and help achieve the great aims set for itself by the proletarian movement.

This film, if it can be shown, will help millions of workers to find their way into the labor movement.

(There follows comment from the Russian press on the excellence of this film, and a long list of proposed feature and educational productions of the I. W. A. studio in Moscow.)

IT is the task of the workers' organizations and of the Communist Parties and of all who fight the trash and jazz and nationalist monarchist prejudice of the bourgeois film, to see to it that not only the Russian workers and peasants but also the workers of the entire world profit by those films now available and to be produced. We must wage a systematic struggle, similar to that fought against the reptilian bourgeois press, so today against the bourgeois lying film. We must wage a struggle to place the film in the service of the labor movement, in order that by means of the film we may carry the thought of the class struggle into broadest masses of the world proletariat. Properly used, the film can become, along with the press, one of the most important and most effective methods of enlightenment for the Communist movement, for the revolutionary labor movement.

FAMOUS RUSSIAN POET RETURNS TO CHICAGO OCT. 20

Mayakovsky Will Give Last Lecture Here

Altho he was supposed to leave this week for Soviet Russia, the famous Russian poet Vladimir Mayakovsky yielded to the request of his Chicago admirers to give another lecture in Chicago. He will speak here on Tuesday, Oct. 20, at Schoenhofen Hall, corner Ashland and Milwaukee Aves. Fear is expressed that the hall may be too small, but this was the only hall that was available for this date. There is room for over a thousand people.

The enthusiastic crowd that wildly cheered Vladimir Mayakovsky at his last lecture is expected to pack this hall also. An attempt will be made to arrange also a banquet with the famous guest.

Tickets for the lecture are for sale at the office of the DAILY WORKER, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., at the Workers' Home, 1902 W. Division St., at the Russian cooperative restaurant, Freiheit Office, 3118 W. Roosevelt Rd., and by worker correspondents of the Novy Mir.

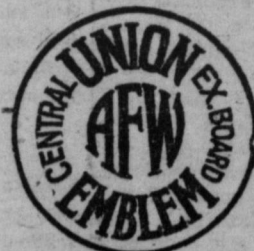
Wrap your lunch in a copy of the DAILY WORKER and give it (the DAILY WORKER, not the lunch) to your shop-mate.

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