

The COMMUNIST

VOL. VIII

APRIL 1929

NO. 4



Handwritten signature or initials in the top right corner.

The Cleveland Convention—Building a
New Trade Union Center *J. Ballam* LL

Preparing the Indian Revolution
Earl Browder

Organization Report to the Sixth Convention
of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.
J. Statchel LL

The New Imperialist Offensive Against
the Philippines *Karl Reeve*

The Problems of the British Empire
Manabendra Nath Roy

English Public Opinion *Karl Marx* L

PRICE

25 CENTS

The COMMUNIST

VOL. VIII

APRIL 1929

NO. 4



The Cleveland Convention—Building a
New Trade Union Center *J. Ballam*

Preparing the Indian Revolution
Earl Browder

Organization Report to the Sixth Convention
of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.
J. Statchel

The New Imperialist Offensive Against
the Philippines *Karl Reeve*

The Problems of the British Empire
Manabendra Nath Roy

English Public Opinion *Karl Marx*

PRICE

25 CENTS

NEW BOOKS

The following is a list of new books and pamphlets that have come off the press in the past two weeks:—

COMMUNISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION15
REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE COLONIES15
THE PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (In Pamphlet Form) ..	.15
THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION <i>by V. I. LENIN</i>50
REMINISCENCES OF LENIN <i>by KLARA ZETKIN</i>35
REPORT OF THE 6th WORLD CONGRESS OF THE C. I.	1.25
WAGE, LABOR AND CAPITAL <i>by MARX</i> (New English Improved Edition)10
WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION25
TEN YEARS OF THE COMINTERN10

Prices To Be Announced

REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS BY LENIN
HEADING FOR WAR

(PLEASE PREPAY POSTAGE ON ALL ORDERS, 5 CENTS)

Send in your order to

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
35 EAST 125th STREET NEW YORK CITY


of proof

THE COMMUNIST

*A Theoretical Magazine for the Discussion of
Revolutionary Problems*

Published Monthly by the Workers (Communist) Party of America

MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

Entered as second class matter November 2, 1927, at the Post Office at New York,
N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1890.  21

VOL. VIII

APRIL, 1929

No. 4

THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION—BUILDING A NEW TRADE UNION CENTER	163
J. BALLAM	
PREPARING THE INDIAN REVOLUTION	172
EARL BROWDER	
ORGANIZATION REPORT TO THE SIXTH CON- VENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.	179
J. STACHEL	
THE NEW IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE PHILIPPINES	190
KARL REEVE	
THE PROBLEMS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE	204
MANABENDRA NATH ROY	
ENGLISH PUBLIC OPINION	214
KARL MARX	
BOOK REVIEWS	220

Make all checks, money orders, and correspondence to: THE COMMUNIST,
43 East 125th St., New York. Subscription rates \$2.00 a year; \$1.25 for six months;
foreign and Canada \$2.50 a year. Single copies 25 cents.



CONFRONTING THE ARMED WORKERS AND PEASANTS



CONFRONTING THE ARMED WORKERS AND PEASANTS

The Cleveland Convention— Building a New Trade Union Center

By J. BALLAM

“ the elemental struggle of the proletariat will not become the real ‘class struggle’ of the proletariat until it is led by a strong organization of revolutionaries.”

(LENIN—“*What Is To Be Done?*”)

The Trade Union Unity Convention called by the T. U. E. L. to be held in Cleveland, O., June 1, 1929, already promises to be of epochal significance as marking a turning point in the history of the American labor movement, in that its object, as stated in the Convention Call, is “the creation of one common trade-union center for all class-struggle organizations, which shall unite all new unions, revolutionary minorities in the old unions, and all movements for organizing the unorganized, shop committees, etc., under a single direction.” The consolidation of all existing class-struggle unions and the co-ordination of all movements of the workers to resist exploitation by centralizing all these activities under the direction of one common trade-union center and upon a program of class-struggle will lend the most powerful impetus to organizing the unorganized, especially in the basic and mechanized industries, and it fraught with revolutionary potentialities.

The Convention of the T. U. E. L. takes place in an atmosphere of sharpening class-struggles, brutal capitalist rationalization in industry, throwing large numbers of the workers out of industry, enormous increase of unemployment, the general worsening of the conditions of the working class and in the period of threatening imperialistic wars. Under these circumstances this convention is no ordinary routine affair, but a gathering of men and women representing revolutionary and basic elements of the working class for the purpose of mobilizing all the forces in the labor movement for the organization of the unorganized masses into new revolutionary unions which shall take the offensive against the capitalists, against the impending imperialist war and against the social reformist agents of capitalism within the labor movement.

The movement to organize the unorganized and to prepare these masses for a general offensive against their class enemies takes place

under the deepening and sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism throughout the world. The development of the productive forces on the basis of tremendous technical development and the new forms of organization of labor in the factories, the shrinking of the home market due to the decreasing purchasing power of the working masses, the forced development of foreign markets to absorb the tremendously increased volume of commodities, throw the American capitalists into conflict with rival imperialist powers, involving them in the general revolutionary crisis of capitalism, in the subjugation of revolting colonial peoples, in the imperialist attack against the U. S. S. R. and in the class struggles of the workers in other capitalist countries. At home, the working class is seething with discontent, breaking out periodically into spontaneous rebellion against the vicious speed-up system, wage-cutting, continuous worsening of conditions and increasing unemployment. There is therefore developing an increasing radicalization among large sections of the working class, while the immediate use of the armed forces of the capitalist state to break even the smallest strike is raising the level of class-consciousness of the workers.

THE SHARPENING CLASS STRUGGLE

Concurrently with the new wave of conflicts between capital and labor in Lodz, Poland, in the German Ruhr, in northern France, the United States has experienced the outbreak of a whole series of strikes in the needle trades, miners, automobile workers, railroads, textile workers (especially in the south), shoe workers, food workers, etc.

The fact that capitalist rationalization is being met by more determined resistance on the part of the workers is shown by the increasing number of strikes since the first of the year, especially in the textile industry, against speed-up, wage cuts, longer hours and the efforts of the bosses to break all militant unions.

The most important strikes since the beginning of the year were:

New Bedford—Strikes in Soule, Hathaway and Acushnet mills during February, under leadership of the National Textile Workers' Union.

Paterson, New Jersey—Strikes in silk mills in Paterson and Summit, during January and February.

New York—Dressmakers' strike in January, involving thousands of workers.

Boston—Strike of 400 tailors against Hillman speed-up system.

Cleveland—Strike of Rayon workers begun in March, still going on.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—Silk workers on strike at present. Begun in March.

Elizabethton, Tenn.—Strike of more than 5,000 textile workers, during March. First large textile strike in south. Slight increase granted in frantic effort to stop the strike before it could spread to other parts of south.

Greenville, S. C.—Strike of 2,500 workers, following the strike in Tennessee, against speed-up. New strikes in this section now involve more than 2,500 workers.

Gastonia, N. C.—Strike of 2,500 workers now in progress under leadership of National Textile Workers' Union.

Woodruff Mills, Woodruff, S. C., 1,000 strikers.

Union-Buffalo Mills, Union, S. C., 1,000 strikers.

Otray Mills, Union, S. C., 800 strikers.

Monarch Mills, Union, S. C., 500 strikers.

Anderson Mills, Anderson, S. C., 500 strikers.

New York and Long Island—Strikes in shoe shops during February and March, forcing employers to sign up with Independent Shoe Workers' Union, granting improved conditions.

New York—Strike of building trades workers in Brooklyn against the use of non-union labor on school house construction. Strike of employees of the Proctor & Gamble Soap Company.

Detroit—Strike of 1,500 rubber workers in March against speed-up methods and wage cuts.

New York—House wreckers. Eighteen hundred walked out April 1.

Cafeteria strike begun in latter part of March. Preparations now under way for general strike of cafeteria workers.

Economic battles are not new in the history of the labor movement in the United States or in Europe, but the general conditions under which these struggles are being waged, the nature of these strikes and the problems arising out of them as a result of the new conditions of world imperialism and the crisis of world capitalism, the role of the A. F. of L., the Socialist Party and other social-reformist agencies of capitalism, makes a complete change in the conditions for the developing economic struggles from what they were only a few years ago.

The trade-union movement developed, historically, around the organization of the skilled workers. Beginning with the early '60s, each craft, such as cigarmakers, bakers, machinists, printers, shoemakers, building-trade crafts, firemen, engineers, etc., organized separately, federating together within the A. F. of L. in the '80s. The A. F. of L. has from that time down to the present day remained structurally practically unchanged, and is based upon the highly skilled workers organized in craft unions loosely federated together. During the period of the organization of these craft unions of the highly skilled trades and up to comparatively recent

times the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, including youth, Negro and women workers, played no decisive part in production, whereas the skilled worker could tie up the relatively small factory and shops of the employers at will. Therefore the skilled labor aristocracy could afford to ignore the interests of the broad masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, paying little or no attention to their working conditions, rates of wages or state of organization. In many cases large masses of unskilled workers were drawn into the vortex of the struggles initiated and carried on by the craft unions, either through revolutionary solidarity natural to the unskilled, or because the craftsmen were able to tie up the industry; but these strikes were invariably "settled" exclusively in the interests of the skilled crafts within the industry, leaving the unskilled unprotected and unorganized. Even in such industries as the textile industry, where the overwhelming majority were unskilled workers (women and children) the United Textile Workers Union of the A. F. of L. sought to organize only the more highly skilled, such as loomfixers, warpers, full-fashioned hosiery workers, etc., leaving out the worse-paid section. With few exceptions the A. F. of L. today includes only the aristocracy of labor, and together with the Railroad Brotherhoods and the reformist "independent" unions have about 3,000,000 organized out of the 30,000,000 wage-slaves in the United States. It may be roughly estimated that 3,000,000 workers, or about one-tenth of the total, are receiving from \$42 to \$60 a week, although comparatively few of these can count on full-time work throughout the year. And the number of these highly paid skilled workers corresponds with the number of organized workers in the United States.

What, then, are the new conditions for struggle? Wherein do the present strikes differ from those of the recent past? What is the nature of the problems that arise and what answer is the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and the T. U. E. L. to give to the workers?

NEW CONDITIONS FOR STRUGGLE

1. Capitalist rationalization brings in its train continual, chronic unemployment, due (a) to increasing productivity of labor in a contracting market, and (b) to new efficiency schemes for intensifying the exploitation of the workers resulting in a larger amount of cheaper commodities produced in less time. Capitalist rationalization therefore creates a permanent reserve army of unemployed which exerts pressure upon the proletariat during all stages of its economic struggle.

The new feature of the present situation, then, is that capitalist rationalization takes away from the skilled workers the strategic

and key position they once held in production and brings sharply into the forefront the unskilled sections of the proletariat, reinforced by millions of new elements, who play the decisive role in the economic struggles of the present, and who will be the basic and determining factor in the new revolutionary labor movement now crystallizing around the T. U. E. L. in America and thruout the world under the R. I. L. U.

2. The processes of production are being continually simplified, the great development of technique in America assuming the proportion of a technical revolution; new machinery, technical development simplifying the processes of production are eliminating and replacing highly skilled labor, who swell the ranks of the unemployed, and affect its composition.

3. New elements are drawn into production; hundreds of thousands of farmers and agricultural workers, as in the textile and mining industries in the south, the nearly 2,000,000 Negroes (exclusive of farmers and farm laborers), the 8,000,000 women, and the large number of youth workers, nearly all unskilled and semi-skilled, thus changing the structure of the working class in production and changing the relations between these workers and the aristocrats of labor in the trade unions.

When we consider the strikes in the textile, needle trades, shoe, automobile and food industries, we must ask what is the nature of these conflicts, what differentiates them from past struggles? The Passaic strike, where 16,000 workers fought through two winters in the longest and most dramatic struggle ever waged in the textile industry; the New Bedford strike, where 28,000 workers successfully tied up the entire mill center for 27 weeks; the Paterson silk strike, where the workers broke through the confines of a reformist union and set up a local of the new National Textile Union; the spontaneous and spreading strikes of the textile workers in the south, in Elizabethton, Tenn., in Pelzer, S. C., in Gastonia, N. C., the dressmakers strike of the new Needle Trades Industrial Union in New York City; the strikes of the shoe workers of New York, bringing under the banner of the new Shoe Workers Union over three thousand new members; the strike of the food workers under the Amalgamated Food Workers Union to organize the cafeterias; the strikes of the automobile workers in Flint and Oshawa; the rubber workers in Milltown, N. J.; the oil workers in Bayonne, N. J., and the many similar battles thruout the country.

In all these struggles it was the workers who took the offensive; the offensive becoming more clear and the struggle more determined where the Communist Party and the left wing succeeded in assuming and keeping the leadership. Almost in all of the above strug-

gles the demand was for an increased wage, limitation of the speed-up, a shorter working day, improved working conditions. In every case the conflict drew in the skilled and unskilled, the organized and unorganized. In all these strikes the broadest masses participated and the strike committees and shop committees were built up on the basis of the broadest democracy; the leadership came up from the ranks of the unorganized unskilled mass. Where, as in New Bedford, the mill owners replied with a counter-offensive by locking out the workers, the Textile Mills Committee regained the offensive by spreading the strike, and by throwing the picket lines around all the mills and drawing more workers into the struggle. Or, as in the Passaic strike, where the workers maintained the offensive, carrying out a whole series of brilliantly executed manoeuvres defeating every move of the mill owners down to the time when the communist leadership of the strike was withdrawn, after which the strike declined and was betrayed by the U. T. W.

THE ROLE OF REFORMIST UNIONS

Under the pressure of capitalist rationalization the great unorganized masses in the basic and highly mechanized industries are in a rebellious mood; they are prepared to follow the leadership of the Communist Party and the T. U. E. L. for the building of a new revolutionary labor movement. The A. F. of L. unions today have been transformed into a part of the strike-breaking machinery of the capitalist state and a section of the employers' organizations. They are interested in maintaining the supremacy of the American bourgeoisie and to help American imperialism to subjugate colonial peoples and conquer new territory while keeping the working class at home unorganized and helpless. In all of the recent strikes of the unorganized workers, the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party actively supported the bosses and the police and furnished armed thugs from the underworld to break these strikes; and in every case where they failed to smash these strikes they have attempted to betray them. This has been especially their aim in all struggles conducted under communist and left-wing leadership, no matter how elementary the demands of the workers have been.

The A. F. of L. leadership, as well as the Socialist Party and the fake progressives of the Muste group are interested in maintaining the normal functioning of the machinery of production in order to strengthen American capitalism in its struggle with rival imperialisms and to aid it in acquiring political hegemony over European capitalism. These agents of American imperialism within the labor movement are the bitter enemies of the workers and peasants of the U. S. S. R. and of the workers and peasants of China, Mexico,

Latin America, the Philippines, etc. This is the meaning of industrial peace, industrial democracy, worker-employer cooperation, state arbitration, and all other forms of class-collaboration. Social-reformism is social-patriotism and the labor bureaucrats aided by their mentors in the Socialist Party spread the capitalist jingo propaganda thru the working class in the most subtle and poisonous forms, assuring the workers of the genuineness of the fake "peace" manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie during the period of preparation for war, and binding the workers hand and foot to the war machine of the capitalist class at the moment of the outbreak of imperialist war. In fact, the A. F. of L. machine is the organ of the bourgeoisie within the working class for mobilizing the workers for imperialist war.

While it is true that the base of the A. F. of L. and similar craft unions is narrowing at the point of production due to the gradual elimination of complex, skilled labor, it must nevertheless be kept in mind that the A. F. of L. and other reformist unions are the backbone of social reformism due to the fact that their main base is in the corrupt aristocracy of labor. Nothing could be more dangerous than the illusion (spread by some comrades) that the A. F. of L., due to its narrowing base in production, is breaking up; or that it will disappear of itself; or that it will be absorbed within the new revolutionary unions. Indeed, as the class struggles become more intense and widespread, as the radicalization of the workers increases, the bourgeoisie will make greater and greater use of the A. F. of L. and the social democrats in their imperialist offensive against the working class at home and the colonial peoples abroad.

NEW DANGERS

It is precisely in this connection that the role of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. assumes such vital importance for the interests of the toiling masses, in the work of organizing the unorganized into new unions and in the movement for a new trade-union center which will find its expression in the T. U. E. L. Convention at Cleveland. The organs of social-reformism, which are a part of the American capitalist state machinery, find their mortal enemy in the world Party of communism—The Communist International, and in its American Section—The Communist Party of the U. S. A. The formation of new unions, while registering a tremendous step forward in the development of the class-consciousness of the American working class, also raises new dangers. Comrade Lovovsky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions, in his circular letter to the T. U. E. L. of January 17th, stresses this danger as follows:

"It is conceivable that these unions (new unions), despite their revolutionary origin and character, may well become the happy hunting ground of a pseudo-left opportunist leadership. We must be continually alive to this danger . . ."

Already, simultaneously with the initiation of the movement to reorganize the T. U. E. L. as the co-ordinating center of the new union movement becomes the crystallization of the "progressive" group around Muste, the "Labor Age" and Norman Thomas. As the new union movement takes shape and grows, these and other elements, mouthing "left" phrases will try to graft themselves upon the workers organizations and seek to check the progress of class-consciousness and the growth of the new unions.

Only insofar as the Communist Party of the U. S. A. will be able to permeate the whole mass of the workers within the new union movement with the ideology of Leninism, will it become proof against the poisonous propaganda of social-reformism and class-collaboration policies of the A. F. of L. and its allied groups. Within the ranks and among the leadership of our new unions there are remnants of a trade-union ideology. These comrades may object to the Party showing its face too openly within the new movement. In this respect Lenin said:

"The histories of all countries attest to the fact that, left to their own forces, the working class can only attain to trade-union consciousness, to the conviction that it is necessary to unite in unions, wage the struggle against the bosses, obtain from the government such or such labor reforms, etc." (LENIN—"What Is To Be Done?")

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party must appear within the new labor movement and must be in a position to give exact directions and to ensure that it takes the lead in all proletarian encounters with capitalism. We must not yield to the theory of spontaneity, about which Comrade Stalin says:

"The theory of bowing before spontaneity sets itself up quite decisively against the revolutionary character of the labor movement. It is opposed to the movement's being directed against the foundations of capitalism, and is in favor of its following the line exclusively of demands that are 'acceptable' and 'capable of attainment' under capitalism. It is quite completely in favor of the 'line of least resistance.' The theory of spontaneity is the ideology of trade-unionism." —STALIN— "*Leninism.*")

And finally, in relation to the role of the Communist Party as the leader of the proletariat, Comrade Lenin states:

"Only the Communist Party, if it is indeed the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it contains the best representatives of this

class, if it consists of fully class-conscious and loyal communists enlightened and experienced in stubborn revolutionary struggles, and if it has managed to link itself up inseparably with the whole life of its class and through it with the whole mass of the exploited, and has won the complete confidence of this class and of this mass—only such a party is capable of leading the proletariat in the ruthless decisive and final struggle against all the forces of capitalism.

“On the other hand, only under the guidance of such a party can the proletariat unfold to the utmost the mighty power of its revolutionary attack, remove the inevitable apathy and crush the resistance of a small minority of the aristocracy of labor—the old trade unionists and leaders who have been corrupted by capitalism—only under such a leadership will it be able to release its strength to the utmost extent, in view of the structure and power of capitalist society which is far greater than the proportion it represents in the whole population.” (LENIN—“*Theses on the Fundamental Task of the II Congress of the Communist International, 1920.*”)

FOR INDEPENDENT LEADERSHIP

The Trade Union Unity Convention which will convene at Cleveland, O., on June 1st, 1929, will carry into life the new line laid down in the theses and resolutions of the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress which brought forward as a basic task for all its supporters the tactic of fighting for independent leadership of the economic struggles of the working class and of wresting this leadership from the old reactionary and reformist unions. The preparation for the Trade Union Unity Convention is now the supreme task of every Party member and of every class-conscious worker. Every Party member must give loyal and energetic support to the T. U. E. L. in carrying out this tremendous task. Carry to the workers in factory, mill, mine and shop, and to the workers on field and farm and on the railroads, the slogans of the Convention Call:

Fight against wage-cuts; against the speed-up; for shorter hours!
Fight against the social-imperialist A. F. of L. bureaucracy! Fight for social insurance against unemployment, disability and old age!
Organize the unorganized into new unions! Build the new trade-union center! For international trade-union unity! Struggle against imperialist war and capitalist rationalization! Defend the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics! Forward to the Trade Union Unity Convention!

Preparing the Indian Revolution

By EARL BROWDER

IMPERIALISM is making desperate efforts in the Far East to stem the rising tide of worker and peasant movements, which already are involving, directly or indirectly, about half the human race.

The great Chinese revolution brought four hundred million people onto the stage of history, there to play an active role instead of their previous passive submission to the will of their imperialist masters. And now the Indian revolution, second in scope and importance among colonial revolutions only to the Chinese, is gathering its forces. This fact is given point and emphasized by the cable news from India of new suppressions and persecutions of the Indian workers.

At three o'clock on the morning of March 20th, British Indian troops and police were mobilized in Bombay, the city was placed under martial law, trade-union premises were searched and smashed up, and hundreds of leaders were thrown into prison. Among those reported arrested is the name of Dhundira Jahengdi, former president of the All-India Trade Union Congress. In Calcutta, among the arrested, are the officers of the Bengal Trade Union Federation, the Jute Workers' Union, the Calcutta Scavengers' Union, the Bengal Workers-Peasants Party, and the Young Comrades League. At Allahabad the arrested included Puran Chandra Joshi, secretary of the United Provinces Workers-Peasants Party, and at Lucknow, C. D. Singh, a member of the Legislative Council. At Lahore, Poona, and other cities, similar raids and mass arrests were made and trade-union headquarters closed. More than one hundred leaders are in prison charged with "waging war against the king," while searches and seizures continue. A nationwide campaign to destroy the trade unions of India has been inaugurated by British imperialism.

TREACHEROUS ROLE OF BRITISH LABOR PARTY

In former years the Indian working class looked to the British Labor Party and Trade Union Congress for help in their struggles for independence and for improving their living standards. But a long series of treacheries has completed their disillusionment. In 1924 the MacDonald Labor Government, which placed Lord Olivier, a skilled imperialist administrator, in the office of Secre-

tary of State for India, approved that official's infamous pronouncement known as the "Bengal Ordinance," whereby Indians may be arrested without warrant and held in prison indefinitely without trial by the irresponsible agents of British imperialism in India. Thousands of Indians have died in prison under this Ordinance, and hundreds are still held. In 1927 and 1928, the Labor Party sent two representatives into the Simon Commission, to cooperate with the Baldwin Tory government for devising a scheme for suppressing the Indian nationalist movement.

When the Indian masses forced the boycott of the Simon Commission, its visit to India became the occasion of mass violence by the British armed forces, the jailing of thousands, physical assaults upon hundreds, and the killing of many, even including the bourgeois leader, Lajpat Rai. The treacherous "left" leader of the British T. U. Congress, A. A. Purcell, went to India in 1927 to demonstrate the "friendship" of the British labor leaders; but when he got back to England he supported the Simon Commission and denounced the cause of Indian independence in the House of Commons. These and a hundred other experiences have brought Indian workers to the conclusion, uttered by Dewan Chaman Lall, chairman of the India T. U. Congress:

"India has nothing to expect from such hypocritical socialist leaders . . . The Labor Party works together with the Second International as the advance guard of British and European imperialism in order to prevent or postpone the emancipation of the colonial peoples."

Thus, through bitter experiences the Indian workers are being emancipated from the influence of the social-reformist traitors of the Second International, and to the degree that this is accomplished they are prepared for the next act in the drama of the Indian revolution.

TREACHERY OF THE INDIAN BOURGEOISIE

A fundamental weakness in the struggle for national independence has been that its leadership was in the hands of the bourgeoisie. To prepare the masses for revolution it is therefore necessary, in addition to destroying the influence of international reformism, also to cut the masses loose from the bourgeoisie and its leadership. Much progress in this direction is resulting from the open betrayal of the independence cause perpetrated in August, 1928, at the Lucknow All-Parties Conference, which adopted the so-called Nehru Report, which lays down a proposal for compromise with the Simon Commission on the basis of accepting Dominion status.

The Nehru Report proposes to British imperialism that the

present form of government shall be replaced by a so-called dominion form, in which the King of England and Emperor of India, his Majesty George V., shall name the Governor-General of India, the latter official exercising such powers as:

- Either to dissolve or extend the term of the Legislature at will.
- To veto any act of the Legislature, without recourse.
- To appoint all executive officials of the Government, from Prime Minister down to the provincial officials.
- To have unlimited power of removals from office of all officials.
- To be Commander-in-Chief of the military, naval, and air forces.
- To appoint all foreign representatives.
- To appoint all judges, with power of removing them.
- To control all property and revenues of India, etc., etc.

In addition, the Nehru Report specifically accepts for the Indian people the burden of making good all claims arising out of British imperial rule from the time of the East India Company down to date, including pensions, etc., for all soldiers and servants of imperialism for their services in keeping India in subjection. All of this is done by the Indian bourgeois leaders in the name of Indian independence! At the same time they know, and the whole world knows, that even this scheme the British government will never accept, so the bourgeois leaders have succeeded in nothing but to disarm their own people.

It is clear that the bourgeoisie of India is moving over definitely to a union with British imperialism in return for protection against the rising workers' and peasants' movement. It is assuming the role formerly played by the Indian princes and feudal aristocracy, that of servant of British rule, and is preparing also to unite with them.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS THE REAL NATIONALIST FORCE

Turning away from the bourgeoisie and from international reformism, with all their betrayals, the workers and peasants of India are learning to organize their own strength and to set up connections with the really revolutionary forces of the world who can be depended upon as reliable allies. They are engaging in widespread struggles against foreign imperialism as well as native reaction and exploitation. They are infusing new life into the whole country by their independent struggles.

A wave of strikes has for a year been extending over the British-operated state railways. The steel workers at Jemshadpur have carried on a long and courageous battle. The textile workers in almost every center in the country have been fighting to improve the terrible conditions that have kept India a nation of slaves. The peasants of Bardoli have gone up against the guns of the British military in a glorious battle against the oppressors, even though betrayed time

and again by the bourgeois-Gandhiist leaders. A list of the struggles of the past year alone would fill many pages, and all of them sprang from the initiative of the masses. In every case the official leaders have been not leading but holding back the masses, not fighting but compromising the fights. The movement of the masses is spontaneous, and responds to their deeply felt needs.

That is precisely the reason why the bourgeoisie has become afraid of the revolution, because it sees with fear the workers and peasants emerging as the dominant revolutionary force, with its own program, its own needs, its own demands. That is why the bourgeoisie joins hands with the princes and with British imperialism; that is why it concocts the Nehru Report. It is afraid of the rising of the people, it is afraid of the real nationalism of the Indian masses.

At this time in India is taking place a fundamental shift in the alignment of class forces, similar to that which took place in China in 1927, with the treachery and breakdown of the Kuomintang.

DANGERS WITHIN THE WORKERS-PEASANTS ORGANIZATIONS

The struggle for independence of India has become part of the whole struggle for improving the conditions of life of the masses. It must be conducted by the working class with the peasantry as its principal ally. The basic economic problem of the Indian revolution is that of the land. But without working-class leadership the peasantry will find it impossible to solve any of its problems. The degree of maturity and organization of the working class, therefore, becomes of crucial importance for all India. And on this point, while the workers are making great progress both in organization and consciousness, dangers exist which are very great precisely because in this period such great tasks and responsibilities are thrown upon the shoulders of the newly organized working class.

Within the Indian trade-union organizations the influence of international reformism is still strong, in spite of the open treacheries described briefly above, and in spite of the open denunciation of the Second International and British Labor Party by the most influential leaders of the Indian unions. Especially pernicious is the propaganda put forth by the British delegates to India (Purcell, Halls-worth, Shaw, etc.), designed to separate the workers from the independence movement, to turn their attention towards "purely" trade-union activity, to discredit "politics," to entangle the Indian trade unions in the Amsterdam International. To the extent that this propaganda is effective it results in isolating the Indian workers, cutting them off from contact with the peasant masses, degenerating trade-union activity into a struggle of small groups for special privileges, and generally stunting the development of the working class.

The channel through which international reformism exerts its influence upon India is provided by a section of the leadership composed of lawyers and other bourgeois elements, who have established themselves at the head of certain unions, and maintain close connections both with the native bourgeoisie and with the British Trade Union Congress and Labor Party.

A choice example of the Indian reformists is Mr. N. M. Joshi, who occupies the very strategic position of general secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Mr. Joshi is a lawyer who makes his living as the leader of various trade unions, with the support of a bourgeois organization known as the Servants of India Society. He holds a position of leadership in the trade unions by means of this base, from which he can offer the unions certain technical services otherwise very difficult for them to obtain, while at the same time he puts forth the program of the worst enemies of the Indian working class. Joshi openly advocates affiliation to Amsterdam and the abandonment of the program of international unity, at the moment when the international reformists were publicly rejecting the demand for Indian independence, supporting instead the British Labor Party's imperialist policy. He thus links himself up directly with the servants of the British Empire.

When Mr. Joshi found it impossible to drag the All-India Trade Union Congress into Amsterdam, he joined in an indirect project in the same direction, worked out by Mr. Bunji Suzuki, the labor agent of Japanese imperialism as head of the Nippon Sodomei, together with Mr. Albert Thomas, chief of the League of Nations Labor Office at Geneva, for the organization of an "Asiatic Labor Conference" in opposition to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, which already includes all important trade-union movements in the East except that of India. At the December, 1928, Congress of the India Trade Unions held at Jharia, Mr. Joshi was able to defeat the proposal to affiliate to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat by bringing forward against it this proposal for an Asiatic Conference to be held in Calcutta, by a narrow majority.

An example of Mr. Joshi's detailed policies in the class struggle is to be found in his position as one of the editors of the *Indian Railway Magazine*, a shameful sort of journal of more reactionary character than an American "company union" paper; in its issue of July, 1928, there is printed an editorial article in justification of the murder of striking railroad workers, praise of the scabs who took the stikers' places, and an appeal to the government to reward the scabs with an extra month's wages. Mr. Joshi finds it quite natural to be editor of such a journal.

Besides the prominent Mr. Joshi, there are a large number of reactionaries in more humble position, but, in their own way, just

as bad. The Indian working class is only taking its first steps to throw off such leadership; until this process is completed, and all the big and little reactionaries like N. M. Joshi are eliminated, the Indian trade-union movement will be unable successfully to fight its everyday battles which grow more bitter every week, or its great political struggle for a free India and for a workers' and peasants' government.

THE IX ALL-INDIA T. U. CONGRESS

Full reports of the IX Congress of the trade unions are not yet available. But from the fragmentary knowledge which has come from India, we can judge its main characteristics. It was, in the main, a new step in advance in the development of a fighting mass trade-union movement, directed against native reaction and foreign imperialism.

The Congress was addressed by J. W. Johnstone, from the United States, who attended as the delegate of the International League Against Imperialism. Johnstone was arrested and deported by the British Government as soon as he had spoken to the Congress. The Congress answered this provocation by deciding by a large majority to affiliate to the League Against Imperialism and send delegates to its coming World Congress in Paris in July.

On the issue of independence versus the dominion-status surrender, the Congress unequivocally declared for an unrelenting struggle for complete independence. It recorded the determination to press more energetically the struggle for improved wages and working conditions for all workers. It continued and further developed the alliance with the rising peasant movement and the organized connections between workers and peasants. It put forth a platform of demands for social insurance, for improved housing, etc. The Congress meetings were themselves used as instruments of mobilization of masses of workers, tens of thousands of miners from the neighboring pits attending the sessions of the Congress.

The militant spirit of the Congress was, as in previous years, only partially reflected organizationally in the elections of officers. Mr. Joshi, leader of all right-wing tendencies, retained his post of general secretary. As chairman was elected Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the most prominent "left nationalists," son of Pundit Motilal Nehru, who wrote the infamous Nehru Report. Young Nehru is in open political opposition to his father; in fact he calls himself a communist and is chairman of the United Provinces Workers-Peasants Party—but the actual substance of his political views seems to forecast for him a role in India similar to that played in China by the "left Kuomintang" of Wang Ching-wei & Co., a role of indecision, confusion, and final collapse in face of decisive struggle.

The decisive changes taking place in the Indian working class are not yet reflected at the top, except in the most distorted fashion. Much more definitely it is shown in the strike struggles and strike leadership, in which the left wing and communists come more and more to the front. Many great unions have arisen in the last months out of these struggles, entirely under left-wing leadership and control. These are not even allowed a vote in the Congress, but they control the masses in their struggles, which is much more important.

GREAT UPHEAVALS NOW PREPARING

Against this background of shifting class forces, betrayals by the bourgeoisie, the rise of the mass movement of workers and peasants, etc., the recent nation-wide raids of the government against the trade unions may be seen in their immense significance; also the fact, as reported in the news cables, that "the government coup has caused intense excitement throughout India." The first response of the workers to the provocation of the government was the strike of the textile mills at Dadar, near Bombay, where 20,000 workers walked out in a body on the day of the raids. The press censorship makes it impossible to follow closely the development of the struggle. What is clear is that great upheavals are now in preparation in India, economic struggles merging into great political battles, and in these upheavals the workers' movement, in alliance with the peasantry, will emerge as the bearers of the national independence struggle, which becomes part of, and merges into the struggle for socialism, for the workers' and peasants' democratic dictatorship.



Organization Report to the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

By J. STACHEL

COMRADES:

It is unfortunate that we cannot devote as much time to the discussion of the Party's organizational problems as it deserves; and it is also unfortunate that the Organizational Commission appointed at one of the sessions of the convention, did not get an opportunity to hold a regular meeting. As our Party Convention must come to a close tonight or by morning, I will therefore make my report in conformity with this existing situation. In my report, I will also therefore deal with the proposed draft constitution which is to be adopted by this convention as well as with the organization work.

I do not intend, comrades, to make a complete report of our work, but rather to indicate and take up the most basic problems that we have, and that we must pay adequate attention to if we are to be able to carry out the line of our Party, to carry out the Open Letter of the Comintern and the decisions of the Convention.

During the discussion of mass work at one of the Plenums of the Comintern Comrade Kuusinen made the following statement in his report:

"One of the relics of social democracy is the underestimation of the extent of the organizatory task involved in reaching the masses. This approaches very nearly to an underestimation of the consciously communist role of leadership. Miracles are expected from the elementary course of the spontaneous mass movement and inadequate steps are taken to organize and lead this mass movement. Our comrades talk a great deal about analysis of the situation, about slogans, political lines, etc., but unfortunately they concern themselves all too little with the organization of mass work."

Comrades, this is the best quotation that I could find in searching through quite a bit of material and I think it is sufficiently adequate and fits our Party very well. In other words, comrades, right-wing mistakes are not to be found only in the Party's main line, right-wing mistakes are to be found in the execution of this line, and I am speaking now particularly about our organization work.

Our Party as it is today, organizationally, is not yet fit to carry out the very important and increasingly important tasks that we face. We talk about the war danger. We talk about the organization of the unorganized. These principal tasks of our Party cannot be carried out unless we do a great deal to overcome many of the present organizational shortcomings. Our campaigns, many of them, do not reach deep enough among the masses. Many of them remain merely on paper and principally because of this organizational shortcoming.

COMPOSITION OF MEMBERSHIP

In attempting to discuss at the present time our Party's organization problems, it is necessary first of all to give an analysis of the Party composition, and this is not merely from the point of view of social composition which is the principal one in matter of composition but also from the point of view of the distribution of the Party in the various industries, the age composition of the Party, the question of the language and native born workers, Negro masses, working women; all these are questions which we must take up; because we will find in such a study of the composition of our Party, that we will be able to trace many shortcomings in the Party's political work.

First of all about the size of our membership. Our membership today is not what Mr. Cannon said in the February, 1928, Plenum; it is not between four and five or six thousand. Our membership today is somewhere between 12,000 to 14,000. Our dues-paying membership is at the present time and has been for the last year averaging 9,300. Of course, we can say that there have been strikes, unemployment; that is correct, but much of the discrepancy between the actual membership and the dues-paying figure is due also to a lack of understanding in the Party of the importance of paying dues, not merely from the viewpoint of a financial problem but from the viewpoint of a political and organizational problem.

How does this figure compare relatively? Well, before the Party reorganization in September, 1925, the dues-paying figures were 14,000. At that time we had a block of seven to eight thousand, consisting of Finnish workers. There were also groups among the Czechoslovaks, Letts, which, like the Finnish Federation, were social-democratic organizations in the main. You will recall, comrades, that the Finnish Federation maintained its name to the end—the Socialist Finnish Federation, affiliated with the Communist Party. And you will recall the Lettish organization in New

York, having about 150 workers, 500 throughout the country, maintained its name—the Lettish Club of New York, affiliated with the Communist Party. And you will recall in New Jersey and other sections of the country the Women's Czechoslovakian branch of the Workers Party.

With the reorganization of the Party naturally these elements were sloughed off. They were not expelled formally. They did not come into the reorganization of the Party, for instance, those among the Finnish comrades, Czechoslovakian comrades, Letts, Germans, who went out together with Lore. Those who remained are today good comrades, carrying on Party activity. It is characteristic, important, but not surprising, not at all, that those who remained have today more influence among the masses, in their respective languages, than the old Federations had with their big membership. Take, for example, activity—even such a thing as attending Party meetings or fulfilling the basic Party task of participating in elections in the units. I remember the time when we had in 1925 out of 1,100 Finnish members in New York only 66 participating. At the present time, comrades, our membership—absolutely, in terms of dues-paying members—is smaller than in 1925, before reorganization. But actually, from the point of view of active members attending meetings, participating in Party work, mass activity—the Party membership has increased quite a bit.

Let us for a moment mention the last elections in the units. Over 7,000 participated in the elections—perhaps around 7,400 throughout the country. Surely Mr. Cannon must have been wrong when he said we have around 5,000 members, when 7,400 voted in the Party elections. And I say, comrades, that when we can record 9,300 dues-paying members and 7,400 participating in the elections, we see where the membership is and see that our membership is participating in Party work and in the solution of Party problems. Let us take the period since reorganization. For the first year since reorganization, 1926, the average number of dues-paying members was 7,599; for the year 1927—8,200 odd. We see, comrades, therefore, not a big increase, not a satisfactory one, but nevertheless we can record a slight increase—about 1,000 every year—which is, of course, not a very good showing, but at least gives the lie to those who say our Party is in a period of retrogression as far as membership is concerned.

SOCIAL COMPOSITION

Now as to social composition: Comrades, it is a fact that the composition of our membership is not good, and it would be foolish merely to state the number of workers in the Party and try to prove that we have a good social composition. We have to go a

little more into detail, taking up the industries, the important industries, the basic industries; for example, the war industries,—in order actually to be able to know to what extent our Party has roots among the basic sections of the masses. Nevertheless, I want to say that those comrades are wrong who have the notion that our Party consists of a majority of petty-bourgeois elements. I have heard that said, and I believe I will have to prove to the comrades that that is wrong. We have not at the present time, covering the last few months, a complete analysis of the Party composition. Our complete analysis we have only for the period of about May, June, July of 1928, when we prepared a report which was sent to the C. I. Organization Department at the time of the Sixth World Congress. In addition to that we already have a partial report on a registration being taken now throughout the Party.

What do we find in the more or less complete report? We find that out of about 10,000 members registered, 8,136 are classified under what we call Group A Workers; 450 classified under Group B—also workers-social service group; barbers, window-cleaners, janitors, etc., and 1,696 in Group C, which includes housewives, office workers, students, salesmen, professional workers and business men. It is not enough for me to state that here we have 80 per cent workers. How about the basic industries? That is the first question. It is my opinion here that we cannot say that the situation is very good. Why? Let us look for a moment; let us begin with the building trades: There are a very large number listed in the building trades. Not a very large number when compared with the number of workers actually in these trades, but large in proportion to the rest of the working class in our Party. There are 986 in the building trades; 1,527 in the needle trades; then we have the food workers—about 400; shoe-workers 300; metal workers, 851; textile workers, 146; now, I believe, about 350, after the New Bedford strike, the strikes in Paterson and Fall River. We had 1,200 miners at that time; now the number is much smaller, because, as I shall point out later, many of these enrolled during the mining campaign—in fact, the greater bulk of them—dropped out of the Party. Continuing the list we have: lumber workers, 163; railroad workers (very important to us), only 56; marine workers, only 33; automobile workers, 407; rubber workers, 82; furniture workers, 50; laborers, 1,170, printers, 195.

Comrades, I think this shows our problem. The basic industries—not one among the packing house workers (there maybe some classified among the food workers or laborers). The figures are not absolutely accurate, but even so it is clear that the great bulk of the membership does not consist of those in the basic industries. Not at all. And in some industries we have practically nothing.

For example, among the chemical workers,—I don't think we have twenty-five in the entire Party, and we all realize the importance of this industry in the present situation.

BASIC INDUSTRIES

While it is true that the majority in the Party are workers nevertheless the composition from the point of view of the basic industries and industrial workers is not good. Even those in the basic industries that we have are in one or two industries—not a good cross-section of the industries of the country. Nevertheless, we must say, comrades, that we have too many petty-bourgeois elements throughout the country, particularly in some districts. For example, the district of Minnesota, which is considered a good district. They brought in a big delegation,—eight delegates. This district shows what? 850 members registered; 250 industrial workers, 150 farmers, 150 clerks and office employees, and 250 housewives, ten petty-bourgeois elements and 40 intellectuals. Comrades, certainly this district needs a lot of improvement. Here is a district where out of 850 members, only 250 are industrial workers, 150 clerks. Of course these clerks are in the cooperatives, but they are clerks nevertheless, and they do not participate in mass struggles, they are not in the factories, not in the unions. The same with the housewives. However, one more thing should be added. In some districts, some comrades are of the opinion, just because they have a bad composition of membership that there are no industries in their district. Take, for example, California. California, I think, can compare with any district in bad social composition. This is not the fault of any one comrade. It is the fault of all of us, the entire Party, and of the Organization Department. But we note, for example, that the comrades in California had the idea that there were no industries in California. For example, in the Los Angeles sub-district, where the greatest majority of our membership is constituted, according to the report of a comrade who had made a study, the majority of our membership constitute non-proletarians, and also from the point of view of nationality, practically 90% of the membership is Jewish. And most of them are detached from any struggle—except the big struggle which has been going on in the last few months, that is, the internal Party struggle. They were very active in that struggle.

A few months after the last Party Convention, we made an attempt through the Organization Department to direct the entire Party to a study of its field of activity. We worked out a questionnaire which we sent out to all locals asking them to make a survey of the industries, the unions, the mass organizations, and begin to work consciously and systematically within them. We received a

very bad response. I was told by some comrades the questionnaire was too involved. I think that was correct, and therefore when the Women's Department tried to work out a similar questionnaire, we were able to give them good advice. We told them, the more questions you ask the less answers you get. There are industries in California, and I hope the comrades will be able to find them and that the Organization Department will be more active in helping them to find them after this Convention.

Also in Buffalo and Connecticut we have too many petty-bourgeois elements.

NEGRO MEMBERSHIP SMALL

Now, comrades, a few words on the question of Negroes. I don't know the exact number, but I believe we have somewhere between 150 and 200 Negroes in the Party. A hundred and fifty-nine, Comrade Huiswoud says, besides those that have been taken in recently. Comrade Hall reported, after his recent tour, that 300 Negro workers signed applications to join the Party. I hope we have succeeded already in getting them into the Party, but judging from past experience in recruiting members at mass meetings, if we succeed in getting the District Organizers to follow them up and bring half into active Party membership it will be a great victory for our Party. The recruits we secure directly through the factory nuclei usually have a greater average remaining in the Party. However, even if it is 300, the number is quite small in comparison with the size of the Negro working class in the industries, because we know that in the past few years there has been a steady increase of the Negroes in the basic industries, and when we examine the progress of our Party in these industrial districts we find we have advanced very little. Take, for instance, the district of Detroit. In my opinion it is a very good district. It is true they have a very good industrial composition, but how many Negroes do you have in the Party? Why don't you have one Negro comrade here today? You fell down on the job, which shows that even our best section doesn't yet pay sufficient attention to drawing in Negro workers into our Party. This is true about every district in the country, practically, and this is one of the basic problems in Party composition, and I say, comrades, that we must set ourselves a goal that by the next Convention we should have at least 2,000 Negro workers in our Party. (Applause).

TOO FEW WORKING WOMEN

Comrades, a word or two about working women.

Women in our Party constitute about 22% of our membership. But if I stopped here, it would not be correct. At least half of these

are housewives, which shows that while there are $8\frac{1}{4}$ million working women in the country, the percentage of working women in our Party is only 10%. That is bad. We are therefore behind from this point of view in the social composition of our Party.

A word or two about age composition. This Convention—even this Convention—is not a very young Convention. That is my opinion from looking over the delegates.

AGE COMPOSITION

The average age of our Party, comrades, is somewhere between 30 and 40. I think, comrades, that the Party composition from age point of view should be much younger and in this connection, with the help of the Organization Department of the Comintern, we have made certain proposals which are embodied in the draft thesis which we hope we will carry through in cooperation with the Young Communist League after this Convention, which should lead to the improvement of the age composition of our Party.

MUST RECRUIT MORE NATIVE WORKERS

How about the composition of our membership from the point of view of native workers? Here I think the situation is not good. I can just name for example some of the reports from the districts. Take District 5, Pittsburgh—95 Americans. Not so bad, but out of a membership of 550! Minnesota—out of 850 members, 50 Americans. District 10—out of a membership of 278—86 Americans.

(Interruption: Do you mean Americans who came over on the Mayflower?) We are not talking about the Mayflower, but of native workers in the basic industries. District Philadelphia—270 Jews, 10 Finns, 62 Italians, 38 Ukrainians, 22 Russians, 50 Americans. (Scharfenberg: How about the Germans?) We can find only 9 Germans here. District 6, Cleveland—103 South Slavs, for example, 56 Hungarians, 13 Russians, 170 others, but only 70 Americans.

Of course, comrades, let us not be discouraged. If you study these figures in comparison with the figures at the time when we had a so-called “English Federation” in the Party, you will find that in spite of the fact that the so-called English branches included many elements that could hardly speak English, yet they constituted an insignificant percentage of the Party membership. Therefore there has been some improvement. But the situation is quite bad. At the same time, I want to say a few words at this point on the question of foreign-born and native born, and this brings me to the second question before us, and that is we, all of us, must at the present time direct the entire Party, orientate the entire Party to-

wards work in the factories, concentraing particulaly in the basic industries. And when we approach the problem of work in the factories and the basic industries principally, what do we face? We face the fact that the working class of this country, in its national composition, consists of a majority of foreign born. For example, we find 67% of the oil workers are foreign-born, 62% of the packing house workers, 61% of the miners. We find textile workers over 60%, clothing workers also over 60%, steel workers over 60%; in fact, talking about the basic industries, as I said, not the great majority, but a majority, over 60% are foreign born. If we add the number of Negroes and young workers to the foreign born, you will find that they constitute the overwhelming majority of the workers in the basic industries. That means something for us. It seems that so long as we will concentrate in the basic industries—and we must concentrate in the basic industries—we will have the overwhelming majority in our Party consisting of foreign-born, young workers and Negroes. The young workers in the basic industries are mostly native born, the children of foreign-born workers. Of course we must mention that the changes in agriculture and the rationalization in industry bring and will bring larger numbers in the near future of native American elements into the basic industries. The trouble at present is, we haven't enough Negroes, not enough young workers and not enough even foreign-born from the basic industries and certainly an insufficient number of native born. The youth are American, native born, you say. I will come to that. That is why we have a special point in the draft thesis dealing with the age composition. Because we must deal with these millions of young workers who in certain industries and enterprises constitute a majority; and if we do that, we will be able to improve the native composition of our Party.

At the same time it would be incorrect to interpret this demand as meaning that we must not do everything in our power to draw in genuine native American elements into our Party from the basic industries, also from industries not so basic.

THE QUESTION OF FACTORY WORK

FACTORY NUCLEI—Our Party today is not yet organized as a Bolshevik Party. About 90% of the Party is organized in street nuclei. Only 10% are in factory nuclei. However, one thing is encouraging, and that is that our factory nuclei, all of them, practically, are in plants of over 1,000 workers. And all of our 120 so-called nuclei (of some of them I say so-called because they are not functioning) are in factories of nearly one-half million workers.

That is a very important fact, comrades, which we can and must register. In other words, if our Party comrades organized in the

factory nuclei carry out their Communist duty in their everyday work, through these factory nuclei, they can gather contacts among a half million workers in the basic industries, because all our nuclei are in mining, steel, metal, rubber, automobile, textile, etc., with only one in the needle trades. Certainly it is impossible for the Party to continue in the present stage with only 10% in the factory nuclei. And for that reason following this Convention, comrades, we will have to see to it that the work of our districts, of our sections is completely orientated toward work in the factories, and to the building up of factory nuclei. In doing this we will have to pay attention to the special problem of the factory towns. We all know that there are a great number of industrial towns where there are basic industries, very large plants, where the workers are most bitely exploited, where they are company ruled, where the workers are in actual slavery, and where our Party has no foothold at all. Our membership is to be found mostly in the larger cities.

FACTORY TOWNS AND COLONIZATION

In approaching the question of factory work, of building up factory nuclei, we will have to pay a great deal of attention to these factory towns. And in connection with this, we will have to take up, not as an adventure, not as a piece of romanticism, but as an actual problem, the question of colonization. Colonization does not mean, Comrades District Organizers, that you write a letter to the national office to please send you five comrades experienced in a certain industry. I assure you we have no file of steel workers, metal workers, that we can send to your district. What does it mean? Does it mean that from New York and the other big cities we send out comrades? No, it means that every District Organizer must in his district, and every Section Organizer, or Sub-District Organizer must in his territory, make a study of the most basic industrial plants, and begin systematic activity in transferring comrades from less important industries to these basic industries and concentrate activity there. It means that Cleveland, for example, can take from the city of Cleveland many comrades who are engaged in the not so important industries and transfer them to Akron, etc., to build up the Party and carry on the Communist work. Comrades, we have had some experience in colonization, some good, some bad. I want to mention the bad side only.

How do some of our comrades conceive of colonization? Some comrades conceive it as going into some industry and becoming a *Weisbord* in a couple of weeks. Everyone wants to go into an industry and conduct a big strike in two weeks. That would not be so bad if you could do it successfully, but strikes are not built that way. Comrades, do not conceive of colonization as a need for going

in right among the masses of workers and staying there for a long time and building systematically. Some comrades conceive it as visiting. They want to go for two weeks into one plant, then somewhere else—they do not stay in one place a sufficient time to get a foothold among the workers. And of course some comrades make many mistakes. For example, some New York comrades, when they come to another district, consider their first task to impress upon that district how backward it is and that they come from the leading district of the Party. New York is the leading district, but some of the other districts can teach New York many things, for example how to organize factory nuclei. Colonization, comrades, must become systematized and the comrades sent into plants to work and to build the Party nuclei. If we do that, we will accomplish a great deal, because there is no question that the field is ripe, quite ripe for this work. The masses are willing to listen to the straight message of communism. Of course some comrades make the mistake of coming into a plant at 8 A. M. and advertising that they come direct from New York, that they are Bolsheviks, and they lose their jobs at 12 o'clock. That is not good. It is not entirely the fault of these comrades. The Organization Department in the center and the district will have to work out directives for these comrades; how to carry on the work, and explain it to them. We have attempted to do this through the press and Party Organizer. Not sufficiently, it is true; we have to strengthen that line.

ACTIVITIES OF OUR FACTORY NUCLEI

Now about those factory nuclei we have: Do they function? Well, some of them do. Some of them do pretty good work, but quite a number, comrades, are nuclei merely in the sense that the comrades who belong to that so-called unit all work in the same factory. They do not perform the functions of a factory nucleus in carrying on mass activity among workers there. In fact there are some that call themselves nuclei, who meet far away from the factory, never talk to the workers there, never publish any bulletins there, and in fact are not nuclei, and the members there are not very good Communists. We have had cases, for example, where members of our Party have worked in a plant for 10 or 15 years, and all the foremen knew they were Communists, but they were never fired, because they never did their communist duty. ut we played a trick on them. Some of these comrades we asked to come together and do some real work and to publish a bulletin. They refused to come. Those that came were not known to the foremen as communists, but were known to workers, and they did some good communist work. But who were fired? Those who did not do anything.

Some comrades ask shall we work openly or shall we work secret-

ly. That is a foolish question. We must work in such a way that the workers know that there is a communist nucleus, that it gives direction, that it takes up every struggle, brings Party slogans into the factories, mobilizes the workers not only on the basis of immediate issues but ties up with the Party's main slogans and demands; that these workers know that there is a Party in the factory leading struggles. That means we must lead struggles so that they will know it. At the same time that the workers will know your activity the sympathizers know the members of the nucleus, the bosses should not know who they are. Certainly not. Secret to the enemy but the workers must know. If a nucleus is secret altogether so that nobody can find them, particularly the workers, when a nucleus is such that the workers can't find it and the bosses do, that is not a nucleus. When we have a nucleus which the workers know through its activity, and the bosses can't find out who the leaders are, that is a very good communist nucleus.

(To be continued)



The New Imperialist Offensive Against the Philippines

By KARL REEVE

THE CHOICE of Henry L. Stimson as Secretary of State in the Hoover cabinet is one of the steps in the policy of the United States Government to increase the intensity of the exploitation of the semi-colonies in Latin-America, of the Philippine Islands and the other colonies of the United States. After a trip to Nicaragua as the representative of the Coolidge administration, during which he bought off the leaders of the Liberal Party and planned the further conquest of Nicaragua by the marines, Stimson was rewarded with the job of governor-general of the Philippines.

As governor-general of the Philippines, Stimson carried further the work begun by his predecessor, General Wood, of consolidating the control of the resources of the Philippines more directly in the hands of U. S. imperialism. In carrying out this task, a double line of strategy was followed. On the one hand, Congress passed laws, amending the governing of the Islands, allowing the more free entry of American capital into the Philippines, amending the corporation laws of the Islands; and giving to the Governor General a large sum of money—\$125,000,—to make his dictatorship entirely free of the decisions of the Philippine legislature. On the other, Quezon and the other leaders of the Nationalists and Democratist parties, who had long cooperated with American imperialism were induced to agree heartily to all these changes. Stimson did his work so well that before his promotion, the native bourgeoisie and their political spokesmen, Quezon and others, instead of paying lip-service to requests for independence, spent their time in openly extolling Stimson and American imperialism. The alliance between the Philippine landlords and the industrial bourgeoisie with American imperialism was completed under Stimson and the class issues were made clear to the toilers of the Philippines, and their organizations against the native bourgeoisie allied with U. S. imperialism.

The Open Letter of the Communist International to the Communist Party of the United States has correctly pointed out that

“the aggressiveness of the United States in the struggle for markets and the most important sources of raw material throughout the

world is growing swiftly. The election of Hoover as president means that American imperialism is resolutely embarking on a course which leads to colonial wars of occupation and to an extremely rapid accentuation of the struggle between the United States and its chief imperialist rival—Great Britain. American imperialism is striving for a monopolist position in world economy and politics and is becoming more and more involved in the universal crisis of capitalism and comes more and more into the orbit of the growing instability of world capitalism.”

And this struggle between the United States and its imperialist rivals is taking place with particular intensity in the Pacific arena. In the struggle, the Philippines occupy a strategic position. It becomes of great importance to study the recent developments in the Philippines and to take action to support the struggle of the militant trade unions and peasant organizations, and to link this struggle more closely to the struggle of the workers of America against American imperialism.

Pablo Manlapit, who is a member of the National Committee of the AAAIL is active in this work. Manlapit, it will be recalled, led the strikes of the Filipino workers in Hawaii in 1924-25 and served two years of a ten years sentence for his strike activity before being released on condition that he do not return to Hawaii. Meetings of the Filipino workers have recently been held in Los Angeles and other western cities. The Philippine Confederation of Peasants at its last convention, elected two delegates to attend the world Anti-Imperialist Conference to be held this summer in Berlin.

The Congreso Obrero de Filipinas and the Confederation of Peasants both maintain contact with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, whose head offices are in Shanghai, and undoubtedly both organizations will be represented at the Congress of the P. P. T. U. S. to be held in August in Vladivostock. The Philippines are entitled to five delegates according to the call for the Congress recently issued in the Pan-Pacific Monthly, official organ of the P. P. T. U. S., now published in San Francisco.

The capture of the Philippine Islands from Spain in 1898, and still more the Filipino-American war of 1898-1901, marked the debut of the United States as a full blown imperialist power. The “paternal” domination over Cuba, the possession of Guam, Porto Rico and the Philippines, all came about in this period. But it was in the taking of the Philippine Islands, not from Spain, but from the Filipinos themselves, in a bloody three years war, which most strikingly demonstrated the new methods and objects of American imperialism.

After the defeat of the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay in 1898

by the United States fleet, it was the Filipino army led by Aguinaldo which, egged on and encouraged by the American generals, defeated the Spanish land forces and hemmed them in at Manila. The Filipinos had long fought for independence. Prior to 1872, there had been thirty-four revolts against Spain. The Filipinos now seized this opportunity to again claim independence. On June 12, 1898, a "revolutionary" government was set up by the Filipinos at Cavite, an alliance between the peasants and the native bourgeoisie, just two months before the American army arrived. This government set as its task "to abolish with a firm hand the vices of the Spanish administration," and a provisional temporary constitution was formulated. The government declared itself founded on "the *right* for its only justification, for its sole aid, *justice*, and for its only means *honorable labor*." In three months this government was transformed into a republic with Aguinaldo as president. The Filipino army defeated the Spaniards, and the U. S. government, realizing as Major Bell said, "that Aguinaldo and his leaders will resist any attempt of any government to recognize a colonial government," prepared to wipe out the Filipino army.

However, the fruits of the Filipino victory over the Spanish army were reaped by the U. S. forces which had been rushed into the Philippines by the thousands. The Filipino army which had besieged the Spaniards in Manila, was not even allowed to enter the city. After the treaty of peace with Spain, the United States army began its bloody conquest of the Islands, which, with the exception of Manila, were now held by the well-organized Filipino regime. The American army attacked the Filipinos at Manila without warning, and the slaughter was on. Towns were laid waste by the U. S. army. Hundreds of thousands were killed. Thousands were terribly tortured. Few prisoners were taken, the wounded being slain in cold blood. In the island of Luzon alone, one-sixth of the population was wiped out. Major Bell, in charge of these operations, declared: "It has been thought necessary to adopt what in other countries would probably be thought harsh measures." A Congressman, after visiting the Philippine Islands, stated: "Our soldiers took no prisoners, they kept no records; they simply swept the country and whenever or wherever they could get hold of a Filipino, they killed him." The historian, Latane, remarked upon "the ruthless slaughter of the wounded."

Reconcentration was practised, that is, herding all Filipinos within limited areas and slaughtering all those found outside. General Smith ordered: "I want no prisoners. I want you to kill and burn. The more you kill and burn, the better it will please me." He ordered all males over ten years of age killed, and orders were

given to burn whole districts to the ground. Major Waller, in 1901 said: "I wish to go southward a little, destroying all houses and crops." This wish was carried out. The water torture, often carried on until the victim died, unmerciful whipping and beating, stringing up by the thumbs, are a few of the tortures which were publicly revealed. Cases of cutting strips from prisoners' ankles, attaching the strips to pieces of wood and then coiling the flesh up the shin bone were also revealed. Prisoners were dragged by ropes behind galloping horses. Thus were the Philippine Islands conquered by the United States imperialist government in the war of 1898-1901.¹

Governors were then sent to the Philippine Islands to consolidate the bloody conquest carried out by the United States army. Wm. H. Taft was the first governor who began the task of making the status of the Philippines, as a colonial possession, permanent. Taft was succeeded by Governor-General F. B. Harrison. In 1916, the U. S. Congress passed the Jones law which defined the government of the Philippine Islands. In 1907, the Philippine Assembly was created and in 1916, the Senate. The governor-general, however, retained dictatorial powers. In 1921, General Leonard Wood was given charge of the Philippines. A large naval base was established and a permanent army and constabulary set up.

The economic conquest went forward rapidly. U. S. capital in 1924 invested in the Philippines amounted to nearly one half billion dollars. Catherine Mayo, the prostituted writer for world imperialism who wrote the infamous book *Mother India*, secured her first practice in the service of imperialism by writing *The Isles of Fear*, which aims to show that the only reason America entered the Philippines, is to save the masses of the people from the cruel exploitation of the Filipino bourgeoisie. It is revealing to note that Catherine Mayo devotes only thirteen words of her 350-page book to the rape of the Philippines by the U. S. army. She says: "thereby necessitating a campaign on our part to restore peace to the Islands." This is the attention given by Catherine Mayo to the murder of hundreds of thousands of Filipinos, the spreading of pestilence and ruin throughout the entire country by the American army. She says of General Wood's coming to the Philippines in 1921: "He fell to work, and presently was able to secure from first-class American operating companies a most gratifying response in the form of proposals to handle the railroads and the sugar centrals," and she is appalled at the fact that the Filipino peasants

¹For an account of the Philippine-American war, see *The Conquest of the Philippines*, by Morfield Storey and M. P. Lichanco.

and workers objected to this taking over the country by U. S. capital.

Already in 1924, although there were only 6,931 Americans in the Philippines, this less than one per cent of the population rendered 5,852 income tax returns as against 3,667 income tax returns rendered by the Filipinos, representing 99 per cent of the population. At the same time, even according to the figures of this imperialist buzzard, the average income of a Filipino family of five persons was estimated at only \$70 per year. At this time, 65.3 per cent of the Philippines' foreign trade was with the United States, amounting to one hundred thirty-six and a quarter million dollars a year. The Philippine exports to the U. S. increased from fifteen million dollars in 1909 to one hundred thirty-two millions in 1923. And yet the Philippines had not been fully exploited up until 1924. The manila hemp trade, a monopoly of the Philippine Islands, was always important, also sugar, rice and copra were important industries. But the exploitation of the latent natural resources, coal, iron, etc., had not yet begun. The Philippines, largely an agricultural country, were important chiefly as a naval base and trade outpost, as a fortress of American imperialism in the east, the trade being particularly important after the opening of the Panama Canal.

In 1921, when Governor-General Wood was sent to the Philippines, America had already taken a dominant position in the imperialist arena, and had five billion dollars invested abroad, exclusive of war loans. American imperialism was struggling for complete supremacy on the world markets. This increased the importance of the Philippines and explains the extreme harshness of General Wood's regime. It explains why President Coolidge demanded more power for the American governor-general and less for the Philippine Legislature. In 1925-26, the government announced its intention of breaking England's monopoly on the crude rubber supply, England then controlling 70 per cent of the crude rubber supply, 77 per cent of which is consumed in the United States. It was at this time brought to the forefront that one and a half million acres of fine rubber-growing lands are in the Philippines, chiefly in Mindanao. The government set about exploiting the Philippines in earnest, seeking new ways of tapping the riches of her principal colony.

Today, the Philippine Islands are not only the key military position of the U. S. in Asia, not only the most important trading post, especially after the completion of the Panama Canal, but a country of economic importance to the United States. The report of the Department of Commerce on Foreign Trade in 1928, declares that Asia is steadily increasing in importance as a market for

American goods. It declares that Asia made the greatest gain, both as a market for American goods and as a source of supply for American imports. Compared with pre-war, exports to Asia increased 392 per cent in value and probably about 240 per cent in quantity. Imports from Asia increased in the same period 331 per cent. This is by far the greatest increase of any other section of the world, and emphasizes the importance to the United States of the Philippine Islands. The Philippine Islands themselves are seventeenth on the list of countries trading with the U. S. Eighty million dollars worth of exports were sent to the Philippine Islands in 1928, and one hundred fifteen and a half million dollars worth were imported from the Philippines to the U. S.

The U. S. government, in order to sugar-coat the pill of American despotism, has been dangling the promise of independence before the Filipinos for many years. The Jones bill of 1916, which constitutes the basic, organic law of the Philippine Islands, declared that it was the aim of the U. S. government to give the Philippines a more and more autonomous form of government, and to give as soon as possible, complete independence to the Philippine Islands. But in 1924, President Coolidge again issued a statement, repeated many times before, that the Philippines were "not yet ready" for independence. Due to the pressure of the Filipino masses, whose twelve million population is overwhelmingly peasant, both political parties, the Nationalistas and the Democratistas, declared themselves for independence for the Philippines. No one can be elected to office unless he declares himself for independence. But, of course, these two parties both represent the landlord class and the industrial bourgeoisie, and have made their peace completely and openly with American imperialism. The Filipino Legislature and Assembly have nearly every year petitioned the U. S. government for independence. But the leaders of the Philippine independence movement as expressed by the leaders of these two parties, have continued to follow the policy of begging on bended knee for independence, and appealing to the U. S. Congress on the ground that the "Philippines are worthy of independence."

It was with the inauguration of Governor-General Stimson in 1928, to succeed General Wood, that the alliance between the Philippine landlord class and native, industrial bourgeoisie and American imperialism was openly announced. With this setting of the seal upon an alliance which had long ago taken place, even the lip service of the Filipino politicians to independence subsided to an unheard murmur. Stimson declared, in his inaugural address, that it was not in his power to determine the issue of independence. He declared, however, that the Filipinos must forget their politics and must remember the economic and industrial blessings brought

to the Philippines by American imperialism. He declared: "I lay particular stress upon industrial and economic progress." Just as Booker T. Washington tried to lull to sleep the American Negroes, with his talk of service to the American capitalists, so did Stimson preach economic slavery to the Filipinos. He declared that American imperialism must come more directly into the life of the Philippines, calling for "guidance of American industrial experience and capital" in the Islands. He stated: "Enormous social benefit could be derived, should the Filipino people, in large numbers and of all classes, laborers, artisans and investors, be brought into friendly, profitable and cooperating contact with the representative business men of industrial America."

Stimson's message received a hearty response from the Filipino politicians representing the landlords and the industrial bourgeoisie. For example, D. P. U. Corpus, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands and general manager of the Yangco Steamship Company, said: "Foreign capital should be welcomed with open arms." Of Stimson's address he said, "his is sound advice."

Governor-General Stimson, who in November, 1928, forwarded to the War Department his report, and gloated over the victory of American imperialism, boasted of the fact that the new pro-American policy of Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmena, the leaders of the Filipino Legislature, provided Stimson with an enlarged executive staff and gave him the regular authority to begin unmerciful exploitation of the Philippine Islands by big American corporations on a large scale. Stimson praises Quezon's "great courage and wisdom," in persuading the Filipinos to accept his program. He adds:

"The enactment of the corporation law will, I believe, mark a new era in Philippine history, not only by reason of the importance of the bill itself, but chiefly because of what its passage signifies. In view of the inexperience of the Filipino people with modern business, as well as their most natural desire to hold fast to their inheritance of public land and avoid abuses of exploitation, the course of this debate and its result have been in a high degree creditable. Their leaders have shown a great courage and vision and have succeeded in winning over public opinion, which was at first suspicious and hesitating, to the support of what I firmly believe will signalize a new epoch in Philippine economic development."

Stimson praises the legislature for raising its tariff duty on sugar and tobacco to the American tariff level, "putting an end forever, we hope, to the possibility of any criticism that the Philippine government has been unmindful of its duty to play fair with the American market."

Quezon, as president of the Senate, declared that the legis-

lature's achievements constituted "a record of which the country may well be proud," and declared the legislators should be congratulated on the "splendid service they have rendered the country." Thus did Stimson earn his right to be Secretary of State in Hoover's cabinet, by coming to an agreement with the Filipino bourgeoisie, so that both can unite in exploiting the masses of the Filipino peasantry and workers.

Stimson declared before Congress recently, with regard to the duties of the governor-general: "I am very far from in any wise criticizing the attitude of the Philippine government or the Philippine leaders in that respect. They not only met my criticism last year when I was out there in a very cordial spirit, but they suggested that they themselves would provide the money for it." Stimson here refers to the bill before the last session of Congress, H. R. 8567, which was favorably reported from committee and which is on the House calendar to come up during the coming session, which increases the annual salaries of the governor-general and the other American dictators in the Philippines, and provides that the governor-general receive a fund of \$125,000 per year to be turned over to him by the U. S. Secretary of War from the taxes collected by the United States on goods brought into the United States from the Philippine Islands. This bill means that the governor-general is made more independent of the Philippine legislature and instead of receiving appropriations from the legislature, which would be spent under the direction of the Philippine government departments, he receives a fund to be expended for "salary, travel, and other expenses of such civilian assistants and technical advisors, or such emergency assistants as he may see fit to employ on contracts calling for whole or part-time services."

Stimson says in his testimony before the House Committee on Insular Affairs:

"You can see the importance of not depending upon the possible transitory good will of the Philippine legislature for the means of carrying out this American function. Anything in the future that we can not see now might occur, so that such support by the Philippine legislature might not be accorded in the future . . . The governor-general now in accordance with the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the Islands and in accordance with the ruling of the Attorney-General of the United States, is the sole stockholder of several very important business enterprises, including the Philippine National Bank, the railroad in Luzon, a cement plant in Cebu, indirectly five or six sugar centrals in Negros, a coal mine in another part of the Island, and possibly other industrial enterprises that I do not recall now. . . . The Philippine National Bank is the foundation not only of its own business, but of the stable currency of the Islands."

The minority report of the Committee on Insular Affairs regarding this bill proposed the appropriation, among other reasons on the ground that

"it is contrary to the traditional policy adopted by America in the Philippines of granting the Philippines ever-increasing measures of self-government, with a view to final independence. It implies lack of confidence in the Philippine legislature and disturbs the spirit of mutual confidence which should exist. . . . To grant the governor-general authority to expend a sum of money without appropriation by their duly constituted law-making body is a curtailment of their autonomy which we have given them to understand should be enhanced rather than diminished."

The report speaks of "the old days of mutual help and cooperation which have not characterized the last seven years of occupation of the Islands." Stimson had declared in his testimony that it is essential that

"the provision made for these gentlemen who are to constitute the governor-general's eyes and ears, should be independent of any control on the part of the people whom they are to inspect."

Of course, this policy of more and more dominating all phases of the government and economic life of the Philippine Islands has been carried on ever since the conquest of 1898. At the present time, when the U. S. is struggling to maintain its domination of the world market, in competition particularly with the British Empire, the absolute domination of the Philippine Islands assumes increasing importance, an importance which can readily be understood when we recall the importance of U. S. foreign trade in Asia and the fact that in the vicinity of the Philippines, in China, etc., is the point where England, America and Japan meet in a competition which may at any time break out into a world war.

The bill mentioned is only one of a series proposed before Congress which have received favorable reports, which are for the purpose of preparing for the coming struggle, which will have as one of its important arenas the Pacific. Another bill, H. R. 16877, favorably reported from committee, calls for the bi-annual inspection of the Philippine Islands by a board of five congressmen. A resolution has recently been passed by both Houses of Congress and signed by the President calling for a "joint Congressional Commission to study the administration of the Insular Possession of the U. S. with a view to reorganization or the creation of a single Bureau of Insular Affairs." All those bills calling for the carrying out of the provision of the Jones law to provide independence for the Philippines are immediately side-tracked and buried in committee.

The most important bill which amends the corporation law of the Philippine Islands, H. R. 16881, and passed the House on February 13, 1929, is the law which gives American capital free rein in the Philippine Islands. This law, approved by the partners of American imperialism, the Philippine bourgeoisie, provides that corporations may deal in real estate, that any person may be a stockholder in more than one agricultural or mining company, holding as high as 15 per cent of the voting stock, and corporations may likewise hold such stock and may hold without limitation stock in other classes of corporations, foreign or domestic. A corporation may be organized for more than one "corporate purpose." Stock and bond dividends are authorized. Authority is given to dispose of the entire assets with the consent of the holders of two-thirds of the voting stock. Building and loan corporations may issue investment stock. The committee reporting this bill declares:

"These changes, insofar as they are in conflict with previous Congressional legislation, are designed to remove restrictions that have hindered investments in Philippine enterprises. . . . The passage of this act, representing the results of the labor of the bar associations of the Philippine Islands and also of the legislature, was urgently recommended by the present governor-general. He has approved it as enacted."

While the Philippine native bourgeoisie has been bought out by American imperialism and is carrying out American imperialism's program of increased exploitation, the Philippine masses are carrying on the fight for independence and for better conditions and carrying on the struggle against American imperialism. One of the resolutions passed by the Philippine Confederation of Peasants at its Congress a few months ago, protests against the amendment to the Philippine corporation law described above, and voices its vigorous protest against the approval of this amendment by the Philippine legislature and the U. S. government. The resolution declares that the law

"will give more provisions and open door to foreign capitalists for exploitation and means absolutely surrendering to imperialism. It is the result of the cooperation between the leaders of the bourgeoisie and General Stimson, who is the representative of American imperialism in the Philippine Islands."

Jacinto Manahan, the president of the Philippine Confederation of Peasants, describes some of the evils afflicting the Philippine peasant masses as follows: 1. Long hours, no laws regulating them. 2. Woman and child labor, 600,000 children and 600,000 women working in agriculture. 3. Low wages, in many cases less than 25

cents per day and some as low as 10 cents per day, with a minimum cost of living in Manila for one man at 58 cents a day. 4. Sharing system, the peasant forced to divide the crops with the landlord who owns the land upon which he works. 5. Use of judiciary against the peasants. 6. Forced personal service to the landlord. 7. Evictions of peasants. 8. Cheating by illegal measures. 9. Destruction of peasant houses by the landlord and police. 10. Forced buying at landlord's store at higher prices. 11. Very high rates of usury, as high as 300 per cent. 12. Fixing of prices paid peasant for his crop by the landlords. 13. Discharge and blacklisting of organized tenants. 14. Verbal contracts. 15. Swindling of peasants when dividing crop with the landlord. 16. Discharging of peasants after they have improved forest land. 17. Use of Spanish and English as the official languages. 18. Forcing peasants to work for food and clothing and no other compensation. 19. Sub-tenancy. 20. Extortion of "tribute" in addition to contract. 21. Sweating of peasants' wives and daughters at embroidery and other work. 22. Exorbitant rents. 23. Injunctions against peasant union leaders. 24. Confiscation of work animals bought from landlord by peasant on installment plan. 25. Laws stating that where there is no written contract, custom shall apply. 26. Law permitting the arrest of anyone without warrant for investigation. 27. Permanent indebtedness which amounts to the peonage system.

The Philippine landlords who control the Philippine legislature, attempt to deny the existence of peonage, but even the newspapers refer to it from time to time. The Manila *Tribune* mentions "those who exploit laborers or farm hands by gradual advances of money in times of need, gradually enslaving them, as happens in certain sections of the Islands where wealthy farm owners through fraud or in other ways exploit the poor laborers." Senator Sumulong declares: "The exploitation of laborers by the land owners is being permitted with impunity." *El Debate* speaks of "the law which permits employers to take advantage of laborers by allowing imprisonment for debt." The *Philippine Herald* declares: "The agriculturalists (landowners) constitute the class on which the government depends largely for its existence."

The Department of Labor of the Philippines found the following evils existing:

"1. Usury, charging exorbitant annual interests, which vary from 24 to 36 per cent, then leaving the peasants helpless like anemic beings which have spilt their last drop of blood. Almost all are in the grip of this human octopus.

"2. Dependence. Indebted farmers, who have given their sugar cane lands, animals, etc., as security and obligation to sell their products to their creditors, the farmers having no other alternative than to accept it in view of their economic dependence.

"3. The indebted tenants." (*Adolfo Umengan of the Bureau of Labor of the Philippines.*)

Jacinto Manahan long ago aroused the ire of the Philippine landlords by his fearless work in organizing the Philippine peasants. In 1925, a Bureau of Labor report declares that the abandonment of farms by tenants as a protest against their slavery

"had its origin from the time Mr. Jacinto C. Manahan, president of the National Confederation of Tenants and Farm Laborers of the Philippines, visited the province of Batangas. Cognizant of this movement, the landlords in turn formed an association. The struggle has been so furious that the proprietors dislike even to see the shadow of Manahan."

From the files of the Filipino Department of Labor can be seen many proofs of the fact that the Philippine landlords and the American imperialists who own a large portion of the vast sugar estates, cooperate closely in the exploitation of the Filipino peasants. For example, the military reserve of Fort McKinley greatly exploited the peasants and insisted on a contract which had such provisions as that the peasant would furnish ten days labor of himself and his animal at any time the provost-marshal desired. When the tenants' union protested, the Attorney of Labor of the Philippines ruled that the contract was perfectly legal, and that it must be carried out. Manahan declares:

"The executive tactic of foreign imperialism is suppression. They have at their disposal the American army stationed in the Philippines, the Philippine constabulary, or state police, and the Police Department of Manila. Whenever a strike occurs against American capitalism, as in the strikes in the sugar centrals of the Vizayan district, the bourgeoisie have at their instant disposal these imperialistic forces to suppress and destroy all expressions of workers' unrest. In many sugar plantations, the exploitations of the peasants and workers is very terrible, especially in those owned and managed by Americans. The banks and other financial institutions from which the sugar centrals secure their capital, are under the control of American imperialism."

Manahan, in a recent letter to me, cites many examples of the beating up and torture of peasants as a result of peasant strikes. For example, nearly 1,000 peasants of the Jalajala estate in the province of Rizal are now arrested and before the Supreme Court because of their organization in the peasants' union and of their strike activity.

The workers are protesting vigorously against the combined exploitation of the Filipino bourgeoisie and of American imperialism. The trade unions organized in the *Congresso Obrero de Filipinas*

carried on a protest general strike of cigar makers last December against the frame-up and imprisonment of one of the leaders, Mauricio Cortez. In this campaign, these unions put forward the need for organization on industrial lines, with the shop committee basis, for unity and struggle against wage reductions, for shorter hours and other essential demands. When the stevedores along the water front of Cebu went on strike for a wage of two pesos (\$1) a day, more than 3,000 workers answered the strike call. The strike was not broken until American army officers entered the scene and brought in strike breakers, whom they protected. Governor-General Stimson declared himself "well satisfied with the manner in which the strike situation is being handled." Such labor leaders as Evangelista, head of the left-wing labor unions, and Manahan, leader of the Philippine peasants, are now leading the movement for independence and the opposition against American imperialism. They realize that the struggle is also against the native bourgeoisie, which is now the Siamese twin of American imperialism. The program of the Philippines Confederation of Peasants, which has an actual membership of more than 25,000 and has the support of scores of thousands more, includes not only the demands for better conditions of the peasants, but includes also a declaration of friendship for the Soviet Union, a call for the international solidarity of all of the toilers of the world, supports the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, for its stand against imperialism and the war danger in the Pacific, supports the Anti-Imperialist League, calls for the help and cooperation of the workers and farmers of America. The program condemns the Philippine commission of independence to the U. S. for its "failure to give wide propaganda to the independence movement," and calls for activity among the masses instead of appeals to politicians. The Confederation protests against the white terror in China and other Eastern countries, and calls for the independence of all colonial countries against their imperial oppressors. The program calls for the abolition, not only of exploitation of the peasants, but also embodies the program of the militant labor unions, which demands better conditions for the workers, and is a program of class struggle.

The fact that Stimson has now been made Hoover's Secretary of State is added emphasis of the fact that because of the preparation of the American imperialist government for a new world war, not only is rationalization at home being pushed, but also the exploitation of the colonies has been intensified. The vague promises of independence for the Philippines, which aimed to throw out an aura of moral benevolence which would drown the stench of the slavery of the Filipino masses, has now been forgotten. The needs of American imperialism in the Far East are being met by

the open alliance with the native bourgeoisie and at the same time an increase in the powers of the governor-general to dictate the will of American imperialism in the Islands. The fundamental law of the Philippine Islands has now been amended to enable a more complete exploitation of the resources and peoples of the Islands. Strikes are brutally broken. Peasants are forced to work at the point of the bayonet. The democratic forms have been brushed aside. Colonial rule at the present stage is the open bloody rule of the bayonet, acceded to by the native bourgeoisie in return for a small share in the spoils.

The class issues are now clear. The Philippine peasants and workers in their organizations are the only ones who are struggling for independence from American imperialism. They are struggling on the program of the class struggle against not only American imperialism, but also against the native bourgeoisie. They realize that only the class alliance with the American working class and only the overthrow of the capitalist system of exploitation can bring them independence from the exploitation of American imperialism. In this struggle, the class-conscious workers of the United States, the Communist Party, must increase their agitation on behalf of the workers and peasants of the Philippine Islands. The union of these colonial toilers with the working class of this country must be strengthened. In this way the common struggle against American imperialism can be advanced with rapid strides.

The All-American Anti-Imperialist League is now carrying on work among the thousands of Filipino workers who have migrated to this country in large numbers, especially on the west coast.

(NOTE: An article dealing with the workers movement in the Philippine Islands in detail, by Sam Darcy, will be published in the next issue of *The Communist*.—EDITOR.)

The Problems of the British Empire

By MANABENDRA NATH ROY (INDIA)

THE statesmen of the leading countries which were involved in the catastrophic conflict of 1914-1918, have not yet settled their account as regards the responsibility for the war. The effort to shake off that criminal responsibility on to the shoulders of others has not been convincing, on either side. The dictated peace treaty of Versailles lays the responsibility at Germany's door. But this legal responsibility depends upon the legal validity of that international diplomatic instrument. Today the impracticability of the Versailles Treaty is generally admitted in deed, if not in words. It formally concluded the war, but did not—could not—solve the contradictions of the modern world that led to the war. Consequently, when the death and destruction caused by the war still defy reparation, the contradictions of capitalist civilization again raise their hydra-head. The Versailles Treaty becomes a mere scrap of paper, no more venerable than many other diplomatic instruments. The hair-splitting bickering over the responsibility for the past is brushed aside by the all-consuming anxiety for the problem of the future—indeed of the present.

The statesmen with guilty conscience could not settle the contentious question about the responsibility for the war; but history has given her verdict. And it is this objective judgment that will be abiding. None of the belligerent states was more responsible than the others for setting the world on fire. All of them were equally responsible. They plunged headlong into the maelstrom by virtue of their very existence. The war was the result of the ruthless rivalry among imperialist states for the domination of the world. Race for the world market—scramble for colonies—led inevitably to the fierce clash of arms.

The fact that these root-causes of the war are again operating upon the world situation in ever-increasing degree, proves that the conclusion of the war was but an armed truce, and the Treaty of Versailles is but a scrap of paper. The war caused by imperialist rivalries, of course, could not solve the problems of imperialism; but it seriously undermined the basis of imperialism and involved it in new contradictions more inextricable than the previous ones. This is particularly true in the case of Great Britain—the classical

type of imperialist state. An examination of the post-war problems of the British Empire is, therefore, the correct approach to the situation of the contemporary.

The chronic industrial depression in the old "workshop of the world" is a phenomenon of historic importance comparable only to the Roman Empire in decay. Year after year, the rulers of the country, political and economic, deplored the depression, but with cheerful optimism held out the hope of coming recovery. The year 1928 was heralded as the turning point. This optimism was based upon the slight improvement noticeable in the beginning of the year. But the new year began with high hopes dashed to the ground, the leaders of imperialist Britain proving false prophets.

Traditionally, the pronouncements made by the heads of the big banks in the beginning of the year, are taken as indicating the general line of the development. In the last successive years of obstinate depression, the new year's message of the mentors of Britain's economic destiny, in spite of everything, was toned to the tune of subdued optimism—pointing out the silver lining of the black cloud. This year, they without exception, spoke a different language. Hardly any hope was held out, all practically endorsing the finding of the Liberal Industrial Enquiry of the last year—"we cannot be sure that our staple trades will revive to their old dimensions." This remarkably pessimistic tone of the men who still hold in their hand a considerable portion of the world's purse-string, certainly does not mean admission of defeat, declaration of the failure of capitalist economy to reconstruct itself. This was the swan-song of the old conservative lady of Threadneedle Street.

With this tone of pessimism regarding the "normal recovery" of trade, the British bankers break away from their traditional policy of financing industry through loan and debenture capital, and adopt the more modern method of direct control. The reluctance on the part of the banks to discard the old method of operation in favor of the new was largely responsible for the inability of the oldest and most depressed British industry, namely cotton textile, to rationalize production. The fateful change has at last come. The bankers struck the note of pessimism in order to prepare the numerous army of middle-class bond-holders—the bed-rock of British conservatism—for what is coming.

The new operation of the banks as monopolistic finance capital will ruin the small bond-holders whose particularist interests and conservative outlook today are a dead-weight upon industry. The basic principle of the financial reconstruction of the depressed industries—not only cotton, but iron, steel and coal also—is the transference to the banks of large blocks or shares in liquidation of

past loans and in payment for further financial assistance. By heavily cutting down the nominal capital of a concern its shares are transferred to the banks at a small fraction of their price. Virtually, this is expropriation of the middle class by finance capital.

This change in the operation of finance in industry is a fateful event in Britain, for its result will be much more far-reaching than the ruin of the small owners and bond-holders. This change will further weaken the already undermined basis of the empire. Ownership of capital invested abroad is the cornerstone of the imperialist structure. To maintain and increase this ownership, therefore, is the principle which determines the operation of British finance. Owing to the fact that the small group of islands on the western outskirts of the European continent was for decades the industrial center of a world-wide empire, in varying grades of industrial backwardness, the operation of British banking assumed forms different from the continental. The monopolist control of industries by capital was not similar to that in the United States or Germany. It was exercised through over-seas investments which opened up markets for the products of home industry.

The war wiped out a very considerable portion of British foreign investment. This was partly repaired by heavy export of capital during the short period of post-war boom. In the following years of stagnation and decline, Britain was very hard put to it to maintain her already reduced share of the ownership of capital abroad. This she could do by starving home industries—by delaying the reconstruction of her productive apparatus so as to meet the new conditions of competition in the world market. While Germany and other continental countries were “rationalizing” their industries on the basis of inflated currency, Britain, in order to maintain her threatened ownership of capital abroad, had to deflate. The premature (from the point of view of industry and trade) return to gold-standard was a great obstacle to industrial recovery.

The belated agreement of the banks to undertake financial reorganization of industries indicates deviation from the traditional policy of imperialist finance. But this deviation again is not of choice; it is a forced move. The empire was built on capital exported in ever-increasing volume. The exportable surplus was the result of capital accumulated in the industries at home. So after all, the stability of the empire cannot be maintained while the basic industries in Britain wither and decay. Hence the necessity for British finance to deviate from the old channel of operation to a new one. The fatefulness of this deviation lies in that it will increase Britain's inability to maintain her already depleted share of the ownership of capital abroad.

Some basic facts about the economic position of Britain explain the difficulty of the situation she finds herself in. First let us quote briefly from the new year's pronouncements of the leading bankers.

"It is a matter of grave concern that in any survey of the trade of the country during the past year the picture should be overshadowed by the cloud of depression which still hangs over our great basic industries."

(Sir Harry Goschen, Chairman, National Provincial Bank)

"The year which has elapsed since I last addressed you has been disappointing in many respects. The difficulties in respect of our basic industries have proved very stubborn. . . . Ours is the only country which has suffered marked diminution in output since 1913, arising almost entirely from the lessened demand from abroad, and from our own iron and steel industries."

(R. H. Tennant, Westminster Bank)

"The four great industries chiefly affected are those of iron, and steel, coal, textile and agriculture. . . . I confess I do not see any speedy method of improving the position. I am much afraid that the process will be painful and slow."

(I. Beaumont Pease, Lloyds Bank)

"The country has lost much of the cheaper trade and its once-vaunted safeguards of climate and skill are no longer invulnerable. . . . The recital of the course of trade in 1928 is gloomy reading. It has undoubtedly been a bad year. . . . Our post-war trade depression cannot be judged or dealt with on the lines of pre-war depression, for the war has changed the world and our place in the world is no longer such that trade will come back of itself even if we produce the best goods."

(Holland-Martin, Martins Bank, Liverpool)

These are authoritative pronouncements made with expert and intimate knowledge of the situation. At last it is admitted that the present depression is not a "normal" passing crisis of capitalist production, but a lasting phenomenon demanding radical readjustments.

The secret of the situation is the fact that imperialist rivalry for market and colony (not in the limited territorial sense, but in the wider sense of financial domination) has become much greater than before the war. While the productive capacity of the world has increased tremendously, and most of the leading industrial countries actually produce more than before the war, the world market has been contracted. There are many reasons for this contraction. The present crisis is not a normal passing crisis, because it is a crisis of potential over-production and (in some cases) actual under-production at the same time. The difficulty of Britain is that while

she is steadily losing ground in the world market, the reconstruction of her industries necessarily implies further reduction of production.

Take for example the cotton textile trade. The export of this commodity, which for a long time constituted a very considerable portion of British export trade, is now approximately 65 per cent of the pre-war amount. Britain has lost her monopoly of the eastern market. The rationalization of Lancashire industry does not include a plan to recapture the lost market, but to cut down production still more. Only on this condition can the industry be saved from complete bankruptcy. This loss accruing from the decay of the industry at home, could be compensated in only one way: by the investment of British capital in the industry of the new countries that have appeared on the world market with greater competitive power. But precisely in consequence of the industrial decay at home and the decline of foreign trade, Britain's ability to export capital is seriously affected. A country exports capital when its accumulation exceeds the limits of profitable investment at home. So, the problem of the British empire today is the problem of accumulation of capital at home.

The disagreeable fact of the situation is that the present national savings of Britain hardly leave any exportable surplus if the capital requirements of the home industry are fully met. The rationalization of production was so long delayed, among other facts, by this contradiction. Now that the process of rationalization has at last begun, it does not relieve the situation. On the contrary, it sharpens the contradiction. In the past, British foreign trade expanded on the basis of capital export. At present the lower level of foreign trade can be maintained also by continuing the export of capital. For, otherwise, countries with exportable capital will further encroach upon the market by extending credit. This is evidenced by the heavy decline of British trade in Canada. Britain still owns a considerable portion of the capital invested in that country; but in proportion as she cannot keep pace with the penetration of American capital she loses her ground, in spite of the vast capital she exported there in the past.

The employment of the larger portion of her declined national saving for the reconstruction of home industries will, therefore, still more weaken Britain's position as an imperialist power. A top-heavy parasitic imperial structure hindered, until now, the reconstruction of the home industry; and now the attempt to stabilize the basis will dangerously shake the super-structure. The problem of the British Empire is to be found in this contradiction.

Now let us illustrate this contradiction with facts. The victory in the Napoleonic War marks the rise of Britain as a modern im-

perialist power. It is true, before that time, through monopolist trading companies, Britain had acquired extensive colonial possessions. But the British bourgeoisie as a whole was at that time adverse to colonial expansion, because capitalist development had not yet overgrown national limits. Foreign trade was governed by mercantile interests, and colonial conquest was sheer plunder, aiding accumulation of capital through violent means. Treasure robbed from the Spanish conqueror of South and Central America, as well as from India, was a great impetus to the industrial revolution in Britain; the booty from America and India enabled England to free her economic life from the control of Dutch financiers. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Britain paid over a million pounds a year as interest on capital borrowed from Amsterdam. The French aristocracy invested in British government bonds what they could save from the Revolution.

According to Adam Smith, in the beginning of the nineteenth century eighteen million pounds of the British national debt was held by foreigners. The situation had changed already in 1817, from which year foreign borrowers appeared on the London market. London had taken the place of Amsterdam, ruined by the Napoleonic Wars. After Waterloo, British capital began to flow in the continental countries, devastated by the wars. In 1860 Britain had seven hundred and fifty million pounds invested abroad. She had become an imperialist country in the modern sense of the term.

During the latter decades of the nineteenth century the export of capital from Britain increased rapidly in volume. In the beginning of the new century, Great Britain owned no less than two billion pounds of capital invested in her own colonies and foreign countries. But still the greater part of her national savings was absorbed in the country. Imperialism had not yet become a top-heavy parasitic structure. In 1903 British imperialism entered a new stage of development. Since then, till the World War, a larger and larger portion of capital, accumulated in Britain, could not find a sufficiently profitable employment at home and therefore had to be sent abroad. In the meantime, other countries had reached a similar state. France and Germany had become capital-exporting countries. The result was the fierce scramble for colonies. The imperialist powers plunged the world into the bloody holocaust of 1914-18 because they had no place to keep their money. The clash of gold resulted in the clash of steel. The war, however, did not solve the problems that had caused it. On the contrary, it revealed more glaringly than ever that they cannot be solved. As far as England is concerned, as a result of the war she is pushed back to

a position similar to that she occupied previous to 1903; today, by far the greater part of her national savings are needed by the home industry. The margin left for export is very narrow. But this similarity is only superficial. Before 1903, the greater part of capital accumulated in Britain was absorbed in the country to lay and broaden the foundation on which the imperial super-structure was subsequently reared. Now also the greater part of her new capital must be kept in the country; but the result will be entirely different.

In the present world conditions the inability to export capital in a sufficient amount will seriously prejudice the stability of the super-structure. Empire no longer serves the purpose of the home industry. Its parasitic existence can be maintained by eating into the vitals of the home industry, which after all is its foundation. So the existence of the empire is as anomalous as that of a tree living at the expense of its root. No example of parasitism can be more classic.

On the background of this gloomy picture there is much controversy about the actual state of Britain's national saving, and the amount of capital available for investment at home and abroad. The most optimistic and generally accepted estimate is approximately four hundred and seventy-five million pounds a year, which, calculated in real value, represents a fall of over 30 per cent from the 1913 level. This estimate of the Colwyn Committee has lately been corroborated by the report of the industrial census of 1924. On the basis of this rate of national saving no more than one hundred million pounds can be actually available as *new capital* both for home and foreign investment. (*Calculation of the Liberal Industrial Enquiry; also of the Colwyn Committee appointed by the Conservative government.*) There are authorities who place the figure much lower. For example the president of the National Savings Committee, Sir R. Kinderslay, believes that the actual amount of new capital did not exceed sixty million pounds in 1927.

For the complexity of the subject, considerable margin should be left for the accuracy of the estimate, one way or the other. Nevertheless, the general picture does not change materially. The two basic facts are: 1. Capital accumulates at a lower rate; and 2. By far the larger portion of this reduced new capital is required at home. The consequence is evident; exportable surplus of capital is less than before the war. And as the empire was built on the export of capital, the operation of these two basic facts of the situation is highly dangerous and disruptive.

For years, parasitic imperialist finance obstructed the reconstruction of British industry. From all sides came the cry that "banks

are starving the industry." The policy of a return to the gold standard, dictated by banks holding extensive foreign investments was introduced and maintained in the face of powerful opposition from industrial and commercial interests. Nevertheless, the logic of the situation was inexorable. New capital was absorbed at home at an ever-increasing rate and the outward flow relaxed. The ratio of home and foreign investments in 1928 was 70 : 30 in contrast to 20 : 80 in 1913. When we remember that in 1928 the international balance-sheet was made to show a credit of about one hundred million pounds in Britain's favor, while in the previous year it showed an actual debit, it becomes clear that the situation actually is worse than it is represented by this ratio. An examination of production and trade in the intervening period does not show any basis for this unexpected credit in 1928. So it is evident that in order to show that she is not "living on her capital," Britain must have adopted the policy of "borrowing short to lend long." Whatever it may be, in both cases the result is the same—Britain's share in the actual ownership of capital abroad is declining. This is decisive for the future of the empire.

Production is the basic denominator of the situation. In spite of the activity towards the end of the year, in 1928 the index fell below the level of the previous year, being 89 compared to 1913. The index of production per capita is still worse—84 per cent. So, after a short upward curve violently disturbed by the general strike of 1926, the line of prosperity, rather of depression, has sunk back to the level of 1925 which year furnished the data for the investigation by the Colwyn Committee. In other words, today, as during the last several years, new capital for investment at home and abroad available in Britain is hardly more than one hundred million pounds, which represents the minimum needed by home industries "if we are to employ our population, not a full stretch, yet reasonably well." (J. M. Keynes.) That is, Britain has no capital to export and the income from her previous investments abroad is barely sufficient to cover the adverse balance of her merchandise trade.

Yet, we find foreign issues in London growing steadily from eighty-eight million in 1925 to one hundred twelve in 1926 and one hundred thirty-nine in 1927. It is interesting to note that in 1928 the amount fell to one hundred and two, although the year as a whole was no worse than the previous. Evidently the dangerous effect of these fictitious foreign issues has been felt, and it was necessary to call a halt.

An examination of Britain's international balance sheet reveals the fictitious nature of the foreign issues during the last years. Counting the visible and invisible items, the net balance in favor

of Britain was forty-four million pounds in 1925, two in 1926 and ninety-six in 1927. Last year shows a passive balance of two hundred twenty-eight million pounds in the merchandise account. Counting that the income on the invisible items will be the same as in the previous year, the net surplus for 1928 becomes one hundred fifty-five millions. That is, the margin for foreign investment is greater; still, actual investment was less. This is an attempt to bring things within the limits of reality, as is illustrated by the following table:

	<i>Net surplus available for investment</i>	<i>Actual foreign issues (mill. Pounds)</i>	<i>Balance</i>
1925	44	88	==44
1926	2	112	==110
1927	96	139	==43
1928	155	102	+53

In 1924, the balance was also passive. So, after four years, the foreign issues in London are covered by Britain's exportable surplus of capital. The foreign issues in London exceeding the limits of the net exportable surplus represented a corresponding decline in Britain's ownership of capital abroad. For, these transactions meant transfer of foreign securities held in London to other centers of world finance, mainly New York. Britain was forced to forego an increasing portion of her ownership of capital abroad, in order to maintain international credit which is essential for a country dependent so largely on foreign trade. Besides, it is equally essential for Britain's position in the world economy that the exchange value of the pound sterling should not go down. For in that case London would lose entirely her control of international finance.

In 1928 the position improved slightly; but the improvement is only apparent. The adverse balance of merchandise trade was only thirty-four million pounds less than in the previous year, which does not cover the portion of capital actually exported from Britain. Then, there is much bookkeeping jugglery in the international balance sheets of the last year. In 1926, the net surplus in favor of Britain sank to the vanishing point. The next year it was suddenly brought up to ninety-six million, although there had been no improvement in trade. The favorable balance was maintained last year and it is on the basis of this mysteriously manufactured favorable balance that the improvement as regards foreign investment takes place. Whence does this favorable balance suddenly appear? Evidently, the reserves of imperial finance are tapped. This, in its turn, will produce, indeed already produces, disruptive results upon Britain's relation with her colonies; so it is a veritable *cul-de-sac*.

Every effort made to get out of the impasse creates a set of new difficulties, the accumulation threatening to overwhelm the giant.

The empire was built on gigantic expansion of industry at home, huge accumulation of capital resulting therefrom and monopoly of trade created by the export of capital. All these pillars on which the imperial structure was reared are seriously undermined. The plan of rationalizing industry will be realized by accepting the present state of depression as permanent. British capitalist economy has decided to settle down on the basis of a limited production. But that is the antithesis of the empire which was the result of expansion of industry and trade.

Another way out of the impasse is sought in "empire development." But the obstacles to the successful realization of this scheme are almost insuperable. Development of the colonies in such a sufficiently rapid tempo as might relieve the situation of the empire, require as its condition large supplies of capital which Britain is not in a position to provide. Then, the disruptive forces which such development is sure to generate, will render the expected benefit for the empire of doubtful value. In any case, the scheme remains a scheme. The Liberal Industrial Enquiry Committee gives the reason for it:

"The problem of imperial development has been rendered far more acute by the very economic difficulties which make it at this moment doubly urgent and important."

Here the problem of the British Empire is put in a nut shell.

English Public Opinion

By KARL MARX

London, Jan. 11, 1862.

N. Y. D. T., Feb. 1, 1862.

NOTE: In our last issue, we reproduced the first of the nine articles by Karl Marx which the *New York Tribune* published between October, 1861 and February, 1862. These articles dealt with the Anglo-American situation under the influence of the American Civil War. The present article is the ninth and last of these articles.

On November 8, 1861 a slight incident occurred in the old Bahama Channel which might have acquired a colossal significance in the history of Europe and America. Capt. Charles Wilkes, commanding the Union warship *San Jacinto*, stopped the English mail steamer *Trent* and removed two southern commissioners, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, together with their secretaries. Mason and Slidell, who were on their way to England and France in the interest of the southern Confederacy, were two of the most rabid enemies of the Union.

The deed aroused the wildest enthusiasm in the north; but the fact that the *Trent*, on which Mason and Slidell were sailing, was an English vessel, exposed the Union Government to the most serious complications. Whatever the bourgeois legal merits of the case may have been, the English war party was eager to utilize this event as a pretext for intervention in favor of the south.

It was Marx's opinion that this would have been most disastrous for the north as well as for the entire course of American and European history for many years to come. A war with England under the conditions of a civil war at home, could only have meant the strengthening of slavery and a powerful setback to the development of capitalism and the working class both of England and America. But if England was prevented from becoming the saviour of American slavery, it was due almost exclusively to the heroic resistance of the British working class. And it is this great historical deed of the British working class that Marx evaluates in this article. Marx's own role in this event still awaits proper evaluation.

The historical parallelism between Anglo-American relations then and today is inescapable, in spite of the fundamental difference in the situation. The roles of England and America on the world stage have undergone a profound change. If in 1861, the English ruling class had only faint intimations of the giant economic rival America was ultimately to become, welcoming the opportunity of reducing it to the level of an impotent, decentralized Germany, British imperialism today is confronted with an entirely different situation. America is no longer the agrarian hinterland of 1861; it has emerged as the gigantic sun of an imperialist world caught in the mad whirl of its own contradictions; the rivalry between British

and American imperialism is speeding toward another bloody carnage. Once more a war between England and America threatens; once more a slight naval incident may serve as a pretext for the rival imperialists to set the workers of both countries at one another's throats; once more the British working class may have an opportunity to show its heroism. But this time, it will be hand in hand with its American brothers for the final struggle against all slavery, against the capitalists of England and America, against the robber wars of Mond and Morgan, against the whole plunder system which lives on the life and blood of the toiling millions.

In 1861 Marx could only call indirectly upon the British working class to defend the relatively progressive conditions of capitalism against slavery and England's pro-slavery ruling class. But in 1929 the imperialist war between England and America will find the party of Marx, multiplied a thousand times, in the vanguard of the working class on both sides of the ocean. It will face the red banner of international solidarity and armed insurrection. The perspective that Marx could not have held out in his day, we are here to hold out to the workers today: Turn the imperialist war into a civil war; turn your guns against your masters. You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain!—*A. Landy.*)

THE news of the pacific solution of the Trent conflict was, by the bulk of the English people, saluted with an exultation proving unmistakably the unpopularity of the apprehended war and the dread of its consequences. It ought never to be forgotten in the United States that at least the *working classes* of England, from the commencement to the termination of the difficulty, have never forsaken them. To them it was due that, despite the poisonous stimulants daily administered by a venal and reckless press, not one single public war meeting could be held in the United Kingdom during all that period when peace trembled in the balance. The only war meeting convened on the arrival of the *La Plata*, in the cotton salesroom of the Liverpool Stock Exchange, was a corner meeting where the cotton jobbers had it all to themselves. Even at Manchester, the temper of the working classes was so well understood that an insulated (?) attempt at the convocation of a war meeting was almost as soon abandoned as thought of.

Wherever public meetings took place in England, Scotland, or Ireland, they protested against the rabid war-cries of the press, against the sinister designs of the Government, and declared for a pacific settlement of the pending question. In this regard, the two last meetings held, the one at Paddington, London, the other at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, are characteristic. The former meeting applauded Mr. Washington Wilkes's argumentation that England was not warranted in finding fault with the seizure of the southern commissioners; while the Newcastle meeting almost unanimously carried the resolution—firstly, that the Americans had only made

themselves guilty of a *lawful* exercise of the right of search and seizure; secondly, that the captain of the Trent ought to be punished for his violation of English neutrality, as proclaimed by the Queen. In ordinary circumstances, the conduct of the British workingmen might have been anticipated from the natural sympathy the popular classes all over the world ought to feel for the only popular government in the world.

Under the present circumstances, however, when a great portion of the British working classes directly and severely suffers from the consequences of the southern blockade; when another part is indirectly smitten by the curtailment of the American commerce, owing, as they are told, to the selfish "protective policy" of the republicans; when the only remaining democratic weekly, Reynolds's paper, has sold itself to Messrs. Yancey and Mann, and week after week exhausts its horse-powers of foul language in appeals to the working classes to urge the government, for their own interests, to war with the Union—under such circumstances, simple justice requires to pay a tribute to the sound attitude of the British working classes, the more so when contrasted with the hypocritical, bullying, cowardly, and stupid conduct of the official and well-to-do John Bull.

What a difference in this attitude of the people from what it had assumed at the time of the Russian complication! Then *The Times*, *The Post*, and the other yellow-plushes of the London press, whined for peace, to be rebuked by tremendous war meetings denouncing the liberticide schemes and the pro-slavery sympathy of the government. The grimaces cut by the augurs of public opinion at the news of the pacific solution of the Trent case are really amusing.

In the first place, they must needs congratulate themselves upon the dignity, common sense, good will, and moderation daily displayed by them for the whole interval of a month. They *were* moderate for the first two days after the arrival of the La Plata, when Palmerston felt uneasy whether any legal pretext for a quarrel was to be picked. But hardly had the crown lawyers hit upon a legal quibble, when they opened a charivari unheard of since the anti-Jacobin war.

The dispatches of the English government left Queenstown in the beginning of December. No official answer from Washington could possibly be looked for before the commencement of January. The new incidents arising in the interval told all in favor of the Americans. The tone of the Transatlantic Press, although the Nashville affair might have aroused its passions, was calm. All facts ascertained concurred to show that Capt. Wilkes had acted on

his own hook. The position of the Washington government was delicate. If it resisted the English demands, it would complicate the civil war by a foreign war. If it gave way, it might damage its popularity at home, and appear to cede to pressure from abroad. And the government thus placed, carried, at the same time, a war which must enlist the warmest sympathies of every man, not a confessed ruffian, on its side.

Common prudence, conventional decency, ought, therefore, to have dictated to the London press, at least for the time separating the English demand from the American reply, to anxiously abstain from every word calculated to heat passion, breed ill-will, complicate the difficulty. But no! That "inexpressibly mean and groveling" press, as William Cobbett—and he was a *connoisseur*—calls it, really boasted of having, when in fear of the compact power of the United States, humbly submitted to the accumulated slights and insults of pro-slavery administration for almost half a century, while now, with the savage exultation of cowards, they panted for taking their revenge on the republican administration, distracted by a civil war. The record of mankind chronicles no self-avowed infamy like this.

One of the yellow-plushes, Palmerston's private *moniteur*—*The Morning Post*—finds itself arraigned on a most ugly charge from the American papers. John Bull has never been informed—on information carefully withheld from him by the oligarchs that lord it over him—that Mr. Seward, without awaiting Russel's dispatch, had disavowed any participation of the Washington Cabinet in the act of Capt. Wilkes. Mr. Seward's dispatch arrived at London on December 19. On the 20th December, the rumor of this "secret" spread on the Stock Exchange. On the 21st, the yellow-plush of *The Morning Post* stepped forward to gravely herald that "the dispatch in question does not in any way whatever refer to the outrage on our mail packet."

In *The Daily News*, *The Morning Star*, and other London journals, you will find yellow-plush pretty sharply humbled, but you will not learn from them what people out of doors say. They say that *The Morning Post* and *The Times*, like the *Patrie* and the *Pays*, duped the public not only to politically mislead them, but to fleece them in the monetary line on the Stock Exchange, in the interest of their patrons.

The brazen *Times*, fully aware that during the whole crisis it had compromised nobody but itself, and given another proof of the hollowness of its pretensions of influencing the real people of England, plays today a trick which here, at London, only works upon the laughing muscles, but on the other side of the Atlantic, might

be misinterpreted. The "popular classes" of London, the "mob," as the yellow-plush calls them, have given unmistakable signs—have even hinted in newspapers—that they should consider it an exceedingly seasonable joke to treat Mason (by the by, a distant relative of Palmerston, since the original Mason had married a daughter of Sir W. Temple), Slidell and company, with the same demonstrations Haynau received on his visit at Barclay's brewery. *The Times* stands aghast at the mere idea of such a shocking incident, and how does it try to parry it? It admonishes the people of England not to overwhelm Mason, Slidell and company with any sort of public ovation! *The Times* knows that its today's article will form the laughing-stock of all the tap-rooms of London. But never mind! People on the other side of the Atlantic may, perhaps, fancy that the magnanimity of *The Times* has saved them from the affront of public ovations to Mason, Slidell and company while, in point of fact, *The Times* only intends saving those gentlemen from public insult!

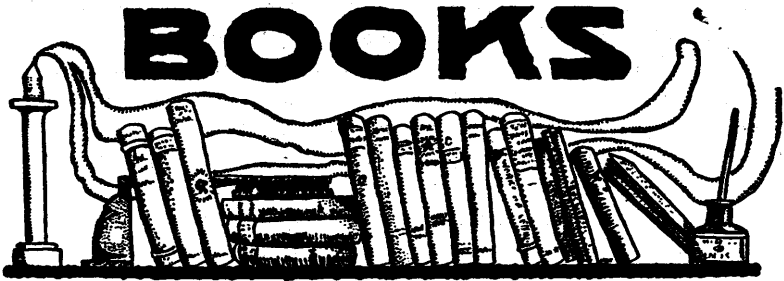
So long as the Trent affair was undecided, *The Times*, *The Post*, *The Herald*, *The Economist*, *The Saturday Review*, in fact the whole of the fashionable, hireling press of London, had tried its utmost to persuade John Bull that the Washington government, even if it willed, would prove unable to keep the peace, because the Yankee mob would not allow it, and because the Federal government was a mob government. Facts have now given them the lie direct. Do they now atone for their malignant slanders against the American people? Do they at least confess the errors which yellow-plush, in presuming to judge of the acts of a free people, could not but commit? By no means. They now unanimously discover that the American government, in not anticipating England's demands, and not surrendering the southern traitors as soon as they were caught, missed a great occasion, and deprived its present concession of all merit. Indeed, yellow-plush! Mr. Seward disavowed the act of Wilkes before the arrival of the English demands, and at once declared himself willing to enter upon a conciliatory course; and what did you do on similar occasions? When, on the pretext of impressing English sailors on board American ships—a pretext not at all connected with maritime belligerent rights, but a downright, monstrous usurpation against all international law — the *Leopard* fired its broadside at the *Chesapeake*, killed six, wounded twenty-one of her sailors, and seized the pretended Englishmen on board the *Chesapeake*, what did the English government do? That outrage was perpetrated on the 20th of June, 1807. The real satisfaction, the surrender of the sailors, etc., was only offered on November 8, 1812, five years later. The British government, it

is true, disavowed at once the act of Admiral Berkeley, as Mr. Seward did in regard to Capt. Wilkes; but, to punish the Admiral, it removed him from an inferior to a superior rank. England, in proclaiming her Orders in Council, distinctly confessed that they were outrages on the rights of neutrals in general, and of the United States in particular; that they were forced upon her as measures of retaliation against Napoleon, and that she would feel but too glad to revoke them whenever Napoleon should revoke his encroachments on neutral rights. Napoleon did revoke them, as far as the United States was concerned, in the Spring of 1810. England persisted in her avowed outrage on the maritime rights of America.

Her resistance lasted from 1806 to the 23d of June, 1812—after, on the 18th of June, 1812, the United States had declared war against England. England abstained, consequently, in this case for six years, not from atoning for a confessed outrage, but from discontinuing it. And this people talks of the magnificent occasion missed by the American government! Whether in the wrong or in the right, it was a cowardly act on the part of the British government to back a complaint grounded on a pretended technical blunder, and a mere error of procedure, by an ultimatum, by a demand for the surrender of the prisoners. The American government might have reasons to accede to that demand; it could have none to anticipate it.

By the present settlement of the Trent collision, the question underlying the whole dispute, and likely to again occur—the beligerent rights of a maritime power against neutrals—has not been settled. I shall, with your permission, try to survey the whole question in a subsequent letter. For the present, allow me to add that, in my opinion, Messrs. Mason and Slidell have done great service to the Federal government.

There was an influential war party in England, which, what for commercial, what for political reasons, showed eager for a fray with the United States. The Trent affair put that party to the test. It has failed. The war passion has been discounted on a minor issue, the steam has been let off, the vociferous fury of the oligarchy has raised the suspicions of English democracy, the large British interests connected with the United States have made a stand, the true character of the civil war has been brought home to the working classes, and last, not least, the dangerous period when Palmerston ruled single-headed without being checked by Parliament, is rapidly drawing to an end. That was the only time in which an English war for the slaveocrats might been hazarded. It is now out of question.



BILL HAYWOOD'S BOOK. An Autobiography, by William D. Haywood.
International Publishers. 368 pages. Price \$2.00 and \$3.50.

“BIG BILL” HAYWOOD was one of those born fighters, natural leaders of the proletariat, proletarian himself to the core, and born and raised among the very groups that he led in youth and middle age and old age in many a desperate battle. Though it would have made no difference probably, had Haywood been foreign born, it is a matter of fact that he was not. Those who want to rail at his policies as “imported foreign agitation,” will be shocked by the first sentence in his autobiography:

“My father was of an old American family, so American that if traced back it would probably run to the Puritan bigots or the cavalier pirates. Neither case would give me reason for pride.”

He was born in 1869, in an adobe house, in a poor quarter of Salt Lake City, Utah, and into a period of the American class struggle which lay open and naked, which was not yet covered by the complex machinery of a sophisticated and well trained, co-ordinated and camouflaged Big Business. Big Business, monopoly, was in those days, in that part of the country, fighting for its right to exploit, was growing, and was meeting intense resistance from workers who were but one generation removed from, or were themselves actually pioneers, irritated by the growing demands of capitalist production. The fight often ended with rifles and dynamite in use.

The class struggle has not essentially changed since then, but it has become more complex—part of Haywood’s instant recognition of the need of revolution was probably based on his early view of the simpler essentials of the battle between capital and labor. He was a striker himself, a one-man striker, at the age of ten, when “bound out” as apprentice to a farmer. The farmer made the mistake of trying to beat Haywood. It was not his first job; he went to work in a mine at the age of nine. Incidentally, he won the strike, thus establishing a good habit that he never abandoned.

Haywood’s book starting with such incidents as these, giving on the way a colorful picture of the life of the old West, full of bloodshed and heroism and hardship, is the story of American labor struggles from 1880 to 1924, in many of which Haywood participated as a leader.

If we compare the labor movement to an army, we see immediately from Haywood’s autobiography that he was a commander in the field, not head of a war college or general staff. He was not a Marx or Lenin, analyzing complicated situations, prophesying the movement of social trends, or working out that “correct theory without which no movement can succeed.”

Though these combined theory with practice, Haywood took his theories from others. The ideals of the Haymarket victims influenced him profoundly; he read of their execution while quite young. (p. 78.) The story of the Molly Maguires seems to have affected him almost as much. (p. 60.)

He does not tell you even the course of reasoning by which he arrived at the decision to join the Socialist Party, in which he served on the National Executive Committee; or the Western Federation of Miners, one of the first powerful industrial unions; or the I. W. W., which he helped to organize, but for which the theory was provided by others—by St. John and Haggerty and Bonn, especially.

He does not in this book, though it is an autobiography, give you any indication of severe mental struggles, any story of conversion to a movement, even. The only time in which he seems to have had periods of indecision and despair was one in which personal troubles came to interfere with his conducting four strikes at once. While he was secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, during a fight for life by that organization at Cripple Creek, his sickly wife became a Christian Scientist, and began to teach religion to his children. Haywood had no time to stay home and combat this opium, and he felt very badly about it. But here you see the nature of the man, his reaction in this hopeless situation was a relatively objective one. He did his work all the harder, and after the job was over each day, he drank whiskey. He admits this drinking habit, so formed, was a bad one. In the midst of a furious speaking tour in Canada, when some one said to him: "Moyer wants to keep you drunk," he threw away his bottle and stopped drinking from that moment on, for years.

Haywood's genius consisted, as you see it showing through this book full of rapidly flowing incidents, in his instant recognition of the best theory the working class had put forward at that time, and his instant and vigorous attempt to realize it in practise. His definition of industrial unionism as "socialism with its working clothes on" might be applied to Haywood himself.

His book is a curious thing, in a way, then, for it is a man's own life history which tells of the man only in barest details, but each of those details a compressed anecdote with point and local color; a mere but live record of personal events, though a glowing history of class struggle. His book is the most objective thing in the world, though the word "I" perforce appears in nearly every paragraph. The man Haywood, genial, humorous, courageous, combative, and human as he could possibly be, lived really in his works and his works were on the industrial battlefield; they were victories in strikes, frame-ups smashed, and organizations created.

A mere enumeration of his labor activities would fill many pages, for his whole book is such an enumeration, each incident concretely and vividly described by a neat selection of the outstanding event—usually an event bursting with drama, and colorful from within, not painted or gilded with fine words. The style of his narrative is that of the best of old English prose, it has an epic quality about it, with a poetry of content and a vigorous healthiness like that of the ballads.

But to give some idea of the scope of Haywood's activities, a few of the more important incidents he participated in and describes in his really great story, must be mentioned.

He worked as miner, farm boy, messenger boy, cowboy, assayer, homesteader, and common laborer until union activities took all his time, at the age of 29. He tells simply that he then turned off the air in his drill in the

Blain mine at Silver City for the last time and went as a delegate to the Western Federation of Miners Convention. He was there elected secretary-treasurer of the then most militant labor organization in America, and plunged into the Telluride strike, and the task of defense of union men arrested for striking. Then came the Coer d'Alene strike, Colorado City strike, Cripple Creek and the troops and General Sherman Bell and the bullpens, and "To hell with the constitution." There was the desecrated flag incident when Haywood put the bosses' crimes on a picture of the American flag. He shot a sheriff in Denver, and ran the strike from a cell in Denver jail. He fought Gompers' attack on miners' relief. He participated in the secret conference in Chicago to form the I. W. W., and made the opening speech a few months later, in 1905, when the I. W. W. was organized. He fought Sherman in the I. W. W. and Moyer's yellow reformism in the W. F. M. He stood trial for murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg after spending months in Boise jail, to which he had been kidnapped from Colorado, and smashed that frame-up. He attended the International Socialist Congress in Denmark in 1910 as a delegate, and met Lenin, Mann, Foster, and many European leaders. He went on a speaking tour over a large part of Europe. He was one of the leaders of the Lawrence strike, the Paterson strike, the Mesaba Range strike, the Akron rubber strike. He testified before the Industrial Relations Commission of 1916. He went on tour for the defense of Ford and Suhr, Mooney and Billings, Kaplan and Schmidt, Wrangel and Cline, the McNamaras, and the Centralia boys. He took part in free speech fights and was arrested in innumerable towns. He fought for the right of "direct action" in the Socialist Party until it became too yellow and expelled him. He fought for militancy in the W. F. M. until it was corrupted and under Moyer's leadership expelled him. He fought for communism in the I. W. W., until it went anarchist and expelled him.

And during the "red raid" period he served time in jail and in prison before and after the great Chicago I. W. W. trial, where he was sentenced to twenty years.

And all these things he tells about most vividly. The book closes with Haywood in Russia, still fighting and organizing for relief and defense of American unionists and communists in jail in America, helping to build Kuzbas, attending world congresses, and gradually being beaten, for the first time, by an incurable disease. He died on May 18, 1928, willing that half of his ashes should lie under the Kremlin wall and half with the Chicago Haymarket martyrs. He was too sick to finish his book; his Russian experiences he was not able to write about, and a supplementary chapter written by another, summarizes these.

This digest of his activities gives no adequate idea of the charm of his story; for example, his keen "sizing up" of the characters he met. He "spotted" the stool-pigeon Harry Orchard, instantly. Gompers he analyzes briefly, after meeting him once:

"Sam was very short and chunky with a big head that was bald in patches, resembling a child suffering with ringworm. He had small snapping eyes, a hard cruel mouth, wide with thin, drooping lips, heavy jaws and jowls, a personality vain, conceited, petulant, and vindictive. Looking at him I could realize the passion of cruelty with which this person would wield power if he had it. It was easy to understand how Gompers could plead for men who were facing the noose of the executioners—with his tongue

in his cheek and his heart reeking with hypocrisy. One could realize that he might even refer jokingly to the defeat of a great labor struggle. . . ."

Hillquit he scorches by comparing his speeches for "Article 2, Section 6," of the socialist constitution with extracts from the Communist International. Borah, who prosecuted him at Boise, and Darrow who defended him, he summarizes in humorous, revealing details. Berger, he says, would "stab workers in the back." DeLeon was "always a professor." Debs was "confused, but for the workers."

The last chapter that Haywood wrote closes in a way that is characteristic of the whole book, with a fragment of conversation:

"I asked Comrade Lenin 'if the industries of the Soviet Republic are run and administered by the workers?'"

"His reply was: 'Yes, Comrade Haywood, that is communism.'"

* * * *

In the old I. W. W. headquarters at 1001 West Madison Street, established there by Haywood himself, they used to have a curious piece of office furniture, a chair, broad and deep, the legs reinforced by iron, suitable for a tall, heavy man. The right arm was deeply gouged where Haywood had picked at it with the desk file time after time. In this chair he sat many days, talking ceaselessly with hundreds of workers who came in to see him, but too active to sit quietly. He jabbed at the chair arm as he listened. That was Haywood, the fighter, the leader, always a proletarian, deeply imbedded in his class; he couldn't be a "pie-card artist." He was always in direct, immediate contact with his fellow workers, and as they told him facts, he planned battles.

Of course he joined the Communist Party as soon as he heard of communism.

VERN SMITH.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,
 REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,
 Of THE COMMUNIST, published Monthly at New York, N. Y., for April, 1929.

State of New York }
 County of New York } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Robert Minor, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The Communist, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Communist Party of U. S. A., 43 East 125th Street, New York City.

Editor, Max Bedacht, 43 East 125th Street, New York City.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, Robert Minor, 43 East 125th Street, New York City.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Communist Party of U. S. A., 43 East 125th Street, New York City. Robert Minor, Acting Secretary, 43 East 125th Street, New York City. A non-profit organization—political.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

ROBERT MINOR.

Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of April, 1929.

Max Kitzes, Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1930.)

New International Books

—JUST PUBLISHED—

THE REVOLUTION OF 1917

by V. I. Lenin

All of Lenin's writings and speeches from the overthrow of the Tsar in March to the first open conflict with the Provisional Government—the July Days. Two Vols., each\$3.00

CEMENT *by Feodor Gladkov*

The first novel out of the turbulent years of the Russian Civil War and Reconstruction.....\$1.50

AZURE CITIES *Stories of New Russia*

A collection of short stories by thirteen of Russia's most outstanding contemporary writers.....\$2.50

LABOR AND AUTOMOBILES

by Robert W. Dunn

A detailed study of the rise and development of the automobile industry with special reference to conditions of labor and labor organization.....\$1.00

LABOR AND SILK *by Grace Hutchins*

A comprehensive survey of the silk and rayon industry stressing conditions of work and workers' organizations\$1.00

Write for our catalogue to

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

35 EAST 125th STREET

NEW YORK

OFFER 
EXTRAORDINARY!

THE COMMUNIST

● *Official Organ of the
Communist Party of the U. S. A.*

Regular Rate \$2.00 per Year

and

**THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL**

● *Official Organ of the
Executive Committee of the C. I.*

Regular Rate \$2.00 per Year

Now Both \$3.00 per Year

35 EAST 125TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY