

get some sandwiches and cigarettes. Now they all started to talk. And when I listened to their talk and looked at them, I thought I was seeing Gorky's "In the Lower Depths," played this time in English in the open air. Here they are, these living symbols of the decayed old world. What is it that keeps them alive, what are they waiting for, what are they hoping for? I hear the answer in Willie's sick voice coming from the depths of his bare, thin chest.

"Steal! Why, everything belongs to us. These skyscrapers, this library, it's all our sweat that made it. And we! We've got to lay here in the parks, and it's a favor that they don't turn us out. But we'll pay them for all their favors. We'll give them a lesson. Never mind!"

The others nodded their heads. Joe returned with the cigarettes and sandwiches. The threw themselves upon the food like a pack of hungry wolves. We stepped aside and listened to the noise of their munching jaws. A policeman appeared and examined us mistrustfully, then walked away as if satisfied that there was no "revolution" in sight.

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We left the park at daybreak. In the first rays of dawn the skyscrapers had the air of ghosts waiting for the unveiling of a mystery.

The New York of the Rich is sound asleep. All is still. But it is a sullen stillness. For Bryant Park never sleeps. Bryant Park is never quiet. A storm of hate and bitterness is gathering there among the homeless and starving denizens of the parks which will break one day and sweep all before it. They curse their fate and the society which has brought it upon them. Like the cripples and hunchbacks of Sholom Asch's tale they go, "without flags, with no songs. Only a curse is folded in their rags, is heard in their weary steps, the most terrible curse to our civilization, a curse which makes the old world shrink in a paroxysm of terror, in an agony of death."

Letters from the Miners Convention

Miners Vote to Help Soviet Russia

Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 28, 1921.

The proposal that the miners donate a day's pay to help the starving workers in famine-stricken Russia was adopted at to-day's session of the convention of the United Mine Workers, following an address by William Z. Foster.

Foster told the delegates the story of the years of war, civil war, revolution and attempted counter-revolution, which the Workers' Republic had endured. He told of the blockade which had increased and intensified the results of the fighting upon the industries of Russia.

"But the workers of Russia had finally defeated their enemies and secured peace. They were allowed for the first time to turn their attention to rebuilding their economic life," said Foster. "A whole series of new laws had been passed, calculated to stimulate production. The machinery of production was being rehabilitated. All depended upon the harvest this year. If the grain yield was large the workers would have bread, the machinery would speed up, the revolution would be safe. Every one was watching the weather reports with breathless interest. Then came the drought. The great grain producing sections were almost burned to a crisp. Even the seed-corn for next year's crop is threatened. And the Russian workers are forced to turn to their brothers for help in this crisis. They turn to the United Mine Workers of America. They ask you to join with the labor unions of Europe, and the Machinists' Union, the Amalgamated Garment Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and other unions of the United States, in helping in the relief of this famine. Many organizations are collecting a voluntary donation of one day's pay from their

membership for this purpose. I think that this convention can do no less to show their international solidarity with the workers of Russia, and to help these helpless workers now in the grip of famine."

Upon motion of Delegate John Brophy of Pennsylvania, the Convention decided: "That this convention go on record endorsing the appeal of the Russian Red Cross for voluntary aid for the famine-stricken workers of Russia." This action of the Convention will be transmitted to the local unions, which will have charge of the collection of the one-day's pay donations and such other assistance as may be offered.

The Convention Summed Up

Indianapolis, Ind., Oct. 5, 1921.

The United Mine Workers of America have held their convention. The noise is over, the dust is beginning to settle. What have been the results, and what are the lessons to be learned?

The "business man" administration retained its power. Lewis, Green & Co. completely dominate the national organization. The problems of the coming struggle next spring, when the present contract expires all over the country, have been put off for a reconvened convention next February. The administration disciplined Howat of Kansas and Farrington of Illinois with the consent of the convention. After Lewis had won his fight against Howat, and after Howat had left the convention to begin his jail sentence in Kansas, the convention turned around and elected Howat as one of its International Delegates!

The convention rejected the report of Lewis regarding salary advances made in the past year. This was a distinct defeat for the administration.

In the field of international affiliations, the miners rejected the proposal to join the Red International of Labor Unions. Less than 300 delegates were for it, and no roll-call vote was secured. Delegates were elected to the International Miners' Conference, to which the British miners among others are affiliated, and the report from the last International Conference was adopted.

There were some brighter moments, however! Relief for Soviet Russia was indorsed, and the request of the convention that the miners to donate one day's pay for this purpose was adopted without opposition. Resolution were adopted calling for nationalization of the coal mines, amnesty for political prisoners, closer affiliation with the railroad workers, endorsing the Non-Partisan League of the Dakota farmers, approving a national Farm-Labor Party.

Now that the convention is over, what do these facts indicate? What can we learn from a calm study of the miners' convention?

It is safe to say that a large majority of the delegates were at least what can be called progressive, that they wanted active union policies, aggressively directed against the coal operators and the government. But most of them had feared the results of such a policy. The threat of the government's strong hand was brought before the convention every day. The United States Courts chose the moment when the delegates were deciding between Howat and Lewis to serve papers in the most dangerous attack yet made by the government. Lewis promised them peace the government threatened war. This pressure was on the convention in every issue where the administration won.

This conflict of progressive desires with fear of the government can be traced throughout the convention. In everything that means immediate action and immediate policy, Lewis wins. Other things which have to do with the more indefinite future, the progressives carry. They can even elect Howat as International Delegate at the close of the convention!

The great lesson to be learned from the miners' convention is the necessity for organization of the opposition. The business man officialdom of the miners had a machine, they were organized, they acted as a unit. Therefore they won. The opposition had no machine, they were unorganized, they acted loosely and without co-ordination. Therefore they lost. The convictions of the delegates were not the important factor. Emotion and sympathy produced lots of cheering and noise, but the votes were controlled by the best organization.

EARL R. BROWDER.