



PHOTOGRAPH BY

A SURPLUS COMMODITY OF OVERSTOCKED CAPITALISM

the crystallization of a Progressive Bloc in the trade unions. This means united-front efforts by the Workers Party with the opposition elements in the unions and with progressive unions for joint action against the reactionary bureaucracy.

**Re-organization on the Basis of Shop Nuclei and a More Centralized Party Apparatus.**

It will take the Party several months of intensive propaganda among its own membership and of deep-going organization work to bring about the complete re-organization of the Party. But this will be done. The convention as well as the Party seems to be in a mood which guarantees the success of the re-organization.

There will undoubtedly be opposition to this radical change in the form of Party re-organization. The non-proletarian and opportunistic elements in the party will offer all kinds of resistance. Loreism, that is the opportunistic wing of the Party, may find a new resting place in opposition to the abolition of federations. This, however, should cause no misgivings regarding the success of the re-organization. The Party is well aware of the difficulties confronting it and will be able to devise effective means to overcome these difficulties.

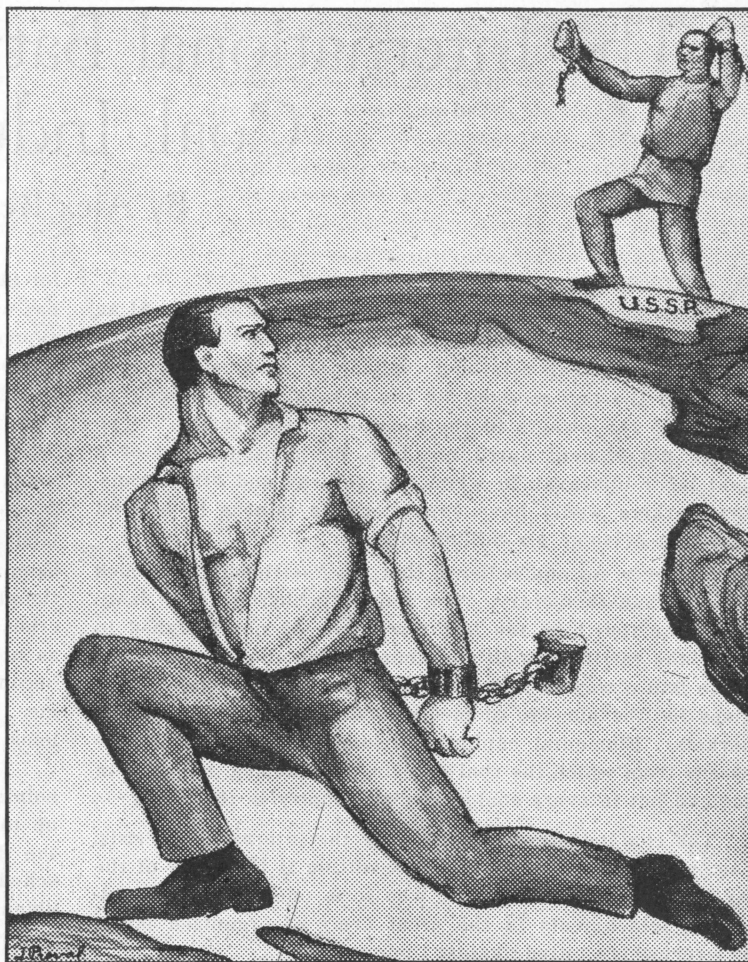
The successful re-organization of the Party will be of tremendous significance for its future work. When this is achieved the party will become a really unified Communist Party, and will have acquired for the first time in its history a really centralized apparatus. Through its shop nuclei it will at last begin to function where a working-class party really should function—in the shops and factories where the workers live, suffer and struggle.

**The Unification of the Party and the Liquidation of Loreism.**

And last, but not least, the unification of the Party and the liquidation of Loreism. The convention has contributed greatly towards this end. The Party, under the leadership of its new Central Executive Committee, will have to complete the work.

The liquidation of Loreism is inseparable from the Bolshevization of the Party. A party which has a strong opportunist wing can not be really Bolshevik. To Bolshevize the Workers Party means first of all to liquidate its opportunist tendencies. This is what is meant by the liquidation of Loreism.

The success of the process of Bolshevizing the Party depends in a large measure upon the unity of all Communist forces within it. There can be no successful attempt at the liquidation of Loreism as long as there is disunity in the ranks of the Communists in the Party. Only in the measure in which such unity is established will opportunism in our ranks be defeated. The idea that dominated the convention was as simple as it was correct: through unity of the Communists to the Bolshevization of the Party!



Drawing by Juanita Preval.

**THE AMERICAN WORKER LOOKS TOWARD RUSSIA!**

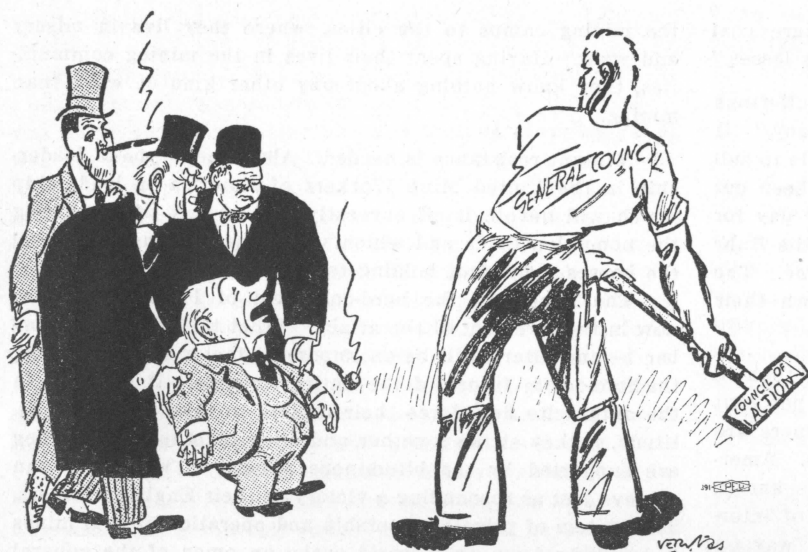
**His Grave**

THEY say no stone or cross doth mark  
The spot where Wesley Everest lies,  
That vandal feet have stamped the ground  
Into his wide and staring eyes.

They say the place is near unknown,  
That rarely red-eyed mourners come  
To leave their wreaths of flowers on  
That lonely and deserted tomb.

Perhaps—but ah, what matters it!  
We say to them who tread him down,  
Six feet of earth is not the grave  
On which we lay the martyr's crown!

—Henry George Weiss.



—Cartoon from the "Sunday Worker."

**GENERAL COUNCIL OF BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
ESTABLISHES COUNCIL OF ACTION TO SUPPORT MINERS.**

In the present crisis a new agreement was concluded, taking in the Locomotive Engineers. The railroaders agreed not to move a ton of coal that might in any way be used to defeat the miners. This meant that, unless Black Friday should be repeated, the millions of tons of coal on the ground and in cars on sidings could not be moved.

Led by A. J. Cook, the left-wing leader who a year or so ago was chosen secretary of the British Miners' Federation, a committee representing the General Council of British Trade Unions proceeded to Paris, where a conference was held with representatives of the miners of France, Belgium, the Ruhr region, the Saar Basin, and Germany. Germany has 10,000,000 tons of surplus coal above-ground, Belgium has 4,000,000 tons, and France also has a large surplus. This surplus might have been unloaded in Britain to the satisfaction of all capitalists concerned, and incidentally to break the impending British strike. But the representatives of the miners said no. They concluded an agreement in Paris whereby they pledged that in the event of a strike in Great Britain, no surplus coal would be produced in the other countries, that only an amount equal to the domestic demand would be mined. An understanding was then arrived at with the marine transport workers, who assured the delegation that no coal would be transported across the North Sea or the British Channel.

On July 30, the German Miners' Union met in Berlin and pledged full support to the British coal-diggers.

Never before in the history of the mining industry did such a titanic struggle face a nation, which the workers supported both nationally and internationally.

A threat to slash the wages of the British railroaders was made about the same time as the attack upon the miners, and this bound the two organizations more closely together than ever.

A feeling swept Great Britain that the nation was about to be shaken from top to bottom. A member of the House of Lords shrieked hysterically that the whole British Empire was face to face with its greatest trial and it was brought

out in Parliament that arrangements had been made to give soldiers and sailors treble pay for strike duty. Plainly, the government was disposed to use any means to break the strike if it should eventuate. In the closing days of July, government officials were in almost continuous session with naval and military chiefs, mineowners and representatives of the miners.

Stark fear finally seized Prime Minister Baldwin and his associates at the probability of class war throughout Britain. A temporary respite was won for the British coal-diggers.

There is no denying the fact that the British mining industry is in crisis. Production has been steadily curtailed since the war with the result that 150,000 miners are unemployed and many of them are lacking the most elementary necessities of life. Meantime, the owners are living on the fat of the land. Secretary Cook, of the Miners' Federation, points to the fact that their profits for the last year exceeded \$873,000,000. This does not take account of the heavy "royalties" with which the industry is burdened. Royalties paid

to the dukes of Hamilton and Northumberland give them a higher tonnage rate on coal produced than the coal-diggers who mine it.

But the crisis in the British coal industry cannot be analyzed and understood without taking into consideration the state of the industry in Germany, France and Belgium. Every conceivable means has been applied to bolster up the failing system of private ownership of the mines, but to no avail. "Uneconomical" mines have been closed down, miners and day laborers have been laid off, day labor has been speeded up—and yet the industry is on the toboggan, with the owners unable to arrest its headlong plunge.

"Whether or not we believe in Nationalization," declared Herbert Smith of the British Miners' Federation recently, "we will be driven to that as the only way to save the mining industry."

The Berlin "Statist" declares that 30 per cent of German coal is being exported to former British markets—as a result of the famous Dawes' Plan in Germany. Approximately a million tons of coal were exported during the ninth of December, the report shows. Low production costs (based upon the suffering of the German workers) have enabled the German operators to win contracts in Scandinavia, France, Italy, Argentina, etc.

"Why does Germany seemingly pursue this destructive policy (of undercutting prices)?" asks the Manchester Guardian. And then answers its own question as follows: "To meet her own obligations under the Dawes' scheme, Germany is forced to accumulate funds by export business. This largely explains



**A. J. COOK, BRITISH  
MINERS' LEADER**

and in reality the same help for the bourgeoisie of their own country.

If in the war of 1914 the state of affairs, at least at the commencement, was somewhat confused, if at that time it was not at once quite clear who was the aggressor and what was the question at stake, if at that time there was a whole tangle of complicated relations, in the present affair in Morocco everything is perfectly clear. Here there can be no two different opinions regarding the causes and the character of the war. On the one side there is a small people, on the other side a great imperialist power, which is attacking a weaker country and is twisting a fresh knot of international conflicts through which it will be exceedingly difficult to cut. And if in the war of 1914 one still spoke of defending civilization and democracy from the attacks of Russian Czarism and such like, we have before us now a perfectly naked example of open robbery. Here no mention whatever is made of defending "culture," of rescuing Europe from Czarism and the Cossacks. Here the only fact is that French imperialism is lusting for conquests; it is endeavoring to wrest from a small people, the Riff Kabyles, fresh stretches of territory. And therefore, in the summer of 1925, after the victory of the Left Bloc over Poincare, after the victory of so-called Democracy, which has introduced a new era of pacifism, etc., the French bourgeoisie sends its troops to Morocco and begins a new war.

Within the last few days the most prominent representatives of the French Parties have, in the press and in parliament, expressed their opinion regarding the events in Morocco. Renaudel states: "With what means does the government hope to end the military operations and to restore peace

been attacked (just fancy, France has been attacked!) but who provoked this attack? My criticism does not give you the right to believe that we are defeatists. The Socialist Party does not by any means demand the evacuation of Morocco (!) but it will not agree to a war for the sake of fame, a war in which the flower of the manhood of France would perish."

Renaudel asks, what is the number of the French troops in Morocco and what losses has France suffered there. He states that the hospitals of Casablanca are overcrowded with wounded and that there will soon be no place for further wounded. Renaudel further states that he is pleased to hear the declaration of Painleve, that as soon as the French have won back their former positions they will cease military operations. Finally, he has found the most important argument against the war: "It is a question of the interests of France.



A FRENCH 6-INCH HOWITZER BATTERY IN ACTION.

Now, when in France there is a shortage of workers, we shall not agree to fresh victims in Morocco."

If there were no lack of workers, then the evil would only be half so great, then the hospitals could be filled with fresh wounded. But as (just think) there exists no unemployment in France, but on the contrary a lack of workers, the representatives of the French Mensheviks will not agree to permit fresh victims. That is the attitude of the representative of the French "Socialist" Party. Is this fellow not a traitor, a social chauvinist?

No less interesting is the attitude of Jouhaux. Jouhaux is the President of the French menshevik trade unions, even though he calls himself a syndicalist. The syndicalists at one time constituted a left wing element, but since the beginning of the war of 1914 they have, just as the Mensheviks, gone right over to the side of the bourgeoisie. Before all Jouhaux is overflowing with criticism. Against whom do you think?



WOUNDED ALGERIAN RIFLEMAN BEING HELPED TO A DRESSING STATION AT THE REAR OF THE FRENCH LINES.

in Morocco? Right from the first commencement of the occupation of Morocco the Socialist Party pointed out the danger. Who is responsible for the present conflict. We have



### FOR CIVILIZATION.

have as their aim, to penetrate to the Spanish zone." ("Le Peuple" of 23rd of May, 1925.)

As you know, a struggle is proceeding in Morocco between the Riff people on the one side, the Spanish bourgeoisie on the other side and the French bourgeoisie on the third side. When the war between the Riff Kabyles and the Spaniards had come to complete standstill, the representative of the Left Bloc, Malvy, a member of parliament, who had been sent to Spain, endeavored to kindle the war afresh. Now, when a bold word requires to be spoken against the capitalist plunderers who have attacked a small people and who are prepared to kindle a new European war for the sake of their predatory interests, the so-called representatives of the proletariat, the French Mensheviks, attack the Third International and issue the slogan: "We do not want any extension of military operations which would have as their aim to penetrate to the Spanish Zone."

Ten years have passed since the outbreak of the first world war. In this war the imperialists sacrificed ten million human lives. One of the greatest sufferers was France, where today there is hardly a village which has been able to maintain anything approaching an appropriate proportion between the number of the male and female population. As a result of the first imperialist war, the French village has been devastated and destroyed. And now, at the very first attempt of the capitalists to inaugurate fresh slaughter, these mensheviks literally repeat what they said in the year 1914. You have here a sample of what the Second International would do to-morrow if a new war were to break out. From this example it is quite clear that the bourgeoisie and the social democracy now represent one camp as regards main questions, and that one cannot vanquish the bourgeoisie without having to defeat the treacherous leaders of the Second International.

But the Morocco war has served at the same time as a certain testing of those new forces which have grown up in the past few years. When the war of 1914 broke out, in France, in the first period there was hardly a single man who ventured to oppose it. The first protests in France against the war were made in the year 1915. And then people came forward with a confused and vague program. In

The imperialists? Oh no. The Communists! "The so-called internationalism of the leaders of the Third International is, in fact, only an appeal to the narrowest nationalism. The workers do not support it, in the same way as they are not minded to follow those who wish to extend an adventure and those who dream of fresh conquests. The workers of our country pronounce themselves categorically against any extension of military operations which would penetrate the Spanish zone." ("Le

Germany at that time Liebknecht stood alone in his opposition to the war. The events in France have shown that should the bourgeoisie now attempt to resort to a fresh war, we would not see one but thousands and thousands of Liebknechts in all the prominent countries of Europe. (Applause.)

I am happy to be able to say that the Communist Party of France, a Party which has grown strong in the last few years, has in this matter proved itself a Party worthy of the Communist International. There have been found people in this Party who succeeded in the French parliament in flinging a protest, full of contempt and indignation, in the face of the bourgeoisie, as well as of their lackeys in the menshevik camp. Especially worthy of note is the fact that, in the name of the Communist Party, a young comrade came forward, who only recently emerged from the ranks of the Young Communist League, a typical representative of the new generation of revolutionary leaders, Comrade Doriot (applause), who delivered a splendid speech in parliament. After the speech of Comrade Doriot, the Central organ of the Communist Party of Germany quite rightly published an article under the title: "Liebknecht lives"; yes, he lives in the new generation of workers!

The attitude of Comrade Doriot is, so to speak, a small example of how the new forces which are ripening among the working masses would speak and act if events should develop and the bourgeoisie decide to kindle a new imperialist war on a large scale. French democracy, supported by the Men-



DORIOT, "THE FRENCH LIEBKNECHT," WHO HEADS COMMUNIST OPPOSITION TO THE RIFF WAR IN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

sheviki, has carried out hundreds of arrests throughout the whole country. Communist workers who post up bills and leaflets against the war are being arrested, fresh proceedings are being brought against them. It would be a good thing if

we were to send from this meeting brotherly greetings to all who have been arrested on account of the fight against war. (Applause.)

“Join Hands  
and Crush  
Your  
Exploiters”

---Slogan of the  
Communist  
Party of France



## Expropriation of American Farmers

By O. Preedin

FOR social-democrats, this question relates solely to the competition of large farming enterprises with moderate and small farms. Economic struggle between farms of different sizes—that is the whole secret of farm expropriation as far as they can see; and they may thus very conveniently devote themselves to endless and fruitless discussion concerning the strength and fate of small enterprises in agriculture. Communists cannot consider the question so narrowly, divorced from all awareness of the multiple and complicated mechanisms which capitalism has developed for exploitation of producers in agriculture. There are other relationships to consider besides those of the different agricultural producers with each other. It would be both incorrect and foolish to deny that competition among farmers exists, and that cases of absorption of economically weak farms

by their stronger neighbors occur. But we must note that the apologists of finance capital are always very glad to see such examples pushed to the foreground, so as to conceal the violent attacks of imperialist capitalism upon the property of producers.

Present agricultural statistics do not furnish us a direct answer to the question: to what extent are poor farmers expropriated by their brothers? We are obliged to seek indirect information. The best that may be found is in the classified statistics of mortgage loans.

According to the Farm Mortgage Bankers' Association of America, farm mortgages about the end of 1921 amounted to \$8,044,000,000, and were held by the following groups, as indicated (000,000 omitted):

increase the number of farmers but simply replace others hides the savage rate at which expropriation of farmers is going on.

Instead of seeking to find the rate of expropriation it is in place to conclude from the cited figures only approximate decrease of existing capital owned by agricultural producers, a decrease created by such "advanced" methods of expropriation that even the recruiting of new farmers with their investments could not replace all of what was expropriated and destroyed.

It is highly necessary for us to perceive this process in its true features and true dimensions.

#### 4. Growth and Substance of Control of Financial Capital Over Agriculture.

Capital investments of non-producers in agriculture are increasing all along the line. We find corporation farms organized and operated by financial institutions with the help of hired managers directing hired labor—in short being both in form and substance capitalistic enterprises in agriculture. No less than 7,428 farming corporations filed federal income tax returns. Farm building is not the direct aim of capitalists in general or of financial capital in particular. What they are after is profit. So long as the exploitation of small producers offers them good profits (both in the matter of surplus products and direct acquisition of properties), financial capital will be very careful about starting its own farming enterprises.

It is useful to note here that available information—returns from 1,689 corporation farms out of 7,428, and therefore not a very large basis—indicates that corporation farms are established nearly exclusively in stock farming (42 per cent of them) and in fruit farming (56 per cent). From the point of view of intensification, stock farming and fruit farming are at opposite poles; in one case the most extensive farming, where constant capital in the proper sense and expenses for labor are negligible in comparison with land required, and in the other case a type of farming requiring heavy investment of capital. The first type may be of particular interest in transactions of landholders—as a means of using land temporarily while waiting for a favorable opportunity to get hold of farmers with their properties. The second is not within the reach of small producers.

We cannot take up here the peculiar conditions of Ameri-

can agriculture in the period of imperialism which are responsible for some differences in the matter of concentration of agricultural enterprises from other countries in periods of competing capitalism. That question would not only lead us from U. S. territory into the sphere of "agriculture under the flag of the United States," but would oblige us to follow our imperialists still further. Here it is only necessary for us to note that "agriculture under the flag of the United States"—a term met with more and more frequently in official reports—does not imply merely territorial expansion, but includes a special form of agriculture, which for over 50 years has engaged in competition with certain specialized farms in U. S. territory, and victoriously. The history of the sugar cane farms offers an eloquent example.

Conditions for the extension of large-scale capitalistic farms in the United States are difficult and complicated. As a rule such farms appear not side by side with small "independent" farms but on the graves of the small producers.

## Our Bourgeoisie



# A Great Deed Was Needed

By Michael Gold

**M**IDNIGHT on the hills. Black as a mine-shaft, the world. Immense, strange, with shadows great as lost continents.

And a mine-lamp hangs from the sky. The huge, strong Moon. A white tower-lamp all night, lighting the great mountains,

Coal-mountains, old stone mountains that have given birth to trees, rocks, bears and men.

Peg-Leg Johnson is standing under a black tree. Look at him. He is thinking. "We gotter—we gotter—O, we gotter—"

This is thinking. It hurts and chokes a miner's brain,  
A miner alone in midnight on the black mountains,

# Making Revolutionists of Women

## A Visit to the Women's Section of the Comintern

By Anise

ON the walls as I stepped into the rooms were two large silken banners, recalling the Third International Congress of Communist Women, presents from the working women of Sokolniki and from the working and mining women of the Southeast. They bore greetings in golden embroidery, the symbol of hammer and sickle, the "Workers of the World, Unite."

It will be noted that they did not say: "Working Women of the World, Unite," and in this they were symbolically true to the policy of the Communist International which does not form a separate women's organization as does, for instance, the British Labor Party, but has merely a



CLARA ZETKIN, VETERAN GERMAN REVOLUTIONARY LEADER; SECRETARY OF THE WOMEN'S SECTION OF COMINTERN.

special women's bureau, for devising slogans and special methods of appeal to women. Once the women are in the organization, they are grouped right along with men. But in getting them in, there are various special methods to be thought of.

The charming efficient woman who gave me my information reminded me that Clara Zetkin was still the official secretary of the women's section, whose name appears signing all official publications. But in practice her place is taken, in the routine work of the office, by several younger women, of various nationalities, speaking various different languages. One especially for the Western women and one for the Eastern, since the politically aroused women of Europe and America can be approached in a different manner from the women of the Orient. Yet even in China, Java, Turkey there is women's work going on under the Comintern.

"We follow the usual Communist tactics," said my informant, in describing work among the western women.

"We try to penetrate into all proletarian or semi-proletarian organizations of women, especially when they are struggling for some improvement of their conditions. Even if these organizations do not yet make our demands, yet we consider it better for women to be aroused and organized than sitting at home. We enter these groups and encourage them, forming within them our own fractions, and agitating for our own slogans within their ranks.

"For instance in Germany the rents have been steadily going up, and this causes much distress. There is a regular organization of women to protest at this, and we enter it. In addition to their slogans, we have our own housing program and our slogans, and we try to win the women to the more revolutionary program.

"In the same way we enter the womens unions and help fight for the eight-hour day and the protection of women. In England just now there is a big question of mothers' pensions in which we are interesting ourselves. In Germany there is an attempt to cut down the pension given to newly-born babies, and we are helping in the fight against this.

"In other words, our tactics are not to make a complete list of theoretical demands and try to convert women completely; but rather to watch the economic struggle and join it, leading in those demands which seem important to the women themselves at a given time, guiding them and at the same time pointing out our own solution. For this reason we are active in different ways in different countries, always taking advantage of any demands that have even the beginning of a revolutionary significance.

"In France, Italy and England, there is a fight just now for political rights, since in France and Italy women have no political rights and in England only women over thirty may vote. Our tactics in France were to put women up for election in places where we had a majority. In a few places, where we had Communist mayors, working women actually went and voted. We elected several women to municipal offices. Naturally the municipalities refuse to seat them. The bourgeois point of view would be that it was a waste of time to elect women who could not serve. But that is not our view. For the fight to get them seated is in itself the important thing since it awakens women to their rights.

"In many central European countries large numbers of civil servants are being dismissed. The women are always the first to go. Here also we Communists champion the women, demanding equal rights for them. But in general the most important demands are economic, wages, hours, protection in factories, motherhood protection, food prices, housing.

"In Czecho-Slovakia the soaring prices of food brought about really serious demonstrations. Women went in great masses to the Stock Exchange, the magistrates, the trade unions and the cooperatives, demanding a lowering of the cost of food. The bourgeois threw down stones and even furniture from the windows in the crowds; the police



shot and even killed children. All day long the women would be demonstrating in the markets and if anyone started to make a speech there would be a special demonstration. In this situation we Communists tried to organize for special slogans: 'Higher wages and price control.'

"Housing is especially interesting just now in north England and Scotland. Unemployed who could not pay rents are being evicted. But the workers have formed 'Watch Committees' who keep guard; when the police draw near to evict a family, they alarm the neighborhood and bring everyone out to prevent the eviction. Sometimes families already evicted have been put back in their homes. On Christmas the Watch Committees took a day's vacation, not believing that anyone would be evicted on Christmas Day so the police put out several families on that day.

"In the United States there is a Working Women's Council, which agitates against fire-traps, child labor, deportation of foreign workers; and which raised aid for tornado victims in the west. This also we join and try to influence, though we have not the majority in it.

"Our organization is growing very fast throughout Europe. The International Women's Day last March was a big event in many countries. This day was started in 1910 by the Second International on suggestions from America and was organized by Clara Zetkin. The war destroyed it as the war destroyed all connections of the Second International. In 1917 the women of Leningrad revived it, demonstrating on the streets with cries of "Bread! Send back our men!" These were among the demonstrations that led up to the fall of the czar. Now the Comintern has taken up the day and made it an international event again."

I talked with another woman organizer about the work in Eastern lands. This is in two sections: there is a large work carried on among the women in the various Soviet Republics towards the East, where for reasons of the Mohammedan religion, women are very backward. Here women may not appear in public or go to men's assemblies, so a special type of women's club is organized for them. There are now 44 of these clubs with over 5,000 members. The clubs maintain schools for illiterates, a cooperative section, a legal aid section, a section of motherhood and baby care, a dramatic section, a singing section. All kinds of productive work are organized through these clubs, book-binding, sewing, shoe-making, rug-weaving. Baby consultation also take place at the clubs, which are attended by thousands of women.

In the far east, outside the Soviet Union, women's work also goes on, though not so freely as inside the Soviet Republics. In China, Japan, Java, Turkey, there are also small sections of Communist women, taking part in the demands of their sisters for political freedom, for abolishing of social slavery, for all the things which the awakening women of those countries are beginning to demand.

International Women's Day was celebrated also in Canton, with mass meetings, processions, speeches from motor trucks. Among the slogans used were: Abolish Polygamy; Abolish Girl Slavery; Free China from the Imperialists; Equal Education for Women. The oriental women are the most enslaved individuals left on earth, being four times enslaved, to their men, to their religious prejudices, to the capitalism of their own country and to the imperialism from

abroad. Yet even among them stirrings of protests are beginning, and wherever such stirrings appear, the Communist women try to keep it alive and direct it.

After I had heard of a women's section in Iceland, and in Java, and in Syria, I asked: "Is there any corner of earth left where a capitalist can escape you?" My informant laughed: "Not as long as he remains a capitalist for he creates us wherever he is."



WOMEN OFFICERS OF THE RED ARMY.

## THE CLASS

**T**HE room is stale with yesterday's atmosphere.

Thickly powdered women robed in fluffy chiffons  
Settle heavily on the painted seats.

Surrounded by books and charts

The professor lectures on "Ethical Ends."

Every action and motive is ticketed and placed in pigeon holes.

Wilting in the heat

A rose drops its petals on the floor.

Without, Life festers in the sun,

Burdock, nettle and cankered fruit.

A man without a job trudges

Through the dust and weeds of a railroad track.

A soft pliable girl goes riding

With a slender, shifty-eyed sheik.

A young mother cries with weariness over the steaming wash

While her children laugh and scabble in the dirt.

As Life, heavy, pushing, fecund,

Refuses to be ticketed and placed in the professor's pigeon holes.

—Beulah May

# Workers Conquest of the Films

By William F. Kruse

**"O**F all the arts, the motion picture is for us the most important,— these words of Nicolai Lenin are quoted in an interesting illustrated pamphlet, "Conquer the Film!" by Willi Muenzenberg, head of the International Workers' Aid, and one of the most expert propagandists in the world today. Many other authorities are quoted in support of his thesis: that the film is today an avenue to the mass mind comparable only to the press and worthy of the same intense support by the workers. Zinoviev, Lunacharsky, Clara Zetkin and many others give their testimonials, and the author cites the decision of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International, held in March of this year, that all Communist Parties are to devote much more attention than heretofore to the problem of placing the cinema into the arsenal of Communist weapons for propaganda and enlightenment.

Muenzenberg points out that in Western countries the film already reaches perhaps greater masses, numerically, than do the daily papers—that it reaches them in a peculiarly effective and convincing manner—and that precisely those basic elements to whom we must appeal, the politically primitive, unorganized, poorly schooled worker and peasant masses, these are the ones most readily and most effectively approachable by a working class cinema.

## Soviet Russia Workers' Film Base.

That difficulties beset the way of adequate use of the film by our movement is fully recognized, and the author grants that only the victorious Revolution in Soviet Russia gives the world proletariat an economic and ideological base for film production. Russia, with its 120 millions on one-sixth of the earth, itself furnishes an economically self-sufficient film market that can more than cover the costs of production, precisely as the United States furnishes a self-sufficient market for capitalist film production. Both countries can do without foreign sales; these are only extra receipts, "velvet," which in the United States represents less than 20 per cent of the income.

The problem of production being largely solved through the Russian Revolution, we next face the serious problem of

bringing these films to the masses. The difficulties are quite correctly listed under three heads:

1. Political restrictions.
2. Economic conditions.
3. Organizational difficulties.

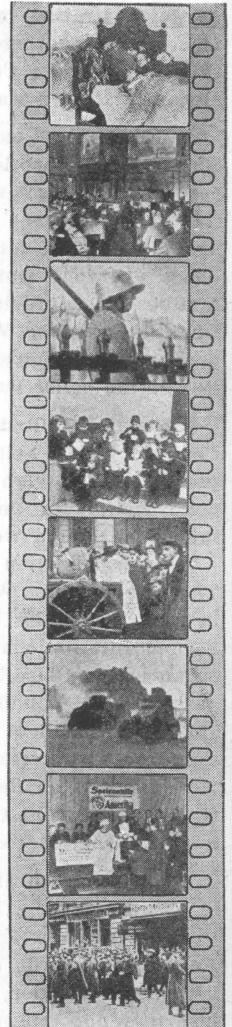
## A Thorny Path.

The first includes customs duties and regulations, censorship (which is our worst bugbear), and building and fire-code restrictions and license requirements. Some of these figure also as economic obstacles.

The second embraces the costs of import, and of retitling and adaptation. After the film is ready for showing the problem of distribution must be solved: most of the film exchanges and theatres are trust-controlled and closed against us, so there remain only the expensive roads of direct theater rental or else itinerant road shows with our own mended in the pamphlet as the result equipment. The last form is recommended in the pamphlet as the result of experience in Germany, France and Czecho-Slovakia, as well as on the basis of lessons from other countries. This method is projected for use in the near future in the United States also.

The third difficulty is found within the movement. Motion picture work is hard, involves an unending burden of tedious detail work. Its importance is not as yet recognized by the movement, hence it is difficult to attract the required interest and co-operation of able comrades. It is new to the movement and, while it borrows much from our experience with old media of propaganda, it requires the learning of some new lessons that are hard to our settled workers.

The pamphlet is loaded with apt examples out of the European proletarian film experience, with which the author was most closely in touch, and the American experiences are used only as incidental illustrations. But precisely because in this country the bourgeois film has reached its greatest development, the workers use of the film must be most strongly fostered here. Ours is one of the few movements that with very small means, have attempted a widespread film campaign, and our achievements in this field are considerable, as the German pamphlet recognizes. It will be





ARMY PLANES AND AUTOS FIGURE IN THE FACTORY WORKERS' VICTORY IN THE RUSSIAN FILM ENTITLED "THE ULTIMATUM."

well to follow Comrade Muenzenberg's outline and add our American experiences to those so excellently set forth by him on an international scale.

**American Experiences.**

Every argument cited to prove the importance of the film is doubly true in the United States. The film speaks a universal language and has bridged all racial differences in bringing to the masses the truth about Soviet Russia and about the international movement to extend its principles to every quarter of the globe. The film gives greater inspiration and draws a more constant stream of agreement (as shown for instance in applause) than any ten speakers. It delivers a message of equal excellence in the tiniest mine town or backwoods farming village, and hence will go far to solve some of the problems of rural activity in which our movement thus far is pitifully backward. In about 250 cities of all sizes and compositions we have shown anywhere from one to seven film programs, to average total audiences of 100,000 for each film. On the first handsome profits were realized, on the others the costs were more than covered.

Can this be called a success? If we compare our record with the failures of other branches of the labor movement on this field of the bankrupt "Labor Film Service," backed by yellow Socialists and Gompersites, it would seem an excellent result. But this would be sectarian gloating, and foreign to Communist reasoning. Our comparisons must be made against the achievements of our capitalist enemy. Our enemy shows his films in 20,000 houses, we show in about 200. Our record receipts for one night were about \$4,000 in collections and admissions, but in the same city the "Auditorium" record for its 3,600 seats for one week was \$55,000—this for the vicious anti-Negro film, "The Birth of a Nation." Our enemy produces about 700 feature films a year, several thousand short features, and a couple of hundred more are imported, few of which reach the American screen. Against this we put out two or three features at most, and a few short subjects. Our enemy reaches fifty million people a week, according to the "Wall Street Journal," which says of film that it "Meets a human need at a price with-

in the reach of almost all." We reached ten thousand a week, once.

Our weakness in comparison with the tremendously powerful Film Trust is an argument for more film activity, not less. Our press seems at a similar disadvantage; yet we know that its power is far greater than its comparatively limited number of readers would indicate. So also with our film. Our enemy knows this too and overlooks no obstacle that can be put into our way. Let us consider a few of them.

**The "Sense" of Censorship.**

The first of these is Censorship. If any doubt is entertained as to the true function of the State, let the limping liberal but consider the case of movie censorship. In the flush of bourgeois revolutionary romanticism this country's "Fathers" legalized, on paper, the revolutionary weapons which had helped them overthrow the British ruling class. Thus, "free" conscience, speech, press and assemblage were sanctified in the form of constitutional amendments—which, like the 18th, are more noted in the breach than in the observance. But the movies have not even this figment of legality to protect them—there is, legalistically, no such thing as "freedom of the films." They did not exist in 1776, hence were not listed among the approved methods of political persuasion.

The State function is revealed frankly in the Censorship Board. In Maryland the "standards" forbid: "Inflammatory scenes and titles calculated to stir up racial hatred or antagonistic relations between capital and labor." Other items taboo include: "Doubtful characters exalted to heroes," "Advocacy of the doctrine of free love," "Birth control," "Irrelevant treatment of religious observances and beliefs."

In Ohio standards forbid "Scenes which ridicule or deprecate public officials, officers of the law, the United States Army or Navy, or which tend to weaken the authority of the law." Pennsylvania prohibits: "What reflects upon national fame, patriotism, self-respect, or adversely affects international relations, attacks or ridicules public institutions

*(Continued on page 525)*



CHICAGO POLICE GENTLY CHIDING WORKING CLASS "RIOTERS"—FROM NEWSREEL PRODUCED BY THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

Reading over a partial list of murdered Communists and peasant revolutionaries with notes on the manner in which they met their fate reminds one of a report of the Spanish inquisition. Here is an old physician, a party secretary, shot from around a corner. There is a young peasant leader, tied with seventy other comrades in the square of his village to perish under machine-gun fire. A priest, Andrei Ignatov, "the red pope," speaks to his executioner, "Hangman, dear, why are you trembling? Or is there left a shadow of conscience in your soul?" Doctor Ilyef, a party comrade, was murdered while ministering to the wounded after 120 were killed in the town of Ferdinand. Elena Gicheva hung herself in the intel-

ligence office after terrible tortures. Haralambi Stoianov, a Communist deputy, fell fatally wounded before the very door of the parliament. So reads the grim record, on and on, thousands of brave, revered names.

The surviving members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party during 1923 are at present on trial in Sofia for their share of the "revolt" of September. It is not at all impossible that they too will have to "dance on the table" as Marco Friedman and his two comrades did after they had faced their executioners with brave, clear eyes and told them they were dying for the revolution.



MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BULGARIA ON TRIAL BEFORE ZANKOV'S JUDGE; LEFT TO RIGHT: KABAKCHIEFF, TRINA KIRKOFFA, LUKANOFF. COMRADE LUKANOFF'S TRIAL IS A POST MORTEM. HE DIED IN JAIL SOME TIME AGO.

## Poems by Jim Waters

### Hallelujah!

A GAUNT, gray wolf poaches  
 In the shadows of tenements:  
 The faces of children are pinched  
 By his merciless jaws.

A pimp, in gay checkered suit  
 And gaudy tie, hangs on corner  
 Waiting for a painted factory-lily  
 To do his bidding.

The blue ghost of a prison guard  
 Loiters in the gutter—watching;  
 Boys are fighting and shooting craps,  
 Preparing their necks for the hangmen.

A dead-wagon clangs through the street,  
 Halts before a battered door  
 And carts a body to the morgue.

On the corner,  
 A fat Salvation Army captain  
 Beats a tambourine and shouts:  
 Hallelujah! Hallelujah!

### By Night

THE skeleton of a sky-scraper  
 Weaves a cross-word puzzle  
 Against the night-glow of a great city;  
 Ten stories check their identity  
 In amber squares above the sky-line;  
 I ponder the structure of this great building,  
 Its solidity of form, its unity of purpose,  
 As it flaunts its steel ribs unflinchingly  
 In the face of a March gale;  
 Welded in the ten amber squares,  
 I spell the secret of its strength:

#### SOLIDARITY

By night,  
 The skeleton of a great sky-scraper  
 Flaunts the secret of strength  
 Into the faces of the workers..



A GROUP OF STEEL WORKERS

rapacious steel manufacturers, who yet tolerate the union but don't give a snap for agreements. The contract is a "bond of honor to be kept inviolate" is the repeated expression of "old grandmother" Tighe, the president of the Association.

#### Early Militant Unionism.

Long before the iron-puddling furnaces had become generally supplanted by open hearth and bessemer steel furnaces, the iron workers became conscious of the need of unionism. In 1858 th first union appeared in the industry—the Sons of Vulcan, composed of iron puddlers. It remained secret until 1862. In 1861 the Associated Brotherhood of Iron, Steel, Bar Plate and Guide Mill Heaters was organized and in 1864 the Iron and Steel Roll Hands of the United States. Some jurisdictional overlapping occurred between these unions until in 1875 they succeeded in bringing about the present Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. However, a struggle for control, mainly between puddlers and finishers set in and several secessions took place, but the seceding unions were comparatively short lived.

Between 1880 and 1890 practically all the iron mills in the Pittsburgh district were unionized, at least as far as the skilled workers were concerned. In 1891 the Amalgamated Associatino reached its pinnacle as a foctor in the industry, counting 24,068 members and wielding great power. At the Homestead mills before the strike of 1892, shop committees organized by the union were functioning effectively, in fact had complete control of working conditions. They did not permit the bosses to hire and fire men at will. They secured advantages for the workers. The militancy of the Association of that time has been splendidly attested to by the subsequent events of that memorable strike. When the employers finally, after this bitter contest, emerged supreme, the union disappeared from Homestead to be brought to life again, in 1901, as a secret organization numbering about 1,000 members, but it was no more secret when one day several hundred members were fired from the mill and the organization busted.

Since its heyday before the Homestead strike the Amal-

gamated Association has witnessed a rapid decline both in numbers and in strength. During its more recent history strong progressive groupings have developed from within the union aiming at infusing it with a more militant spirit and a better fighting leadership. In 1911 a left-wing movement developed, composed mainly of Socialist and I. W. W. elements, who, however, accepted the policy of staying within the union. This group came almost to a point of controlling the 1912 convention held in Chicago and it put through the initiative and referendum, but shortly thereafter disintegrated and withered away.

#### Blocking the Great Steel Strike.

During the 1919 organization drive the Amalgamated Association, with the present administration headed by Mike F. Tighe in control, became one of the principal factors; but this administration also became one of the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of success. Although in the words of Mike Tighe, testifying before the senatorial committee of investigation, the secretary of the Association issued 150,000 dues cards during that period, this golden opportunity for expansion was completely neglected. More than that, while the rank and file members gave wholehearted co-operation the international officials deliberately sabotaged every active organization step taken and even tried to make the union desert the movement. In the midst of this organization drive, participated in jointly by 24 different organizations, the Amalgamated convention, under the leadership of Mike Tighe made a bid for separate consideration by the United States Steel Corporation in a letter addressed to Judge Gary.

Catering to all the intense capitalist hatred of "disturbing elements" and appealing on the basis of patriotic duty that the judge use his efforts to "stem the tide of unrest," the letter proposed that a separate conference be arranged between the corporation and the Amalgamated Association. In replying Judge Gary showed his scorn for the unions. Refusing to engage in any kind of a conference he stated that his corporation was rendering efficient patriotic service by maintaining the "open shop." Later the same officials repeated the treasonable performance and attempted to enter into a separate agreement with the Bethlehem company, which was also refused.

More than once after the historic September 22, 1919, when the great steel strike was called, did the Amalgamated officials demonstrate their slavish servility to the bosses and their readiness to betray this young, splendid movement. While the strikers, numbering hundreds of thousands, were engaged in this most bitter struggle, when they were facing cossack terrorism and the tyranny of the steel towns, Mike Tighe and his helpers deliberately thrust a knife into their backs.

The Amalgamated Association had previously obtained contracts with certain mills covering only the skilled tonnage workers. Thousands of unskilled workers meanwhile joined the union and when all were swept along in the strike movement the Amalgamated officials ordered the workers in these mills back to work in the name of sanctity of contract with the employers. An outright violation of the principle of labor solidarity which was looked upon as such by the other unions! It seriously crippled the strike. Tighe even revoked

charters of local lodges in Cleveland, Ohio, which refused to obey his traitorous ruling. While the mighty steel trust, with all the terrible weapons at its disposal and the active support of the government and its crawling officials, could not stem the tide of revolt and could not quench the spirit of the workers these servile tools of capitalism led by Mike Tighe succeeded in driving the first dangerous wedge into their ranks. They must now take their share of responsibility for the final defeat and for the grievous conditions still prevailing in the steel mills.

#### Reaction Becomes Further Entrenched.

The big steel corporations have built up a terrific reputation as union-crushers. They have again and again succeeded in vindicating this reputation. Other obstacles, however, have grown with the expansion of the industry and its development of technic and specialization; obstacles of the kind which the unions interested have not yet learned to overcome. The highly centralized stage of ownership, control, policy and organization of the industry makes and approach toward unionization on a craft basis impossible. The interests of the multitudes of specialized crafts with almost as many different scales of wages and working conditions will appear conflicting as long as unions exist on a craft basis, and can only be properly taken care of by a union operating on a complete industrial basis, departmentalized according to the needs of the industry. At two successive conventions, in 1923 at Warren, Ohio, and 1924 at Pittsburgh, Pa., the industrial form of organization was endorsed but nothing has been done to carry the endorsement into effect. The Amalgamated Association is stubbornly maintaining its craft outlook; a policy actively stimulated by all the conservative officials. In fact so narrow is the outlook that interest is taken only in the tonnage men—the skilled iron and steel trades—little attention being paid to other skilled workers within the mill gates and absolutely none to the unskilled. Yet the latter compose the overwhelming army of the most ruthlessly exploited industrial slaves in America,

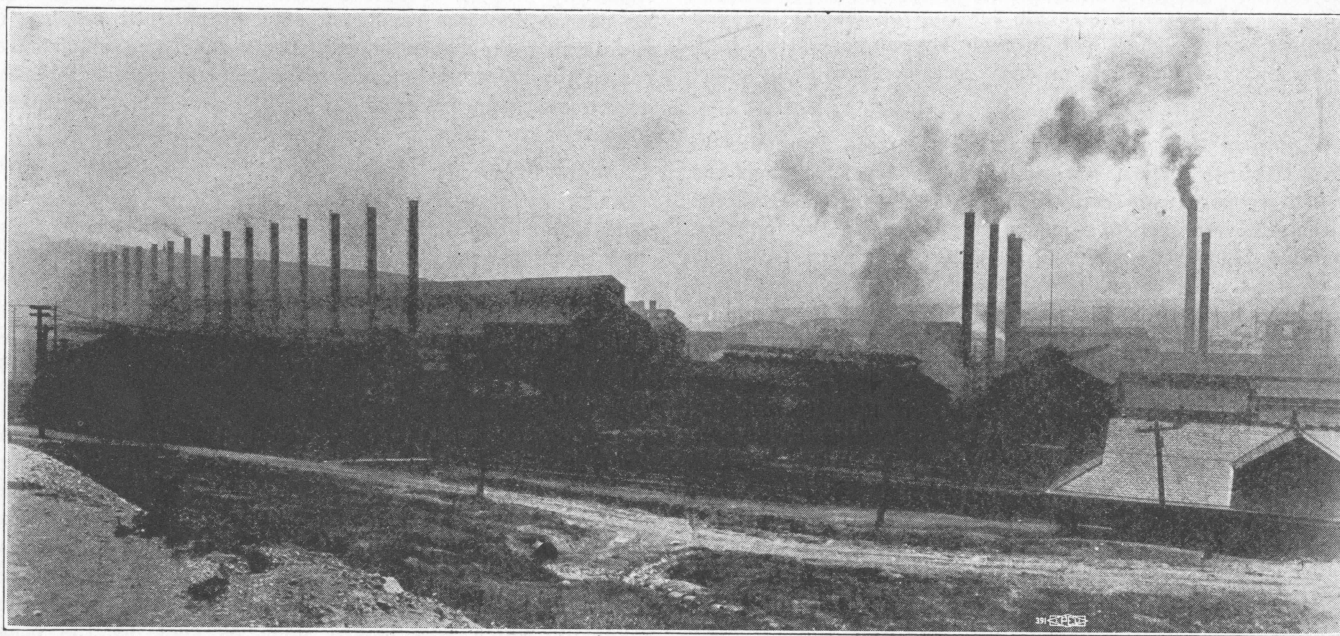
whose ranks are constantly increasing with the advancement of the machine.

Before the Homestead strike in 1892, the shop committees organized by the union initiated efforts to get some benefit for the workers out of any newly established machinery increasing the output. Today it has almost become an accepted policy by the leadership of the Amalgamated Association that only the corporations are entitled to such benefits. It is ever ready to acquiesce in any demand for reduction of wages because of eliminations of certain turns by the new machines or in having the members thrown on the streets because of elimination of a certain amount of labor power. Instead of courageously facing the real problems of the workers in the industry, attempting to work out some kind of a solution, this spineless leadership has plunged headlong into the methods of "class collaboration" confirming its own bankruptcy by giving way to whatever the steel manufacturers see fit to demand.

#### Progressive Movement Revived.

The rapid decline suffered by the union since the great organization drive, the heavy loss of membership, the disastrous effects of the reactionary policies pursued and growing collaboration of officials with the manufacturers coupled with the increasing pressure of exploitation, even amongst the better paid members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, gave rise to a new progressive movement.

About two years ago it started on a local scale, calling itself the I. D. K. D. Y. Club. These initials signifying, "I Don't Know, Do You?" It was the first attempt to question the policies of the administration and it became a rather fitting name as the movement in its first stage had no clearly defined aim. But soon it assumed the form of a conscious opposition to the official policies and to the administration in general. It linked itself up loosely on a national scale, endeavored to establish connections with the lodges and prepared to give battle for its ideas. This movement received



CARNEGIE MILLS, BRADDOCK, PA.

generous support from some of the more substantial lodges and it grew rapidly.

#### The Convention "Red" Scare.

At the last annual convention, which convened at Pittsburgh, Pa., on April 7th, the progressive movement mobilized considerable strength. Almost half of the delegates generally followed the progressives' lead. It struck terror into the hearts of Mike Tighe and his supporters who repeated their desperate cry of the union elections the year before—"The reds are getting after us." They launched into acrimonious attacks upon the progressive opposition in which they were actively assisted by the invited spellbinders "representing both labor and capital." Day by day for more than two weeks the little red herring was dragged across the trail. The progressives fought back, showing that only such lodges in which the militants were active had a spark of life left. But by failing to present a definite program of aims and objects, upon which they might unite all their supporters into a solid block and gain new adherents, they made a cardinal mistake.

The official reports made of the past year's administration policies and achievements, despite the volumes of words and figures, represented a complete confession of bankruptcy. Yet the progressives were not able to rise to the occasion and their criticism became purely negative. They had no clearly defined policies, a situation which was cleverly utilized by the officials. And thus the convention with its seething discontent still confined itself exclusively to trade issues, and particularly to sectional issues, of wage scales of the various crafts. A criminal waste of effort when it is considered that the Amalgamated Association has no power to enforce any wage scale the basis of which is always set by the larger unorganized mills. One proposal made by the progressives to abolish the one per cent strike assessment and in its place levy an increase on dues payments was adopted after a hot contest. One proposal sponsored by the administration providing for a stricter censorship on material submitted to the official journal was defeated.

Although the progressives since their inception have fought the corrupt officialdom at every step they have failed signally in laying the solid foundation required to build a left-wing movement and to establish leadership. Their task should be to raise the general issues affecting the rank and file as a whole and to bring before them, and before the convention, the needs of the Association and of the workers in the industry formulated into a practical concrete program, this program to be expressed in definite measures to organize the industry—measures to establish a system of shop committees as a basis of the union and composed of both organized and unorganized—measures necessary for a functioning departmentalized industrial union as well as stating in unmistakable terms the political issues confronting the working class. Recognition of the class struggle and adoption of class policies. Need of independent political action by the workers through a labor party and need of trade union unity.

The lack of clearly defined aims has since reacted heavily upon the progressive movement and should serve as a real lesson of which benefits can be drawn for future activities. A few months ago an election was held in the Amalgamated Association to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the vice-president for the sheet and tin division. J. Mc-

Keown became the standard bearer of the progressives, and Lerner the choice of the administration force. The latter carried the election with 2,307 votes against 1,070 cast for McKeown. At the preceding general election the administration slate just got through by the skin of their teeth and while a superficial view may lead to the belief that the verdict of the membership had now changed in favor of the old bureaucrats there is nothing to indicate that such is the case. It must rather be assumed that the complete absence of a program made both sides seem almost alike to the rank and file, thus destroying the hopes formerly pinned to the progressive cause.

#### Communists Present Solution.

The organization of the steel workers still remains a task to be accomplished the need of which is as pressing as ever. But it is a herculean task requiring unstinted courage and militancy. In the steel trust is bound up all the powers of the capitalist system itself. It will not give up its terrific grip on the hundreds of thousands of unorganized slaves without a desperate struggle. No results can be expected from the fossilized methods pursued by the present trade-union officialdom. Their personal interests are too bound up with the capitalist system to permit them to strike the bold blow that alone can bring results. Only the Communists can master this gigantic task.

Although the match today may appear fearfully uneven, the Communists toiling inside the mill gates are serenely preparing their first steps toward giving expression to the needs of the workers and formulating the measures which will lead to the hammering out of a complete strategy of organization. In the most elementary and practical terms possible these measures are being proposed within the union to bring new life and new hope into an almost devitalized aggregation and to give new leadership. It should soon become a more solid rallying point for the progressive elements. Simultaneously the first bond is being established with the unorganized. The Communists are conscious of the requirements to secure a mass basis for a powerful movement. Ultimate success is foretold by the fear exhibited by the spineless union bureaucrats and by all the pliant tools of the steel trust. It is assured by the iron march of the world proletariat.

## Anti-Imperialist Protest

