

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

I. Introduction

The main outlines of the deep-going economic crisis now gripping United States capitalism are already clear. We are witnessing a cyclical economic crisis of capitalism which, in the conditions of the third period of the general crisis of capitalism (with sharpening of all contradictions of capitalism, and especially sharp clash between markets and productive forces, and all the consequences flowing therefrom), is already very deep and will become one of the most far-reaching economic crises in the history of capitalism, involving the whole capitalist world. It is the outstanding event since the X Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, fully bearing out the correctness of the analysis of the X Plenum, which said:

"Despite the prophecies made by the social-democrats and echoed by the right wing and conciliatory elements, the stabilization of capitalism has not only become no firmer, but, on the contrary, is becoming more and more undermined. The correctness of the estimation made by the VI Congress of the present period of post-war capitalism is being ever more obviously demonstrated as a period of the increasing growth of the general crisis of capitalism and of the accelerated accentuation of the fundamental external and internal contradictions of imperialism leading inevitably to imperialist wars, to great class conflicts, to an era of development of a new upward swing of the revolutionary movement in the principal capitalist countries, to great anti-imperialist revolutions in colonial countries."

The crisis substantiates the resolution of the October Plenum of the Central Committee Communist Party of the United States of America, which pointed out the beginnings of the crisis, and said:

"The present economic situation in the U. S., also shows the clear features of an economic crisis. * * * The present economic situation in the U. S., is that we are before a break in the curve of 'hochkonjunktur', in the beginning of a pre-crisis situation." (Oct. 5, 1929.)

In its manifesto to the workers on the economic crisis, on Nov. 23, the Central Committee correctly estimated it as the first open demonstration of "the deep-going nature of the economic crisis into which American capitalism is plunging," correctly indicated its necessary consequences, and laid down the main line of struggle for the party and for the working class.

However the party as a whole has not yet fully realized the tremendous importance and consequences of the crisis, has not drawn its full national and international implications, has only begun to adapt its methods of work to the developing situation. The Party press especially reflects this underestimation. There is required a ten-fold concentration upon those tasks, which are first upon the order of the day.

I. Factors and Consequences of the Crisis

2. The first clear manifestation of the economic crisis was the stock market crash beginning at the end of October. This crash had certain immediate causes (inflation of securities, etc.). However, the fundamental cause of the stock market crash was the beginnings of the decline in production. The decline in production resulted in repeated blows to the stock market, which in three weeks wiped out about 50 per cent of the market value of securities.

The downward trend in production began in May, and by October had become pronounced in certain lines. The business index of 'The Annalist' for the past months gives a picture of the main line of development. Beginning with May which was the peak, the index for which stood at 108.8, the development is: June, 107.5; July, 105.5; August, 106.8; Sept. 105.8; October, 103.5; November, 95.4. December continues the downward trend quite sharply, with the steel industry showing the following course:

Oct. 26	80 percent of capacity
Nov. 2	80 percent of capacity
Nov. 9	77 1/2 percent of capacity
Nov. 16	73 percent of capacity
Nov. 23	71 percent of capacity
Nov. 30	69 percent of capacity
Dec. 7	67 percent of capacity
Dec. 14	63 1/2 percent of capacity
Dec. 21	63 1/2 percent of capacity
Dec. 27 (approx.)	40 percent of capacity

Steel production in November was 17 1/2 per cent below the same month in 1928.

Automobile production dropped from 128.7 in September to 115.5 in October, and to 81.8 in November, or considerably over one-third in two months time. Absolute figures of auto production show most sharply the development:

April	621,347
May	604,084
June	545,356
July	509,392
August	498,375
September	415,697
October	380,011
November	217,441

The building industry shows a decline for 1929 of 19 1/2 per cent below the previous year; November 17 per cent below the same month a year ago. Freight car loadings declined in November by 10 1/2 per cent below October and 5 per cent below 1928; while December figures are declining below the average of the past five years.

Sharpest of all the figures of decline are those of new securities placed upon the market. From the high point in September of 1,615 millions, October declined by almost 50 per cent to 877 millions, while November collapsed to 297 millions, or less than 20 per cent of the figures of two months before.

Export markets are also shrinking, although this follows the crisis as an effect, and did not enter into the first stages as cause; exports for October declined 4 per cent from the same month last year, while November exports declined almost 18 per cent. Future developments of exports will be sharply affected, first by the spreading of the crisis internationally, and secondly by the sharp reduction of foreign loans which has been a special feature of the year 1929.

The tightening of credit has already found

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expression in the drastic reduction in short-term credit, namely, brokers' loans, which decreased in ten weeks by \$3,483,000,000, or exactly by 50 per cent. The continuous outward movement of gold is a factor which will accentuate the financial situation.

Export of capital for 1929 decreased by 22 per cent compared with 1928.

3. Unemployment, already present on a permanent mass scale, is growing with unprecedented speed. According to the report of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, November factory employment alone decreased by 421,000 below the middle of September. The figures certainly are very incomplete and underestimate the true situation. The decline of employment and payrolls has affected all strata of the working class including the skilled workers. Factory payrolls for November alone have declined \$68,000,000 from October, or \$73,000,000 from September, with further losses going on. The drastic recession in almost all lines of business spreads the reduction of income throughout the population, striking especially upon the masses. On November 1, the American Trade Executives Association estimated, on the basis of the then-existing facts, that "We enter next year with one-third less buying power than we have had in any of the past few years." Since that time the effects of the crisis have begun to accumulate, in the form of further drastic shrinking. According to the 'Annalist', both factory employment and payrolls are below the average of the past ten years. Certainly more than another half-million workers have been added to the already existing army of more than 5,000,000 unemployed.

4. The crisis is as yet only in its first stages. The cumulative effect of the drastic shrinking of the domestic market has not had time to express itself. The 'Annalist', comparing the present crisis to those of 1893 and 1907, predicts at least six months period of decline, saying:

"With four notable exceptions, the November decrease is probably the largest decrease in business activity which has occurred in any one month in the last forty-six years."

If we examine the curve of the 1920-21 crisis, we get a picture of the dynamics of the capitalist cycle which gives at least some idea of what is to come in 1930. In 1920 the crisis began in the third quarter of the year and lasted through 1921; during that 18 months employment dropped from an index of 118 (highest in history) down to 70, or more than 40 percent; should the present crisis reach an equal intensity, it would bring the unemployed army well over ten million. Previous major crises have extended over periods of 12 to 18 months of most acute depression.

5. One of the characteristics of all periods of economic crisis, concentration and centralization of capital, formation of ever-larger combinations and mergers, a process already gaining momentum before the crisis, has been enormously stimulated. This is at once the crushing and driving out of the smaller, so-called independent enterprises in finance and industry, and the drawing together of the bigger units of finance capital into a few groups. "The year 1929 will go down in financial history as the peak year of the merger movement among banks. In New York City alone there were no less than 28 mergers involving 44 banks. . . ." (N. Y. American, Dec. 1929.) The process extends from the big steel merger, the gas and utilities merger, and the bank mergers, now under way, clear down to the expropriation of the small neighborhood retail merchant by the chain store system. (The Interstate Commerce Commission plans for the merging of the railroads into a few great systems: the steel merger of the Republic Steel, Central Alloy, Donner Steel, and Bourne Fuller, with \$350,000,000 assets, and the acquisition of Columbia Steel by the U. S. Steel Corporation; the taking over of Southern Steel and Pacific Coast steel by the Bethlehem Corporation; the monster utility merger, etc., etc.)

6. Economic crisis is the inevitable accompaniment of the capitalist system of production. Contrary to the reformist fairy tales of "organized capitalism," the economic crisis, together with competition and wars, remains the spontaneous regulator of capitalist economy. It is characteristic that the capitalist crisis is not one of underproduction or lack of raw materials, but of overproduction. It begins with the depression of all leading branches of industry, caused by the catastrophic disproportion between the productive capacity and actual production. Tens and hundreds of thousands of workers are thrown on the streets, the enormous restriction of the inner market fol-

lows from the decline in wage payments, etc. Bankruptcies of weaker and medium-sized enterprises follow, resulting in large movements of concentration and centralization of capital, mergers, etc. This is followed by tightening of the credit market, expressed in the increase of money rates. Finally the crisis must bring general reduction in prices and increased exploitation of the working class. Almost all these characteristics of the classical crisis of capitalism are already observed today.

III. Policy of the Bourgeoisie

7. The bourgeoisie has responded to the onset of the crisis with a mobilization of all its forces, on a scale and with a thoroughness comparable only to the U. S. mobilization for war in 1917. Just as Wilson's War Industries Board and "Dollar-a-year men" in 1917 formed a super-government of big capitalists, directly taking over the operation of government in the war crisis, so Hoover has mobilized the direct representatives of finance-capital in the National Business Council. Just as Wilson secured the pledge of Comptrollers, for the American Federation of Labor, of no strikes or wage demands, so Hoover secured a similar, but more complete pledge from Wm. Green. The organ of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, from its own point of view, registers the same facts, when it said: "Where does Business stand? Where does Government stand? The unqualified answer is that they stand together. . . . The two forces are working hand in hand as in wartime." (Nations Business, Jan. 1930.) The present mobilization under Hoover is also a war mobilization—for war against the working class and toiling masses, to squeeze from them the cost of the crisis, and war internationally, to redistribute the markets of the world and crush the resistance of the oppressed countries, and above all, war against the stronghold of world revolution, the Soviet Union. All these measures of the bourgeoisie to meet the crisis necessarily resolve themselves into new measures of exploitation and robbery. The pretences of measures to eliminate the anarchy and chaos of capitalist economy are going against the very nature of capitalism. Capitalism cannot abolish its own anarchy, because this involves the destruction of capitalism itself.

8. In this growing merger of the apparatus of government and big capital, the third partner in the "triple alliance," the social reformists (A.F. of L. and Socialist Party) plays an ever more important role. This is the meaning of the Hoover-Green agreement, of the bourgeois press building up the vote of Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party in the New York elections, of the triple alliance of bosses, the state and the Schlesinger-Socialist Party bureaucrats in the needle industry, and innumerable developments of like nature.

Constantly more use is being made of the "left" reformists of Muste & Co., and the renegades from communism, Lovestone, Cannon & Co. They are the most dangerous enemies of the working class, and the most effective weapons of the bourgeoisie to break down working class resistance to rationalization and war.

9. These developments of bourgeois policy are examples of the general world tendency within capitalism towards fascist rule. The integration of the reformists into the fascist tendency, is the transformation of reformism into social-fascism. But it would be entirely wrong to repress: this tendency as already "fully developed Fascism" or that "parliamentarism has ceased to function." What is taking place is a big step in the direction of the fascistization of the American bourgeois state. Over the parliamentary government apparatus, there is being imposed a super-government, as the direct ruling organ of finance capital; this is fascist in tendency, in the sense of relegating parliamentary institutions to second place, and making use of labor bureaucrats to break mass resistance to this process. To compare Hoover's National Business Council to the Grand Fascist Council of Mussolini, is, however, only a superficial journalistic comparison, and to attempt to construct an exact political parallel would be wrong. Fully-developed fascism includes the use of the de-classed petty-bourgeoisie as the instruments of rule by big capital, directly imposed by violence upon the masses. The Fascist Grand Council is selected by Mussolini and composed of these petty bourgeois elements. Hoover's Council, on the other hand, are the real masters themselves, giving their orders to Hoover, the direct government of the finance capitalists imposed over the still-existing parliamentary state. These specific features of American fascist development must not be obscured by

vague general comparisons with the fascism of Mussolini. The development of fascist tendencies is hastened by the economic crisis, which by its wholesale expropriation of petty-bourgeois speculators and small producers, narrows the social basis of the Government. A phase of this tendency is emphasized in the direct insertion of representatives of finance capital into Government (Morrow and Grundy into the Senate; the proposal to draft Pershing, outstanding militarist, for the Senate).

10. Hoover's announced plan for meeting the crisis contains two main points: first, stimulation of public works, building, and capital investments; second stimulation of exports. Of the first question, most of the published plans are for "psychological" effect, for propaganda purposes, and are not expected to be carried out. For, as one spokesman of finance capital stated, "The depression itself is in large part due to what is now proposed as its remedy" ('Annalist', Nov. 22). And further, "It is worth noting since various newspapers have headlined 'railroads to spend a billion in 1930' that nothing like a pledge of that sort was or could be given. The amount of railroad capital expenditures next year will be governed by interest rates and the state of business as it develops during the next six or eight months" (Wall Street Journal, Nov. 21). "The conference which he (the president) proposes to call may have something more to suggest but it must be a suggestion based upon sound economic lines rather than the resumption of a building and construction movement already overdone in many directions" (Journal of Commerce, Nov. 18). To the extent that the construction programme is carried out, it will be primarily in the nature of war preparations (improving water communications, etc.) or capital investments incidental to further concentration and rationalization, thereby intensifying the existing contradiction between productive capacity and markets. By no means will it even approximately equal the "normal" construction of the past five years. Another typical example of the policy of the bourgeoisie to meet the crisis was the income-tax reduction, which was a gift by the Government of 160 million dollars to the small group of wealthiest capitalists.

The plan for expansion of exports is much more seriously intended, and entails far-reaching consequences. Here we find the connecting link between domestic and foreign policy, between national and international questions, between the inner and outer contradictions. The narrowing domestic markets, choking the enormous productive forces, leave no road open for U. S. capitalism except that of the capture of new foreign markets. And since the present exports of the United States, already a large proportion of world trade, are only 10 per cent of the "normal" production, it is clear that for production to be revived upon the basis of exports requires the most enormous increase of foreign trade—an increase that presupposes the destruction of rival imperialist powers who are driven by the same contradictions to seek the same increases of export, or by the destruction of the Soviet Union and the seizure of its enormous market again by world capitalism. Driven by its accumulating inner contradictions, American imperialism makes war upon the working class, and at the same time war upon the colonial peoples, and prepares for war against its imperialist rivals and against the Soviet Union.

IV. The Crisis and International Policy of U. S. Imperialism

11. The necessity to find outlet for its productive forces, which are throttled by the limitations of the domestic market, drives United States imperialism into an increasingly aggressive struggle to gain control of more foreign markets and sources of raw materials. This necessity is multiplied by the present economic crisis, which sharpens international rivalries immeasurably. This sharpening arises not only through increase of the driving forces of United States imperialism, but also by increasing the resistance of its rivals, who themselves are drawn into the economic crisis which becomes international. The resulting increased pressure upon the colonial peoples, already rousing to struggle, stimulates the national liberation movements and sharpens the antagonisms between imperialism and its colonies. The economic crisis beginning in the United States is spreading all over the capitalist world. Its manifestations are already clear in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and even in Germany. European capitalism is already showing the effects of the latest blow to its stabilization from the crisis in the United States. Thus the sharpening of the class struggle

between the workers and bourgeoisie in the United States and all other imperialist countries is accompanied by the rise of wars for colonial liberation, as well as imperialist war against the Soviet Union and among the imperialists themselves. The present period of economic crisis has brought the war danger concretely and immediately upon the stage of history. The new world war is ripening before our eyes. It is in the immediate perspective.

12. Under the pressure of the economic crisis, the foreign policy of the United States Government, carrying through its drive for expanded markets, must sharpen considerably, and find its principal strategy in manoeuvres looking toward a regrouping of forces, toward breaking up the combinations hostile to its imperialist plans, and securing allies in the coming struggle with other imperialist powers, a struggle before all with Great Britain, while itself assuming hegemony of the imperialist drive against the Soviet Union. This is the main significance of the Naval Conference opening soon in London. It will be an Armament Conference, not one for "disarmament" or "limitation." Naval powers have already made their claims, which they will present to the London Conference for higher ratios. (Japan, France, Italy.) In general, the system of ratios does not imply reduction but constant growth of naval armaments, its object being merely to establish certain relation of forces. The Conference is a field of manoeuvres for favorable position for the opening of armed struggle.

13. The determination of United States imperialism to assume leadership of the imperialist offensive against the Soviet Union was once more demonstrated by the Stimson note of November 2, and the mobilization of the satellites of the United States in its support. This blow against the Soviet Union, designed to halt the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Soviet crisis which was under way, was brilliantly defeated by Soviet diplomacy, the strength of the Red Army on the Manchurian border, and by the support of the international proletariat. The sharp rebuke and defeat delivered to United States imperialism by the Soviet Government must not be allowed to become the starting point of any illusions that United States imperialism has abandoned its hostile aims. More than ever, it will intrigue and manoeuvre, in preparations for new and more drastic attacks against the country of revolution, against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

Sharpening of antagonism between the United States and Great Britain develops simultaneously with the offensive against the Soviet Union. It is entirely wrong to speak of the "imperialists setting aside their differences" in order to attack the Soviet Union; they proceed to fight out their differences within their united front against the Soviet Union. It is equally wrong to say that because of the deep antagonisms between the United States and Great Britain, therefore, there is no danger of an armed attack against the Soviet Union. (Nearby.) Both of these conceptions have the effect of partially disarming the workers in the struggle against the war danger, and both of them, therefore, are objectively an assistance to war preparations. In China we have just witnessed a classical example of the simultaneous development of both struggles; the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway was at one and the same time an assault by imperialism against the Soviet Union, and a struggle between the imperialists themselves for control of the railway, and for the control of China, a struggle carried on in both cases by means of soldiers and armed battles. Similarly, we see in Latin America the Anglo-American antagonism bringing about armed struggles between the adherents of the two imperialist powers, in the sharpening struggle for markets. The entire capitalist world is today a powder-magazine, ready for an explosion.

V. The Offensive Against the Working Class

14. The economic crisis obliges the bourgeoisie to make an intensified attack against the working class. The army of unemployed is rising above 5,000,000. The feverish search for markets, and lowering of prices in the first stages of the crisis, result in frantic efforts to reduce the cost of production (increase surplus values) by reduction in wages, intensification of labor (speed-up), and increase of hours. The Ford plants, for example, have cut forces from 120,000 to 66,000, and produce as much in two shifts as was produced formerly in three. Basing themselves upon the enormous army of unemployed, upon their reformist lackeys in the

labor movement, and upon their concentrated state power, the employers are launching a determined offensive to lower the living standards of the entire working class. The drive for rationalization (speed-up) in only beginning. The most terrific exploitation will come in the next months, in the second half of the crisis, when the falling prices will bring the capitalist offensive to unheard-of sharpness.

Preparation for the new speed-up drive in the factories, mills and mines is being made by the assault against the revolutionary working class organizations, the Trade Union Unity League, the Young Communist League, and the Communist Party. The use of illegal, fascist, violence is increasing, especially in the South, against the National Textile Workers Union and the Trade Union Unity League organizers. Twenty-six Communist Party Leaders in Chicago are charged with sedition, and the prosecutor announces that he intends to outlaw the Party in Illinois. The government has openly attacked the legality of the Shoe Workers' Union. The Party and revolutionary working class must definitely prepare itself to combat an extensive movement to drive the Party into illegality.

This capitalist attack against the working class is at the same time part of the preparations for imperialist war. The struggle against the war danger is, therefore, necessarily linked up with and a part of the resistance to the capitalist offensive. The two aspects of the class struggle cannot and must not be separated. They are but two phases of the same fight.

15. The chronic agrarian crisis is being sharpened by the present economic crash, at the same time acting as one of the causes of the general crisis. The effort of the Hoover administration, under the cover of talk of bringing about better conditions, to extend rationalization and domination of finance capital over agriculture is comparable in social effect to the rationalization of industry, namely it increases class differentiation on the land, worsening conditions and disemploying great numbers of farm wage workers and tending to pauperize great sections of the lower strata of the poor farmers and semi-proletarians, among whom southern Negro farmers are a most important section, while welding the rich farmers and farmer capitalists more closely into the machinery of big capital and generally consolidating the forces of imperialism for war. At the same time it more clearly reveals the reactionary and parasitic role of finance capital, which throttles the technical progress of agriculture while sucking its life blood. The agrarian crisis therefore assumes new forms in which our Party has opportunities which cannot be neglected. Our Party must also be the organizer of the class struggle on the land, must see distinctly the differences of class in agriculture, must first of all reach and organize the proletariat of highly capitalist farming, and begin the task of marshalling the deeply discontented agrarian petty bourgeoisie against finance capital.

16. The answer of the working class to the capitalist offensive has been given in the movement of the Illinois miners, breaking away from the boss-controlled U. M. W. of A., and fighting against desperate odds against the "triple alliance" of bosses, state and reformists; as well as by the movement of the Southern white and Negro workers for organization and struggle against capitalist rationalization, especially manifested in the textile workers convention. This answer of the working class, only its first stages as yet, must inevitably develop into fierce mass battles, involving hundreds of thousands, during the course of the present crisis.

VI. Immediate Perspectives

17. From a general survey of the economic and political situation, the immediate perspective is given of: (a) sharpening of the crisis, with the shrinking of the domestic market, far beyond anything experienced in recent years, with mass unemployment, more rationalization, starvation and misery; (b) the rise of a wave of strikes involving hundreds of thousands of workers, especially the unskilled and unorganized, with growing tendency to transform them into political struggles; (c) intensification of the agrarian crisis, with severe dislocations in agriculture and political movements among the agrarian masses; (d) Development and intensification of the colonial liberation movements (Haiti, India) in resistance to the drive of imperialist exploitation, (e) sharpening of the war danger, with concrete development of war against the Soviet Union and among the imperialist powers, and new regrouping of the imperialist powers. The insolubility of all the main contradictions of capitalism will be demonstrated in revolutionary upheavals and wars, involving the millions of the oppressed masses, India, with a rapidly maturing immediate revolutionary situation, is the outstanding example. With the ripening of the crisis and its consequences, the possibility must be recognized in this period of the breaking of one or another of the weaker—mainly from the point of view of the relations of class forces—links in the chain of world imperialism, and the extension of the front of the victorious world revolution. Whether this will be realized depends also upon the organized will of the proletariat, upon its ability to mobilize all its forces, to rally its potential allies, and lead them in ruthless struggle.

VII. Capitalist Crisis and Socialist Prosperity

18. The economic crisis and the collapse of the "American prosperity" myth is brought out in even sharper relief, by the contrast of the tremendous advances of socialist industrialization in the Soviet Union. At the moment that capitalist economy falls into convulsions, into deep crisis, the socialist economy of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat registers the magnificent achievements of the first year's operation of the Five Year Plan of Great Works. In the year 1929 production in industries

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A Year of Mass Struggle in the South---Led by Communist Party and N. T. W.



The vital necessity of The Daily Worker to the workers of the United States was brought home more clearly than ever before in the past year—a year of great rise in the radicalization of the workers—a year of mass struggles everywhere, especially the struggles waged by the workers of the South.



Led by the Communist Party the National Textile Workers Union and the Trade Union Unity League, the bitterly exploited mill workers of North Carolina rebelled. It was through The Daily Worker that the workers of the United States obtained the story of this great



phase of the class struggle—from the workers' side. Scenes from the strike are shown above. Photos at left, strikers battle troops, on the picket line. At right, the Gastonia class-war prisoners, seven of whom were railroaded to long prison



terms for their militancy in leading the Gastonia strikers. The Southern mill workers look on The Daily Worker as their fighting voice. Help to build a mass circulation of the Daily Worker, so that it can reach the exploited workers in every section of the United States.

"Economic Crisis, Already Very Deep, to Be One of the Most Far-Reaching in History"

(Continued from previous page)

covered by the plan rose by 24% compared with the previous year, exceeding the plan by 5% as against 7% fixed in the plan. In 1929 the sown area as a whole rose by 6%. The increase in the sown area of collective farms was 380% instead of 112% as fixed in the plan. In 1927 there were 11,306 collective farms compared with 35,000 in 1929. The productivity per worker increased 17%, wages increased by 22% compared with the pre-war rate, while the average working day in industries is 7.54.

This contrast between capitalist crisis and socialist prosperity gives the verdict of history, and of the toiling masses, of the final bankruptcy of reformism. It proves even for the backward strata of the toiling masses that "prosperity" cannot be achieved under capitalism, and only by armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie, by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, in the alliance of the workers and small farmers; through the nationalization of industry and the land, and the monopoly of foreign trade by the Soviet Power, which alone made possible the first appearance in history of a planned economy in the building of socialism.

VIII. Opportunist Theories in the Light of the Crisis

19. The economic crisis reveals more clearly the opportunistic character of the theories put forth by the international right-wing in its fight against the Comintern. The theory of Bucharin of the disappearance of markets, prices, competition, and crises, that capitalism loses its anarchic character, means that with the disappearance of competition within the capitalist countries, the spontaneous regulation of production by competition and crisis, is replaced by a conscious organized control by the capitalist class; market relations are replaced by organized distribution and social division of labor by only technical division of labor. The economic crisis destroys this opportunistic illusion borrowed from social-democracy, that capitalist national economy is transformed from an irrational system into a rational organization, from a subjectless economy into an economic subject" (Bucharin). The economic crisis has shown that not the organized capitalist control but the catastrophe of economic crisis remains the regulator of capitalist production, that the inner competition, however, becoming less visible, continues to exist side by side with monopolies, and even more, the monopolistic trusts continue to compete among themselves, accentuating the unevenness of development within the capitalist system, and finally, that there is a class force, forgotten by the theorists of "organized capitalism," the struggling proletariat, every day destroying the capitalist "organization" and role of the class struggle as regulator of capitalist development.

Lenin wrote in May, 1917, on the question of the elaboration of the Russian Party program:

"Imperialism, in fact, neither does, NOR CAN, TRANSFORM capitalism from top to bottom. Imperialism aggravates and sharpens the contradictions of capitalism, it intertwines monopoly with free competition, but it CAN NOT ABOLISH exchange, the market, competition, crises, etc. Imperialism is capitalism passing out, not capitalism gone; it is capitalism dying, not dead. Not pure monopolies, but monopolies alongside of competition, exchange, markets, and crises—this, generally, is the most essential feature of imperialism."—(Collected Works, Vol. 20, Book I, p. 331, International Publishers).

The present economic crisis proves once more the correctness of Lenin's analysis of imperialism and not of Bucharin's opportunist distortions.

Exactly the problems of markets, prices, and competition, have produced in the United States a crisis of such magnitude as to shake the whole capitalist world, and exactly at the moment when the opportunist theorists were singing loudest the praises of the "organizing role" of monopoly. The central error in the opportunist theories is the conception of the disappearance of competition, under the growth of monopoly, which is an abandonment of Lenin's analysis that "it is, indeed, this combination of contradictory 'principles'—competition and monopoly—that is essential to imperialism, and it is, indeed, this that prepares the crash, i. e., the Socialist Revolution" (Lenin, 1917). The economic crisis now under way creates a deep crisis among the theorists of "organized capitalism," furnishing new and rich examples of the correctness of the Leninist analysis.

20. The crisis reveals the bankruptcy of Lovestone & Co. in a particularly vivid and instructive way. The present crisis is the realization of Lovestone's vision of the "Victorian age of American imperialism." At the moment this crisis was gathering, Lovestone proclaimed:

"American imperialism is approaching its Victorian day. This the same investors' mouthpiece (Magazine of Wall Street) goes on to say proudly: 'As Rome had its Augustinian age and Britain its Victorian age, so we are about to enter upon an epoch of affluence and magnificence, of peace and prosperity, that history may well record as the Hooverian age.' Translate 'we' into Wall Street and the truth is here." (Lovestone, in the "Communist," December, 1928.)

At the open development of the crisis, Lovestone again reiterated his opportunist line. Rejecting the correct estimate of the Central Committee Plenum of October 5-7, which said: "We are just before a break in the curve of 'hochkonjunktur' (business boom), in the beginning of a pre-crisis situation," Lovestone declared: "The panic on Wall Street did not come as a result of the decline of American capitalist economy. It came as a result of the very strength of American capitalist economy." (No. 1, "Revolutionary Age.") The close parallel between Lovestone and Hoover may be seen in the latter's words on November 15, in calling the business conferences, when he said: "Any lack of confidence in the economic future or the basic strength of business in the United States is foolish." The "wisdom" of the two is identical. Lovestone's theories are not so much "overestimation" as "Hoover-estimation" of American capitalism.

Economic reality has destroyed the main plank in Lovestone's platform. The "Victorian Age" theory, the "primacy of outer contradictions," the "exceptional" position of United States capitalism, with all their consequent wrong views on every question before the movement, are exposed to the whole world in their opportunistic nakedness. The right-wing finds it increasingly difficult to fool the workers with its program. It is left as an amorphous group of opportunists, with a patch-quilt program, repaired and renewed from week to week. It will, together with the Trotskyites, end as an open ally of social democracy and counter-revolution, already clearly forecasted by its strike-breaking on Red Day, by its disruptive work in the mass organizations, by its revisionist line on every question of theory and practice, which in each case coincides with or leads to the position of the Second International.

21. The Trotskyist group of Cannon is in the same bankrupt, amorphous state as that of Lovestone. The break-up of the Trotsky group in the Soviet Union, the international disintegration among the Trotskyists, who are split up into several camps bitterly fighting each other, demonstrate the utter incapacity of the opportunists of "left" phrases to create even a united camp of Trotskyites. On the question of the Chinese-Soviet conflict, the overwhelming majority of European Trotskyists politically returned to the Social-Democracy or anarcho-syndicalism, having taken an anti-communist, and even open anti-soviet position, entirely in the spirit of the Second International. While the money received by Trotsky for his articles against the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union from Hearst and Lord Beaverbrook enables the "Militant" to come out weekly, the political bankruptcy of Cannon and Co. is clearly revealed in its columns. In its issue of Nov. 30th, the basic ideas of Lovestone are clearly echoed; while admitting depression in "some of the most important branches," United States capitalism is described as "on a road of production increase such as has not had its parallel in history." Lovestone's theory that the Wall Street crash did not reflect an economic crisis is faithfully reproduced in the words: "The ups and downs of stock market speculations do not directly reflect the conditions of industry." And, finally, the Lovestone-Hoover theory of the "sound business position of our country" is clearly expressed by the "Militant" in the following "consolatory" prophecies:

"But the United States is still in a sufficiently strong and arrogant (?) position in world economy and politics to endeavor to overcome its economic difficulties 'at home.'"

After carefully avoiding the subject of the economic crisis for a whole month, the next Trotskyite contribution came in its organ of Dec. 28, in the following profound economic reflections:

"Many employers devoted more time to stock gambling than to business before the crash. Now they are being forced to the wall. The long skirt has also caused demoralization. Women are refusing to buy dresses in the new style in expected quantities and the entire trade is in confusion."

The utter bankruptcy of American Trotskyism follows closely the international development of this tendency (German Trotskyites, Luzen, Monate), all of which move toward the same positions as those of social-democracy, the Brandlers, Jileks, Lovestones, et al. A recent example of the united front of Trotskyist opportunists with the right-wing opportunists, is the bloc concluded between the "Leninbund" (Urbanis & Co.) and Brandler group in Hamburg, for the creation of a common fraction in the trade unions, on the common basis of International of Labor Unions, especially against the line of the 4th Congress, of liquidation of the Red trade unions, and entering them (including the trade unions of Union of Socialist Soviet Republics) into Amsterdam; that is, on the platform of complete capitulation before the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy.

IX. Economic Crisis and the Party Tasks.

22. Our Party is the only organization which has recognized and told the truth about the economic crisis to the working class. But the Party has as yet only begun to realize all that the crisis means in the necessity for bringing our Party tasks to a new stage of application. The crisis not only reveals the bankruptcy

of the open opportunists, it also brings to light the hidden opportunist tendencies within the Party. The right danger was not eliminated by the expulsion of Lovestone & Co.; and today it finds its most dangerous expression in underestimation of the crisis and its consequences. Now especially all manifestations of this opportunist tendency must be mercilessly combated, exposed and eliminated from the life of the Party.

In the present situation especially dangerous are the following forms of the right-wing danger: (a) underestimation of the crisis and the tendency to deal with it as merely a stock-market crash; (b) recognition of the crisis but failure to adjust the daily work to the demands of crisis situation, particularly slowness and inadequacy of the trade union work, and neglect of the new forms of struggle, of drawing in masses into activity and leadership slowness in mobilizing and organizing the unemployed; (c) failure of the Party press adequately to portray the crisis and systematically inform the working class; (Daily Worker, and especially the language press); (d) inadequate attention to organizational tasks, both by Party and revolutionary unions; (e) a not serious, and sometimes frivolous, attitude toward preparation of strikes and organization of mass struggle. Generally the Party has lagged behind the quickly developing events.

23. The crisis does not require any change of those main slogans, which were slogans for a whole period, and which are confirmed by all development. The main direction of the struggle was summed up by October Plenum as the struggle against rationalization and war, the winning of the majority of the working class through participating in and leading its struggles, building a mass Communist Party. But in the situation of economic crisis the Party tasks are presented in sharper and more imperative forms, thus raising our everyday struggles to a higher level. The struggle against rationalization must be raised to a struggle against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to make the workers pay for the crisis, which must be directly linked up with struggle against the Hoover-Green united front of employers' bourgeois state and social reformists. The struggle against the speed-up must be developed not only against employers, but also against the reformist trade-union bureaucracy, the state and the developing fascistization tendencies. The struggle against the war danger, which becomes more concrete and near, must be sharpened and deepened in the same manner. The Naval Conference must be the occasion for a sharp and well-organized campaign throughout the Party press and by mass actions, anti-war conferences, etc., against the war danger, and the Conference opened in detail in its war preparations.

24. A very serious opportunist danger exists in the trade union work. The working class answer to Hoover, which already brings forth big strike movements, finds many important sections of our movement dragging at the tail of events, immersed in routine work, unable to rise to the situation and take the lead in organizing these mass movements and directing them into revolutionary channels. The situation created by the economic crisis creates new opportunities for, and imperatively demands energetic work in the building up of the new revolutionary unions, active participation, organization, and leadership of all of the economic struggles of the working class, and creation of the united front of all workers in the shops, and the unemployed; but these opportunities cannot be fully realized unless we make a sharp turn in our methods of work. Our trade union leadership and its methods, partic-

ularly in its relations with the working masses, must be closely scrutinized on the basis of development of self-criticism from below; the movement must not shrink from the most drastic renovation of its leadership and methods wherever necessary to fit the organizations for their tasks. The process of organizing the masses must proceed simultaneously with the development of new leading cadres, drawn from the shops, mills, mines, and factories. The most emphatic attention must be given to organization of rank and file committees of struggle, shop committees, etc., both in connection with the new unions and with the left-wing groups in the A. F. of L. unions, which are the best way to fight against bureaucratism in organization and direction of struggle.

25. The economic crisis sharpens the necessity for special attention to the winning of the masses of the young workers and the working women who make up an increasingly important section of the working class and who are the hardest hit by the economic crisis, and who offer one of the most important sources for the strengthening of the Party ranks. This is especially true of work among the Negro masses, which must receive constantly increased attention. The crisis will also intensify the oppression of the colonial masses, and their resistance, and call upon our Party for redoubled energy and attention to support of the independence struggles, and to the establishment of trade unions and communist parties in the oppressed countries. For our Party, increased attention and assistance to Latin American and Filipino movements is imperative.

26. Organization and struggle for the unemployed workers attains a major importance in all work of the Party, which will constantly grow greater with the development of the crisis. Some districts of the Party are still lagging far behind the application of the Party program. The entire Party must sharply check itself up in this work. The demand for unemployment insurance of full union wage rates must be made a mass demand of millions of workers; the organization of unemployed councils in close relations with the revolutionary trade unions and employed workers, must be pushed energetically; and the entire unemployment program of the Party must be made known to hundreds of thousands, by systematic distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, making it the center and basic program of the unemployment movement.

27. The Party Recruiting Drive attains enormous importance in the performance of all other political and organization work, for only by carrying out this recruitment successfully will the Party gain the necessary forces with which to perform its role and meet the multiplying duties and demands of the struggle. Demands and struggles arising out of the economic crisis (unemployment, wage-cuts, role of state and social-reformists, etc.) must be placed in the forefront of our Recruiting Campaign. Special attention must be given to building shop nuclei and the problem of keeping and developing new members. There must be no following of the line of least resistance, such as may result in recruiting only unemployed workers and neglect of those in the factories. Without neglecting the unemployed in the slightest, the Party must drive into the factories, where it is most essential that we strike our roots deep, especially in the large factories. The recruiting drive must be made the bearer of all the main campaigns of the Party, and at the same time strengthen these campaigns and the recruitment.

28. The entire Party press must be sharply reoriented upon the economic crisis and its consequences. It is ONLY OUR press which is giving a true picture of the crisis; we have

a monopolist position in this respect. It must establish a serious inadequacy in the press to which this task is performed. It must be made good by the conscious action of the Party itself, which will require the proper performance of its duty in this respect. The Central Committee must take effective measures to put the Daily Worker on a higher level. Every paper must set aside attention in each issue especially for news and articles on the economic crisis and its results, on employment, wage cuts, and especially on the class struggle, the answer of the working class. Special pages devoted to the struggle and organization of the unemployed must be prepared. Those questions must be made leading dominant items in every issue of the paper. Shop papers must devote special attention to the same questions, widening the attention to include not only the particular shop but also the industry as a whole and the unemployed.

29. The inner-Party line must be sharpened up against the right danger in practical work, especially in the trade union field. At the same time all left-sectarian tendencies which will appear must be sharply combated as a considerable hindrance in our approach to the masses and the development of organization and struggle. Inner-Party democracy and a thorough self-criticism must be made the instruments for a thorough cleansing of the Party from opportunist tendencies and their companion, "left" sectarian deviations. New cadres of leading functionaries must be developed throughout the Party; the considerable progress already made in this respect is far from complete and must be carried deeper. This is a first condition for carrying out all Party tasks. The economic crisis and tasks arising therefrom must be discussed by every party unit on the basis of this resolution. This discussion and its results must not consist of mere repetition and endorsement of the Central Committee resolution, but must take up and solve the problems of application in the life and daily work of each separate unit in which the discussion takes place.

30. While concentrating main attention upon shortcomings and tasks, the Central Committee must register considerable achievements of the Party in the past months. The unification of the Party has been completed; the fighting spirit of the membership has been raised to a new level; the recruiting drive has been undertaken in a spirit of deep seriousness; actions of mass mobilization on political issues have been successful (Haiti, Mexico); anti-militarist work is making serious progress; the textile workers' convention was a real achievement in our drive into the South and organizing the unorganized, in establishing the leading role of the TUUL and the Party, enhancing Communist authority among the non-Party masses, and delivering a smashing blow at the renegades and conciliators; and the entire Party is developing a healthy political life upon a higher level. The Central Committee declares that all the main currents of development within our Party today are healthy and drive toward the maturing of the Communist Party of the United States as a Bolshevik section of the Communist International, at the head of every manifestation of the rising class struggle in the United States, organizing and leading the toiling masses in the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

GREETINGS
To The Daily Worker from the

INDEPENDENT SHOE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION OF NEW YORK

On the occasion of the sixth Anniversary of the only daily newspaper in the English language in the U. S. that speaks and fight for the working class.

Long Live the Daily Worker!

6th Anniversary Greetings

Building Maintenance Workers Union
15 East 3rd Street
New York City

Greetings to the Daily Worker on its Sixth Birthday!

T.U.U.L. Upholsterers Section
New York City \$10.00

Sixth Anniversary Greetings! Hotel, Restaurant & Cafeteria Workers Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union
New York City \$15.00

Greet the Daily Worker on its Sixth Anniversary

THE NEW YORK DRUG CLERKS UNION
96 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Greetings on the Sixth Anniversary of the Daily Worker!

Greek Branch International Labor Defense
New York City \$10.00

Revolutionary Greetings!
New York Finnish Workers Club
New York City \$10.00

Anniversary Greetings!
Bath Beach Workers Club
48 Bay 28th St.,
Brooklyn, N. Y. \$5.00

Greetings!
Finnish Workers Association
764 40th Street
Brooklyn, N. Y. \$5.00

Revolutionary Greetings!
Julio Mella Branch International Labor Defense
Brooklyn, N. Y. \$5.00

We shall in the future, as in the past, march under the Banner of the Communist Party

Brighton Beach Jewish Workers Club
Brooklyn, N. Y. \$3.00

Carry on the good work for the liberation of the working class.

Greetings to the Daily Worker on its Sixth Anniversary

WORKERS CLUB of Bronxville
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Greetings to Our Fighter Against World Imperialism

JAPANESE WORKERS CLUB of New York
10 East 15 Street
New York City

Unit 4F, Section 6
Brooklyn, N. Y.

We wholeheartedly greet our Daily Worker on its 6th anniversary. Long live our only revolutionary English daily fighting in the interests of the working class in every country. \$3.00

Greetings
Unit 3F, Section 3
New York City \$5.00

Greetings
Unit 2F, Section 3
New York City \$5.00

Communist Greetings
UNIT 7F
New York City, N. Y. \$5.00

Revolutionary Greetings!
Unit 9F, Section 3
New York City \$5.00

Greetings
Shop Unit 1 Section 9
New York City \$2.50

New York City
On the 6th anniversary edition of our Daily Worker, we pledge ourselves to help build the Daily Worker into a mass proletarian paper. On this occasion hail our comrades in the U.S.S.R. with heartiest revolutionary greetings.
Section 3, Unit 6F
New York City \$10.00

Revolutionary Greetings
Unit 2, Section 7
Brooklyn, N. Y. \$5.00

Revolutionary Greetings
Unit 3, Section 5
Bronx, N. Y. \$10.00

We greet the Daily Worker on its 6th anniversary. We aspire to go as far as the Russian workers.
Unit 2, Section 6
Brooklyn, N. Y. \$5.00

YOUR GREETINGS MEAN MORE POWER TO THE WORKING CLASS

The Communist Party greetings that appear in this edition of The Daily Worker indicate which party units are most conscious of the need for building mass circulation for THE DAILY WORKER and establishing its leadership among workers in all industries.

THE DAILY WORKER, central organ of the Communist Party of the United States, extends its appreciation to all Party subdivisions that have sent us greetings and contributions. You have made this Sixth Anniversary edition possible, an edition which will reach several hundreds of thousands of steel, mine, auto, transportation, textile and other workers in basic and war industries.

Many thousands of these workers will see and read THE DAILY WORKER for the first time, will readily understand that it voices their interests, fights for them in this period of struggle, crisis and unemployment, will become regular readers of THE DAILY WORKER and accept its leadership. Result, new members for our Party, a mass Communist Party.

Every Party unit that sent greetings and a contribution will understand that it is more important to fill this Sixth Anniversary edition with a maximum of news and articles rather than to give space for greetings in proportion to the amounts contributed. The contribution it was possible for you to make BUILDS YOUR PAPER and every inch of space we could master is being used to educate and organize the workers for the revolution.

Revolutionary Greetings to the Daily Worker!

Unit 5F, Section 3
New York City \$10.00

Revolutionary Greetings!
Shop Nucleus No. 18, Section 3
New York City \$5.00

Bolshevik Greetings to America's Fighting Bolshevik Daily!
Unit 12, Section 3
New York City \$5.00

Revolutionary Greetings
UNIT 3F, Section I
Communist Party, U. S. A.
New York, N. Y. \$5.00

Section Four Has Pledged \$35.00 in the name of the following units:

Units 1, 2, 3, A, B, F
New York City

Revolutionary Greetings!
Unit 5F, Section 3
New York City \$10.00

Greetings!
Unit 3, Section 7
Brooklyn, N. Y. \$3.00

Birthday Greetings
Unit 5, Section 5
Bronx, N. Y. \$10.00

Again we greet our "Daily."
Build the Party!
Organize the unorganized!
White and colored, North and South!
Defend our Socialist Fatherland

Unit 14F, Section 3
New York City
Communist Party of U.S.A. \$15.00

SECTION 2
Executive Committee
Communist Party, U.S.A.
District 2

Greet the Daily Worker on its Sixth Anniversary—the champion of the working-class of the United States of America

Onward with the class struggle until our final victory
We hail the achievements of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union on the successful building of Socialism through the Five-Year Industrial Reconstruction Plan

UNITS
Shop Nuclei—1S—4S
1F—2F—3F—4F—5F—6F—7F—8F—9F—10F—11F—12F—13F—14F—15F—16F.

Greetings!
Unit 7F, Section 3
Pledges on the Sixth Anniversary of our Daily to redouble our efforts to build and strengthen our Party and its Press, the only leader of the working class.
Executive Committee \$5.00

Revolutionary Greetings!
Unit A, Section 4
New York City \$9.00

Birthday Greetings!
Unit 6, Section 5
New York City \$10.00

Greetings!
Unit 3, Section 7
Brooklyn, N. Y. \$3.00

Bolshevik Greetings
UNIT 5, SECTION 7
Communist Party, U. S. A.
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Greetings!

Unit 5F, Section 3
New York City \$10.00

Revolutionary Greetings!
International Branch, Sect. 3
New York City \$5.00

Revolutionary Greetings to our only revolutionary English daily. May the Sixth Anniversary be your stepping-stone into the road of a real mass Communist Organ of the exploited and oppressed Negro and white masses. We on our part pledge to do everything within our power to rally the masses and carry high the banner of the Proletarian Revolution.

Unit 1F, Section 3
New York City \$5.00

Revolutionary Greetings!
UNIT 5F, SECTION 3
NEW YORK CITY

Greetings to Our Standard Bearer
THE DAILY WORKER
Forward with the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and all its agents.
UNIT 10F, SECTION 3
New York City.

Birthday Greetings!
Unit 5F, Section 3
NEW YORK CITY

Sixth Anniversary Greetings!
Unit 13F, Section 3
NEW YORK CITY

SECTION 1
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.
DISTRICT 2

We greet the Revolutionary Press in its militant struggle for the emancipation of the working class. Onward in our struggle for final triumph!

UNITS
Unit 1F, Unit 2F, Unit 3F, Unit 4F, Unit 5F, Unit 6F, Unit 7F, Unit 8F, Unit 9F, Unit 10F, R1, R2—Morning Branch, Night Workers.

At the time of accentuated class struggles, at the time when the radicalized workers of this country are looking to the Communist Party for leadership, we greet the real collective organizer of the working class, The Daily Worker.

Unit 8F, Section 3
New York City \$5.00

Unit 11F, Section 3
New York City

Greetings the Daily Worker on its Sixth Birthday of Revolutionary Struggle.
Long Live the Communist International!
Long Live the Communist Party of U.S.A. and its Central Organ, the Daily Worker! \$5.00

Sixth Anniversary Greetings!
Unit 1F, Section 5
New York City \$5.00

Revolutionary Greetings!
Unit 2F, Section 5
New York City \$5.00

Greetings from
Unit F3, Section 6
Brooklyn, N. Y. \$5.00

Greetings from
Section 7, Executive Committee
New York City \$5.00

Revolutionary Greetings!
Unit 1, Section 7
764 40th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. \$5.00

Revolutionary Greetings!
Factory District Unit
Section 8, District 2
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Long Shoremen Water Front
Unit of Section 7

GREET OUR REVOLUTIONARY DAILY ON ITS 6TH ANNIVERSARY

UNIT 1-F, SECTION 6
Greet our revolutionary daily on its 6th anniversary

By VERN SMITH



The last party congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain discussed heatedly, not the question of whether there should be established in that country a daily Communist newspaper, but whether it could be done within one month, so that the first issue would appear on January 1, 1930.

This congress was in the nature of a house cleaning, in which the line of the party was thrown sharply to the left, the comrades in the leading committees who had been pursuing an over cautious and timid program being eliminated and fresh, new and militant members brought forward from the ranks.

The main resolution adopted by the Party Congress declared:

"Without a Daily there can be no systematic exposure of the Labor Government, and it will not be possible to reach masses of workers in the factories and organize them in a struggle against MacDonald's Social-Fascist policy."

The resolution on the Daily Worker adopted at that congress bears a little study by those who want a real mass Daily Worker in America. It seems that the comrades in England have profited by some of our lessons, and intend to avoid some of our failures, perhaps even before we correct them ourselves.

"Without a Party daily paper based on a mass circulation in the factories and pits, the struggle of the masses will remain unco-ordinated, it will reach neither its maximum growth or political development."

The real test is just to get that mass circulation of a Communist daily paper in the factories and pits. It is good that the English comrades recognize it. The Daily Worker in America has barely made a beginning on the job after six years' struggle.

Perhaps our slowness is because we have failed to do some of the elementary things the Communist Party of Britain outlined as first steps. After indicating the necessity of winning over the present readers of the weekly Workers Life, and the Sunday Worker, the congress delegates find that the circulation of these papers is too little in the factories and develop a plan to draw all sympathetic organizations into the task of building up The Daily Worker.

But even more important than the Minority Movement and W. I. R., etc., machinery for this purpose is a plan for direct circulation and news gathering contact with the masses of workers themselves. The resolution states:

"The non-Party and sympathetic workers must be drawn to the supporting of the Daily Worker through the establishment of Daily Worker Groups, based primarily in the factories, but if necessary in the localities.

"Their function is to supply material on the conditions and struggle of the workers and to elect a worker correspondent for the organization of this work, to actively participate in the mass popularization of the paper and the collection of finance, etc.

"Only on the basis of experience and mass development can we finally decide politically on the question of what precise forms of organization the Daily Worker Groups can achieve.

"The non-Party organizations should also elect worker correspondents (connections and groups in the reformist trade unions, the lowest as well as the highest organization in the revolutionary trade unions, pit and factory committees, shop stewards' councils, co-ops, Daily Worker Groups, Workers' Sport Clubs, etc.)

"The function of the worker correspondent is not only to send in material themselves, but to draw other workers into this work and to organize the correspondence of the masses. This is one of the most important ways of ensuring the correct political character of the Daily Worker, and of making it a living embodiment of the mass struggle and giving it a broad mass appeal."

Yes, it is just these factory groups, it is just these Daily Worker Correspondents elected by such groups, and by every unit of the party, as well as all local units of sympathetic organizations, that we have not established in America. So our circulation is still weak where it should be strong—in the factories, and the mines.

Let us honor the British Communists for seeing this fact clearly, and let us wish them more energy, determination, and therefore success, in building these mass contacts than we have shown in America. Let us at least do this organization work now, which we should have done first, and thereby show that we really feel our Communist congratulations to the British Daily Worker, a mass press, and a mass organizer. We should have shown them an example.

TO THE 8TH YEAR OF THE W. I. R.

By LUDWIG LANDY, National Secretary W.I.R.

The Workers' International Relief came into existence in 1911. The Russian revolution, the heroic fight of the Russian workers and peasants against their inner and outer enemies, and their success in combating them, inspired the working class all over the world. When the famine broke out in 1921, the workers of the world over came to the rescue of the workers and peasants in the famine-stricken area of the Soviet Union, on the solidarity call of the Workers International Relief.

This response further inspired the Russian workers and peasants in their fight against the white guards and the united attack of the capitalist countries. The Workers International Relief distributed food and clothing throughout the famine-stricken area and participated in building model farms in the Soviet Union. In 1922 during the earthquake in Japan when thousands of workers were left homeless and destitute, it was again the Workers International Relief, through the solidarity appeal, which sent hundreds of thousands of dollars for relief of the stricken Japanese workers.

After the war, when the German workers were starving—this time not due to a natural catastrophe, but to imperialist war in which millions of workers were slaughtered leaving their families destitute, and many more millions crippled, it was again the Workers International Relief that came to the rescue with relief.

Here, in America, the Workers International Relief gathered all its forces in helping the Passaic textile strikers. In the New Bedford textile strike, the Workers International Relief was also on the job. In North Carolina, in spite of all attacks of thugs, gangsters, hirelings of the bosses and the state police, the Workers International Relief opened relief kitchens and erected tent colonies and maintained its relief activities there from the first day of the struggle.

The American Federation of Labor, the social democrats and all other reformists have always recognized the Workers International Relief a fighter against their bureaucracy.

The Workers International Relief at this period must mobilize all workers in all countries to help to organize the unorganized. Especially in this country the Workers International Relief must work hand in hand with the new trade union center to help build new revolutionary unions and to fight together with them against all the reformist trade union leaders and the enemies of the working class.

At present the Workers International Relief is engaged with relief work for the struggling miners in Illinois who are fighting against the bosses and the Lewis and Fishwick machines, and for a militant union. The Workers International Relief has opened three food stations and sent out a solidarity call to all workers throughout the country soliciting help for the striking miners and their families.

The Workers International Relief gives full consideration to the struggles of the Negro masses in their fight against discrimination and fosters the spirit of solidarity between white and Negro workers.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY



THE DOORSTEP TO THE NEXT IMPERIALIST WAR

London Naval Conference Jan. 21 to Sharpen Imperialist Rivalries

By HARRY GANNES

It is the irony of history that secretary of state, Henry L. Stimson, should be the head of the United States delegation to the London five-power naval conference, set for Jan. 1st.



H. Gannes

This same Stimson, bred in Wall Street, nurtured on the imperialist battle field in the World War, schooled in the intrigues of finance capital in Nicaragua and the Philippines, colossal failure in his attempt to invoke the Kellogg pact as a war threat against the Soviet Union, now strips himself of his comic opera peace angel wings and reveals himself as the chief instrument of U. S. capitalism in its sharpened struggle for naval armaments.

The precipitating world crisis of capitalism makes the war danger a living reality. World capitalism is fast moving towards war. The London race-for-armaments conference expresses the war fever that is agitating the imperialist powers.

Five nations are to meet in London, each desiring to limit the naval strength of each other, while building its own to that point which will give it an advantage in the intensified battle for world markets and revision of colonies.

Anglo-American Rivalry Growing. The two foremost powers at the conference, Great Britain and the United States, while attempting with might and main to mislead the masses into the belief that there is a semblance of agreement, are in reality rent with insoluble, sharp contradictions and rivalries.

These rivalries, contradictions and antagonisms, fundamental and sharp as they were when Ramsay MacDonald met Hoover at Rapallo in the guise of friendly emissary, have during the past few months heightened many fold.

Great Britain has the lead in modern cruisers. The United States, smelling war in the air, in order to press its imperialist ambitions, begins a cruiser building campaign. Realizing that in an open race it will be outdone, British imperialism through its flunkey Ramsay MacDonald broaches the question of parity. That is, they offer to come to an agreement permitting the U. S. to build a certain number of cruisers which will place it on an equal plane with Great Britain. No one is fooled by this. There is the question of war alliances; the grouping of the powers in battle array against one another.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Great Britain and Japan are renewing their alliance directed against U. S. imperialism in the Pacific. Italy leans towards British imperialism, and the French, not satisfied with the alliances or naval increases offered it, threatens to smash the conference entirely. The French imperialists in their statement preliminary to the naval-race meet put the issue very clearly. They demand a navy for themselves large enough to "protect the French empire." They want the Kellogg pact dressed in a suit of mail armor. They want more submarines to harass the trade of the larger imperialist powers in the next world slaughter.

When asked in the House of

Commons on December 12, who Great Britain was arming against, MacDonald became very flustered and blurted out: "Great Britain is not arming against anybody. Our defense establishment is decided upon after consideration of every factor that determines its existence."

MacDonald's logic, to be charitable, is childish. The very "factor that determines" the existence of the war machinery of Great Britain is the existence of its nearest and most formidable rival, the United States. Hence, every cruiser added to the British navy is laid down for the battle against this mighty rival.

Navy Parley Step to War. In picturing the bitter race for armaments that will take place at the naval conference, it is confusing to juggle the figures of battleships and cruisers that fill the columns of the capitalist press. There are many factors left out, such as naval bases; industrial war strength of the respective nations; strategic war positions, political factors, etc., etc. The big fact that the leading imperialist powers are girding for war cannot be hidden. The London five-power conference is the doorstep to the next world war.

Agree in Enmity to Soviet Union. One point of agreement, and only one, cements the powers that will haggle over their war strength. That is hostility to the growing menace to capitalism, the Soviet Union. While capitalist economy in all countries declines, in the Soviet Union, which the Five-Year Plan speeding up the building of socialism, the reverse is true. Across the naval-race conference table, fall like a black shadow, the power of the Soviet Union.

What attitude the leading imperialist powers will take on measures devised for war against the Soviet Union is typified in the unanimous response to Stimson's war threat against the workers' republic. That Japan did not join in the note does not indicate that it is not in the front ranks of hostility to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union stands as a threat against the war preparations of world imperialism and their colonial ambitions.

It is the revolutionary inspiration that the workers' republic gives to the workers in the imperialist nations that makes the imperialist scowl. The Soviet Union, time and "peace" declarations. Only the world revolution will put the finish to war preparations and wars of the imperialist powers.

New U. S. Cruiser



The third of Wall Street's new series of war cruisers—the 10,000 ton Chester. Fifteen more are being built. The main discussion between the imperialist powers at the London five-power meet will be over the building of this type of cruisers to add to their war strength. While the imperialist representatives talk they continue to build.

WORKERS' MILITANCY VS. BOSSES

LD Provides Defense to Class Prisoners

By JOSEPH NORTH

The year 1929 will be written in red letters in the history of the class-struggle—letters dyed in blood. It was the year of economic crisis and the great stock market crash. It brought on the period of great hunger in it mass unemployment. It was a year of many murders in the class struggle. It found capital beating the economic system into shape for the coming imperialist war. But first of all it found the workers massing for attack—the tide of rebellion rose swiftly.

The red letter days of 1929 are literally written in blood. The twelve-month saw the slaughter of six workers in Marion; the murder of Ella May with a bullet in her heart in Gastonia; it saw two striking women shot dead in New Orleans; it spelled death to a striking laborer in New York, and oil sold during the oil-drivers' strike in New York was streaked with blood.

The year 1929 would have sent seventeen workers to the electric chair—at the bidding of the capitalist class—had it not been for one powerful fact.

Mass protest!! Sixteen Gastonia strikers lived under the shadow of the electric chair for six months. Salvatore Accorsi, a coal miner of Pennsylvania, was slated for electrocution by Andrew Mellon, archbishop of capital in Pennsylvania and high priest of the American treasury.

But the workers of America and the world shouted "No!"—and the electric chair did not go into action, although seven at Gastonia are now facing the living death of long prison terms.

The I. L. D. Did It. That one strong directing force that welded together the protest of the world's workers is the International Labor Defense. The I. L. D. as it is known from coast to coast, faced the machine guns and the Black Hundreds in Gastonia, in Southern Illinois, in New Orleans.

The I. L. D. handled the cases of 5,905 workers in 1929 and saved seventeen men and women from the electric chair.

4,316 Arrested in Strikes. The 5,905 workers who went to prison fell into the following categories: 435 for distributing literature; 627 in demonstrations; 96 in deportation charges; 4,316 in strikes; 210 for protesting the Gastonia sentences; 91 for sedition and criminal syndicalism; 130 on miscellaneous charges, libel, disrespect for the flag, etc.

Remember, these are but a few of the major cases of the I. L. D. There are many others that in this brief article must be overlooked. Remember that 1930 looms as a year of gigantic class battles. Remember further that the police and the government agencies are tightening the screws—polishing their frame-up plans—and the International Labor Defense must cope with this coming year of struggle.

The organization is directly on the way to becoming a mass organization—a strength comparable with the powerful Red Aid in European lands. The organization is now driving full speed ahead for a membership of 50,000 workers. It has laid down a minimum quota of Negroes to be included in that number. The drive will continue until March 18—the day of the Paris Commune. Today the I. L. D. counts as members fishermen and cannery workers in Alaska and stevedores in New Orleans. Farmers from among the fields of corn in the Northwest belong to the organization as well as Negroes in the South.

Free the Gastonia Strikers! One of its major duties at the opening of this year is to gain the freedom of the Gastonia strikers. Four of them, Fred Beal, Joseph Harrison, Clarence Miller and George Carter, have been sentenced to 20 years; two others, Bill McGinnis and Joe McLaughlin, to 15 years and K. Y. (Red) Hendrix, to seven years.

Their appeal comes up January 15—a few days hence. You can save them from being buried alive in prison! The year 1930 has begun with a major task. A united working class can accomplish.

Forward to the freedom of the Gastonia strikers and all class-war prisoners! Forward to a mass I. L. D.

LOW WAGES FOR MASS WORKERS. BOSTON, Mass. (By Mail). Frederick H. Payne, chairman of the Massachusetts Industrial Commission, has announced that there will be no change in the low wage-scales current in the state for 1930. He made a weak suggestion that some firms "might" increase wages.

BOMBING PLANES IN CAUSE OF "PEACE" WASHINGTON (By Mail).—The Navy Department, anxious to rush preparations for the approaching imperialist war, has contracts with the Keystone Aircraft Corporation, Bristol, Pa., to construct 18 airplanes at a total cost of \$1,607,820.45.

The Peasants Look Toward Socialism



The above are peasants of the Lugansk District of the Soviet Union meeting to discuss plans for collective farms and the complete socialization of agriculture.

LENINIST CONCEPTION OF SOME PARTY QUESTIONS

Workers Welcome What a Bourgeois Hates—The Discipline of a Communist Party

By LEON PLATT

THE right danger and opportunism presents itself in the Party not only in political questions of our everyday struggle, but also in important questions of Party organization. Basically, opportunism in organizational questions flows directly from a wrong political line, and opportunism in questions of the Party policy generally. The usual practice of all opportunists in the Comintern who were politically defeated and their wrong policies rejected is to transfer their opportunism also in the sphere of party organization.

Insisting on their wrong political line and refusing to subordinate themselves to the decisions of higher bodies and the majority of the Party, the opportunists are forced to resort to such means of carrying through their policies which are in direct violation of the most fundamental principles of Party organization. To a Communist, therefore, the question of Party discipline, inner Party democracy, etc., are not simple routine organizational matters, but are principled questions, the proper understanding of which is imperative for the development of our Party and the success of our struggle.

The struggle against the right danger in the Party, particularly our struggle against Lovestone raised a number of very vital questions of Party organization, which every Party member must carefully consider and draw the proper conclusions.

Leninist Conception of Party Discipline

Workers join the Communist Party because they become convinced that the Party and its program represents not only their immediate interests, but fights for the complete emancipation of the working class. Workers join the Communist Party voluntarily; however, once one becomes a member of the communist Party, he immediately imposes upon himself the duty to carry out all Party decisions. The carrying out of Party decisions is not merely a mechanical process. No Bolshevik is a blind subordinate to party discipline. Party discipline is based upon the political conviction of the Party members, on their conviction that without the Party minority subordinating itself to the Party majority, that without the subordination of the lower party organs to the higher, it is impossible to have a strong united Communist Party that will be able to fight capitalism successfully. Lenin considered Party discipline one of the main prerequisites for the success of the Party.

"I repeat, the experience of the triumphant dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia has furnished an object lesson to those who are incapable of reasoning or who have had no opportunity to reason on this question. It proves that unqualified centralization and the strictest discipline of the proletariat are among the principal conditions for the victory over the bourgeoisie."

(Lenin—Infantile Sickness)

Discipline in a Communist Party is maintained thru the devotion and self-sacrifice of the membership of the party for the interest of the working class, thru the ability of the Party to bring its policies to the broad working masses and thru the correctness of the Party policies.

"Refusal to submit to the leadership of the Center is equal to a refusal to continue in the Party, is equal to the destruction of the Party; this is not a means of convincing but a means of destruction. And precisely this substitution of conviction by destruction shows the absence of consistency in principle, the absence of faith in their own ideals."

Mexican for "Hush!"



Plutarco Elias Calles, the Mexican Mussolini, though a bit whicker for Benito, has the same liking for murder. For years his name has been used against him. "Calles" in Mexican, meaning "Hush!" Besides numerous murders of workers in Mexico, one recently in Texas had to be "hushed" by Secretary Stimson.

The Party policies, however, are not subjected to individual interpretation and selection. If every communist would be given the right to carry out Party decisions only when he sees fit to do so, if every Party member would carry out only those decisions he agrees with, then we would not have a Communist Party. The Party must be positive that every member is going to carry out all decisions and instructions given to him, even if he does not agree with them. Any violation of Party discipline Lenin considered as an act against the interests of the Party, and in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

"He who weakens, no matter how little, the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the period of dictatorship) effectually helps the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." (Lenin—Infantile Sickness)

Lovestone's Conception of Party Discipline

Lovestone's theory of exceptionalism concerning the economic and political developments of American capitalism is also being applied by him to the organizational principles of the Communist Party. The Lovestone group took upon itself the right to determine which decisions of the Party and the Communist International should be accepted and which are to be rejected and fought, which decisions are in the interests of the Party and which are not. A real and sincere member of the Communist Party subordinates whatever personal opinions he has about the decisions of the Party to the collective judgment and decisions of the majority of the party and the Communist International—the embodiment of the experience and knowledge of the International revolutionary movement.

To conceal his unprincipled factionalism and open warfare against the Comintern and its program, Lovestone, like all other opportunists of the past, parades as the "defender" of Leninism, as the "savior" of the Comintern and the American Party. In one of his documents Lovestone states:

"Every conscious communist, everyone who regards the defense of Leninism as his highest duty, will necessarily refuse to allow formal discipline to stand in the way of saving the Party. A correct revolutionary policy is the end to help carry through which Party discipline is the means. When the two conflict, the means must be subordinated to the end." (Lovestone—in the document of Aug. 31st 1929 "Question of Party Discipline")

However, who is to judge if Leninism is being revised if not the Party membership and the Comintern? What unprincipled factionalist will ever say that he is not fighting for Leninism or against the interests of the Party? What crimes did not the opportunists commit in the name of saving Marxism and Leninism. Bernstein revised Marxism in the name of saving Marxism. Trotsky even today while fighting the Soviet Union, is also pretending to save Leninism. It is not words that count but deeds, not intentions but the objective meaning of policies and the direction in which they lead. Lovestone's conception of discipline very closely coincides with the position of Trotsky on the same question.

"Discipline is acceptable only in so far as it guarantees the possibility of struggle for what one thinks is right, in the name of what one accepts as discipline." (Our Political Tasks).

The established Leninist principle in the communist movement is that in case of any political disagreements in the Party, these disagreements, after a discussion, are referred to the highest authority of the world party—the Communist International, and its decision is final. One has only to read the constitution and rules of the Comintern which were formulated with direct participation of Lenin to see that.

"The decisions of the ECCI are obligatory for all sections of the Communist International and must be promptly carried out." (Article 13).

PIONEERS IN CLASS FIGHT IN THE U.S.A.

Feared By the Bosses; They Are Fighters

By EDITH SAUNDERS

The struggle between the working class and the capitalists for the working class children is becoming much sharper, with all the forces of the bourgeoisie being utilized to win away the children from the class children is becoming sharper with all the forces of the bourgeoisie being utilized to win away the children from the class struggle.



E. Saunders

Child Labor Increasing. The working class children, along with the adult and young workers, are feeling the burdens of rationalization and are being drawn more actively into the growing struggles of the workers against the speed-up, the wage cuts, and for the establishment of militant working class unions.

There are over three million child laborers in the U. S. Even the U. S. Department of Labor is forced to admit an increase in the number of child laborers. In the Southern textile mills, children of eleven and twelve work beside their mothers for eleven and twelve hours a day, usually receiving no pay for several months.

Bourgeoisie Seeks Control of Children

The Boy Scout Jamboree in England last Summer was an international mobilization of the capitalist forces to further strengthen their hold on the workers' children. In the Southern textile mills, children of eleven and twelve work beside their mothers for eleven and twelve hours a day, usually receiving no pay for several months.

Young Pioneers of America

The Young Pioneers of America is leading the working class children in all phases of the class struggle. In all of the most important strikes we find the Young Pioneers mobilizing the workers' children for direct participation in the struggle. In New Bedford, hundreds of workers children were on the picket line every day, leading the lines with their song of "solidarity."

Pioneers Feared

Harry Eisman is now serving six months in a reformatory for his part in the Pioneer demonstration against the Boy Scouts. He was expelled from P. S. 61 for his Pioneer work within the school. In Milwaukee under a Socialist city administration a Pioneer was expelled from school because of his refusal to repudiate the Pioneers. In spite of the increasing persecution in the schools the Pioneers are strengthening their struggle, building school nuclei, is using their school bulletins, and mobilizing the workers' children to fight for better conditions. It is the Pioneers, who are the leaders in the struggle against overcrowded schools, against corporal punishment, anti-working class propaganda and for free lunches for workers' children.

The Young Pioneers must become a mass children's organization. This can be done only with the fullest support of the revolutionary workers. The adult workers must join in the fight to win the masses of the workers' children for the working class, to train their children to be real fighters for the working class, to bring them into the struggle against bosses' wars and for the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government.

them Lenin therefore replied.

"Refusal to submit to the leadership of the Center is equal to a refusal to continue in the Party, is equal to the destruction of the Party; this is not a means of convincing but a means of destruction. And precisely this substitution of conviction by destruction shows the absence of consistency in principle, the absence of faith in their own ideals."

In the same document of August 31st Lovestone quotes Lenin in a letter to Gorky (1908) where Lenin states that one is justified to fight against a doctrine which he considers wrong. It is true Lenin on certain occasions did break Party discipline. This he has done while he was still in the Second International, when he was convinced that the Social Democratic Party was no longer a revolutionary organization, that it gave up the platform of the class struggle and entered into an alliance with imperialism, and consequently betrayed the interests of the working class. Lenin justified breach of Party discipline only in such instances.

"Revolt is an excellent thing when it is the result of the advanced element against the reactionaries. It is well the revolutionary wing revolts against the opportunist wing, but when the opportunist wing revolts against the revolutionary wing, it is a bad thing. . . ." (Lenin on Organization p. 190).

The opportunistic and social-democratic character of Lovestone's platform, which leads directly into the camp of capitalism, is today being exposed by life itself. His designation into social-democracy is already established.

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Brooklyn, N. Y. \$10.00

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Revolutionary Greetings
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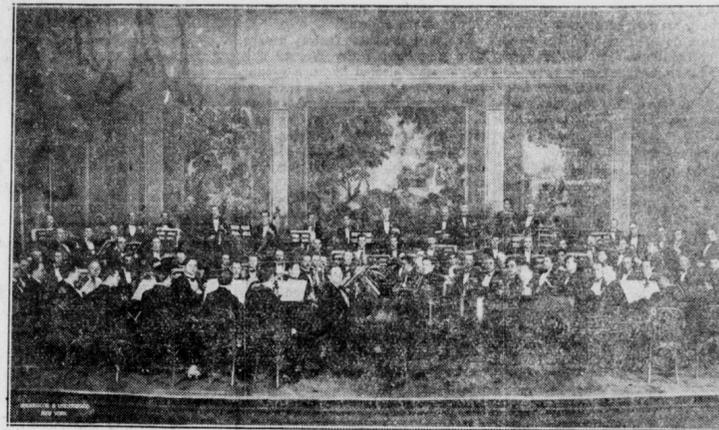
Daily Worker

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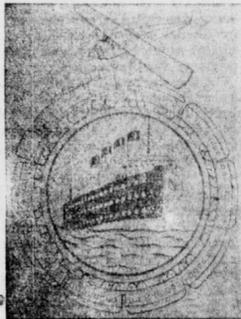
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For the successful completion of the Five Year Plan and for the building of Socialism.

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Socialist Transformation of Agriculture

Yourkin, Manager of World's Largest Wheat Farm, Tells of Year's Work

By S. RUBENS.

TWO million bushels of wheat from a single farm (50,000 acres) is a world's record. It was made by the famous Gigant, near Rostov, a Soviet wheat farm which is the largest in the world. The amazing thing about this farm is not merely its size, but the fact that it was established in a single year by persons who have only recently had anything to do with farming. Its manager, Yourkin, was until the revolution, neither a peasant nor a farm specialist, but a metal worker.

Large scale farming has today become an industry, requiring rather skilled engineers and administrators than the old type of farm specialists. The first "industrial farm" was established was the Campbell farm in the United States of America. Until last year it was the largest farm in the world. But today the Soviet Union has a dozen farms of about the size of Campbell's, while the Gigant, is more than three times as large.

Located in the dry farming region east of Rostov, on soil hitherto used for livestock, and much of it never ploughed before, it is not expected that the Gigant's record per acre will be as high as in some parts of the Soviet Union. Last summer a dry spell brought poor crops to the entire region around the Gigant, and the grain was only partially saved by a rain which came just before harvest. The Gigant record of 60 poods to the hectare (14 bushels to the acre) is not as large as in other Soviet farms where the weather was better, but it is twice as large as the peasant holdings produced in the same district.

Moreover the grain was produced at a cost of 90 kopeks a pood (75 cents a bushel), a quite reasonable cost. This was in spite of the tremendous expenses incidental to getting started, with tractors commandeered from every direction and by no means the best for the purpose, and with a labor force organized out of untrained peasants taught on the job to run machinery.

Organized by Metal Worker.

Yourkin, the manager, rose during the revolution from his job as a metal-worker to work in shop-committees and in factory management. A few years ago he was sent by party orders to investigate the management of the Hutok farm which was unsatisfactory. Yourkin stayed at his job of "efficiency expert" on the Hutok farm for a year, after which he was made manager.

His ability on this farm caused him to be chosen manager of the great Gigant in 1928 when it was organized. From this point on let Yourkin tell his own story, as he reports it to the workers of the Gigant, in an article written for their own newspaper published at their own typography on the farm.

"The organization of the largest grain farm in the world is only a first small step in our building of socialism. The first proposal of its organization was made at a meeting of farm workers at the Department of Agriculture in May, 1928. In July an emergency committee was organized and I was called from the Hutok farm, and told to begin immediate organization of the Gigant. Our orders were to plough 60,000 hectares (150,000 acres) and sow 15,000 of them with winter wheat.

Tractors with Hundreds.

"In July we began the survey of the land, and simultaneous opened courses for tractorists and workers on various farm machinery. At the end of July came our first batch of tractors, — 192 of small size. We organized 15 machines to a tractor column and sent them out. The extremely dry autumn and the small size of all tractors made slow work on the hitherto unbroken prairie soil.

"Work speeded up with the arrival of a second batch of large tractors in September. We worked two shifts, and ploughed 60,000 hectares by the end of October. After this we were able to plough 2,000 hectares for the peasants at the nearby town of Yegorilskia, who were organized in a collective farm. We also ploughed 5,000 hectares for Soviet Farm No. 2. Thus, without any buildings whatever, without any trained gangs or general experience, we ploughed 67,000 hectares the first autumn, — the largest ploughing under a single management ever done in the history of the world. The cost of our work was 8 rubles a hectare.

Overcoming Difficulties.

"Winter proceeded in feverish preparations. We must work out production and accounting methods for the work ahead. The difficulties here were enormous, for there was no previous large farm on which we could base our systems. We had to think out everything but the beginning. We organized the teaching of 800 farm-laborers, opened special courses in field-work.

We received and sent out to the fields 380,000 poods (over 6,000 tons) of seed in readiness for spring. This severely taxed our workers, for the coldest winter Europe has known in a single year (50,000 acres) is for a generation gave us 30 degrees of frost, with many storms and our

men were literally freezing in the fields. Only by heroic enthusiasm was it done.

"In spring we had a time limit of 10 days in which to seed 48,500 hectares ploughed the year before. We must also disk it at once and harrow twice. We used 600 tractors, 250 four-meter seeders, 2,000 toothed harrows and 350 diskers. All this inventory we received in February and March in the open air. Spring came late, in place of March, we could only begin by mid-April. This made the organization of our labor force very difficult. Several times we began to collect it and were forced to stop by bad weather. At last we sent out to the fields 14 tractor columns of 28 to 50 tractors each; 6,000 members took part in the sowing, which was finished in 9½ days.

7,600 Men in Harvest.

"In the period after sowing we ploughed 28,500 hectares for ourselves and 1,200 for the local peasants, in readiness for fall sowing. Then came the harvest days. We must take the grain from 59,500 hectares. We began July 12, and finished the first days of August. There worked in the fields 7,000 men, with 400 tractors, 25 combines, 30 threshers and other machinery in proportion. We cut grain, threshed at once and carted out to grain elevators which loaded it at once on cars.

"This was the first use of combines in any amount of Soviet soil. They justified themselves fully, gave cleaner grain and caused less trouble than the reapers and threshers. After the harvest we continued ploughing for winter wheat and then for the spring sowing. We seeded 35,430 hectares to winter wheat and ploughed 64,000 hectares for spring seeding. Thus next year's spring area will almost double this year's world record.

Cheaper Than in America.

Fifteen months have passed since the day of the Gigant's organization. Its work was carried forward in the midst of a storm of attacking rumors. "The tractors won't come; the seed won't come; they won't plough it; they can't harvest it." And at last "They can't harvest it." When at last the harvest was in, the whispers changed to "the crop has cost them 8 to 10 roubles a pood!" These were all lies inspired by the class enemies in the rural districts, and spread about by the doubting and weak elements.

The actual cost of grain, produced under all these difficulties, was 85—90 kopeks a pood. (75 cents a bushel). In this it must be remembered that land values play no part, since land is state-owned and therefore free in the Soviet Union. The land speculations which have raised the cost of farms in the United States of America will seriously handicap that nation in competing with Russia in the world's grain markets, as soon as the experience of the Soviet giant farms becomes standardized.

"The cause of the success," says manager Yourkin, "lies in the correct policy of the Communist Party, and its attentive leadership. The workers, office staff and specialists, united in their trade union, showed the ability to build this great socialist husbandry. Labor discipline, enthusiasm, and consciousness of our aim, were constantly present. Socialist rivalries between groups played a basic part in our speed.

Still Growing.

"We have still many tasks ahead. First to sow more than 100,000 hectares the coming year. Then to raise the quality of our work, improve the care of machines, the oiling and repairing of each small trouble. All of us, tractorists, bookkeepers, chauffeurs, brigade leaders, must learn, and learn and learn, as Lenin said, in order to improve our organization. And during the next year we must strengthen our aid to the surrounding peasants, helping them to organize collective farms and giving them machine help and also expert knowledge."

Such is the task of the large Soviet farms, of which the Gigant is only one, the largest.

Build a Modern Town.

While this rapid production went ahead on the Gigant, other gangs of workers were busy preparing the coming model town for the Gigant's workers. Cottages infinitely better than the typical Russian village offers, went up around central club building and cinema. Electric light and a water system was also rapidly installed for the working staff of the Gigant when they should return from their work in the tractor brigades.

Never again will the Gigant employ such a disproportionate number of seasonal workers; better mechanization is reducing this number, and making possible a cadre of year-round farm workers, many of whom say, in the words of a young farm-hand in the 10th brigade, writing in the farm newspaper: "I promise never to leave the Soviet farm in all my life, and to carry out all orders for socialist building."

Young Kirghiz Women in the Soviet Union



The numerous nationalities in the Soviet Union are experiencing a re-birth as their cultural level is constantly being raised and they are freed from native and foreign oppression and exploitation.

The Latin-American Masses Confront Their Imperialist Foe

Proof That Only Workers and Peasants Can Win Struggle for National Independence

By MANUEL GOMEZ

Vast changes have written themselves into the scene in the six years since the birth of the Daily Worker gave the oppressed Latin-American masses a faithful interpreter and champion in this country. Those six years have witnessed the fiercely intensified assiduousness and exigent drive southward of U. S. imperialist exploitation. They have also witnessed the advance of Anglo-American imperialist rivalry in Latin-America to a critical stage. Finally, they have seen the many-million Latin-American masses shake themselves free from hindering influences to make one bold fighting stand after another while moving unmistakably toward the upbuilding of an integrated class-conscious revolutionary force against all their oppressors, native and foreign.

Wall Street and Washington have exhibited a sophisticated variety of method in this period of matured imperialistic experience. The bloody bayonets of the marines have been their main direct reliance in those Latin-American countries where American capital had already long dominated the field. The massacre in the City of Panama in 1927 has proved to have been no isolated event. It indicated that imperialist strategy was busy with plans for the canal area and was a prelude to the vicious assault against Nicaragua. In

South America different methods have been pursued, sometimes so innocent-seeming as the sending of financial missions, while every opportunity has been seized to establish the position of Washington as the arbiter of South American affairs—as in the Tacna-Arica matter and the Chaco controversy. On occasion this has been done even under the guise of peacemaker. But American imperialism's expressions of pacific intent in the south have not prevented it from continuing to mak use of such tyrannical butchers as Juan Vicente Gomez in Venezuela, Augusto B. Leguia in Peru and Gerardo Machado in Cuba. They appear particularly cynical at the present moment, when marine bayonets are still wet with the blood of martyred Haitian workers, peasants and students.

Such an undeviatingly aggressive course naturally confronted American imperialism with one crisis after another. The armed struggle headed by Sandino in Nicaragua served to rally anti-imperialist resistance throughout Latin-America. Similarly Sandino's own desertion of the struggle was one of a whole series of events that have tended to expose the vacillating role of the petty bourgeoisie, which in most Latin-American countries today takes the road of pseudo-revolution ending in compromise with imperialism on the basis of joint exploitation of the Latin-American masses. The experience of the emigre Venezuelan affair, the debacle of fake Liberalism in Colombia, the events in Haiti and the Virgin Islands—all these had their influence in deterring the exploited workers and peasants to break away from bourgeois leading strings.

The Working Woman in U. S. Class Fight

By ANNA DAMON.

Since the imperialist war of 1914, working women have become a most important factor in American industry. Today, working women are a cheap source of labor for the capitalists, used in preference to men. They have been drawn into practically every industry, particularly the basic and war industries. The number of Negro women in industry has increased from 1910 to 1920 by 300 per cent and to a much greater extent since that time.

From 1910 to 1920, women working as semi-skilled, have increased 1408 per cent in the automobile industry, in the iron and steel industry 145 per cent, as semi-skilled operatives and doubled the number of unskilled laborers. In the electrical supply factories (especially important in war time), women operatives increased 148 per cent. In the rayon manufacturing, which practically developed in the last ten years, 60 per cent are women. In the knitting mills, tobacco factories, laundries, radio manufacturing, large numbers of women have replaced men.

Simplification of production, efficiency methods, the conveyor belt system, gang work, have reduced the number of workers generally, and decreased the number of skilled to a smaller percentage. It has replaced the skill of men with machines attended by women and children, who receive half or even less than half of the previous wages paid to men for the same work. Women thus comprise one of the lowest paid sections of the working class.

The low wages paid to the workers, the high cost of living, force the wives and daughters, mere children, to slave in the mills and factories. The Negro and white women run machines in the basic industries at a terrific rate of speed, which saps their life and energy. The Negro women in industry are even more exploited, by the capitalist assigning them to the dirtiest and hardest work for half of the wages paid the white women workers. At the age of 35, the working woman is thrown on the scrap heap. Her labor is no more desired. Younger women are hired by the bosses. In the textile, steel, radio industries, the number of young girls is rapidly increasing, making up a large percentage of women workers. These girls feel heavily the effects of capitalist rationalization. Their low wages can not supply them with the so-called "luxuries," silk stockings, paint and powder, which are necessities imposed upon them by the capitalist class. These American "flappers," the supposedly frivolous "jazz-age" girls, have learned a les-

son taught them by capitalist rationalization. Their fathers, brothers and mothers unemployed make them in many instances the only supporters in the families. Their wages being so low that it does not supply them with food, \$5 to \$8 a week being considered good wages. A great wave of discontent has spread throughout the United States. Strikes in the mining, textile, needle, shoes and food industries are going on and are rapidly increasing. In these strikes and struggles of the working class, against the ruthless exploitation of the bosses, the working women are playing a very important part. Not only do the older women, those with revolutionary traditions from Europe, participate in these struggles, but native American women and particularly young girls, are actively participating and leading picket lines, fighting the police, the bosses and the A. F. of L. betrayers, side by side with their men folk.

In the present strike of Illinois, conducted by the National Miners Union, the daughters and wives of the miners came out on the picket lines, facing and battling the police and hired gangsters of the bosses and the American Federation of Labor.

The strike of the textile workers of Gastonia, which lasted for many months, under the leadership of the National Textile Workers Union, had a very large percentage of women workers, who in face of dire need, hungry children, thrown out of their homes, showed a determination for fight against the capitalist system. They took up arms in defense of their strike, their union leaders, their organization. During the course of the struggle, Chief of Police Aderholt was killed, which resulted in heavy sentences for the leaders of the N. T. W. U., ranging from seventeen to twenty years in jail. Numbers were beaten up and wounded. Ella May Wiggins, a mother of five children, one of the most outstanding militants, was murdered by the hirelings of the bosses. The death of Ella May and the long jail sentences imposed upon the strike leaders, the massacre in Marion, served to steel the revolutionary spirit of the workers. At the N. T. W. U. convention, held on December 22-23 at Paterson, N. J., there was a determined spirit for militant struggle in the industry to improve the miserable conditions of the textile workers, men and women, Negro and white.

The strike of over 1,500 dress-makers in N. Y. led by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union in March, 1929, was an outstanding militant struggle against the bosses and the corrupt officials of the A. F. of L. and the socialist party. Today, strikes are being carried on in the needle trades industry by the N. T. W. U. The orders of hundreds of women workers are the order of the day. The women workers are militantly fighting under the leader-

BRUTALITY CANT BREAK INO. PORTER

Ill Strike Leader's Militancy Strong

John Porter will be released from Alcatraz military prison in California next month, if no more time is added by the army authorities in the meantime. Porter is coming out of prison the same militant fighter who defied a court-martial in July, 1928, and made a revolutionary speech at his trial rather than avoid the political issues in return for freedom. All the tortures of the military prison authorities—merciless beatings, being deprived of the few prison privileges and thrown into a dungeon on bread and water—have failed to break his courage and revolutionary spirit.

In June of 1928, John Porter, 19 year old organizer of the Young Communist League and an outstanding leader of the New Bedford textile workers strike, had been repeatedly arrested. Finally, he was taken by the police that they knew he had been in the army and that he would be turned over for court-martial if he did not quit the strike.

"You can do as you please," he replied, "but I will not be a traitor to the workers and leave the strike." Then he was held incommunicado for weeks in a military prison. At first the authorities planned to give him a sentence of many years or life on the charge of being a member of the Young Communist League while subject to military law, but mass protests throughout the country forced the authorities to change their plans and he was brought to trial on a technical "desertion" charge. In an effort to avoid publicity the army officers assured him that he would get only a month or so in the guard house, or be released if he would avoid the political issues.

Instead of making any compromise with the authorities, Porter took the stand and explained how he had been lured into the army at the age of about 15, and how that

gradually he had learned how the army is used by the capitalists against the workers. Rather than be a tool of the bosses against his fellow workers any longer he deserted from the army when he had only a few months remaining of his sentence. "If it were a workers army I would gladly die for it," he declared. The court-martial was furious. They gave him the maximum possible sentence—two and a half years. Porter was sent first to Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, and then to Alcatraz, to remove him as far as possible from his friends and comrades, and his mail has been held up.

"I am sorry I deserted," Porter said. "Now I know that I should have remained in the army to win over other soldiers to fight on the side of the workers."

Porter, who is now a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League, will make a speaking tour of the country after his release.

American countries but it is in progress in all of them. Revolutionary trade union organizations have been set up in Mexico and other places—and every alert Latin-American worker appreciates the significance of the fact that the first congress of revolutionary Latin-America trade unions, held at Montevideo last year, dedicated itself to the struggle against Wall Street and Washington.

Thus in the six years since the foundation of the Daily Worker, the climax of American imperialist aggression in Latin-America has been brought immeasurably nearer by the march of events themselves. The All-America Anti-Imperialist League has grown and taken on a more significant fighting quality. The elemental movement of the oppressed is rising against the oppressors. The vision of it is an inspiration and a challenge to the workers in this country.

The growing radicalization of the women workers is part of the general radicalization of the working class in the United States. The large number of women in industry, their extreme exploitation, and the militant struggles carried on in the past year and at the present time, are proof that the working women are an indispensable factor in the class struggle, and an integral part of the working class and, as such, must be won away from the bourgeois influence, for the class struggle, for the revolution. This is the task of the revolutionary vanguard, the task of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

The social-reformists, the socialist party and the A. F. of L. never paid any attention to the organization of the women and to their special needs. In the past, they have set up all sorts of craft divisions and barriers, which kept the women workers, especially the Negro women, out of the unions. At the same time, they wrote long resolutions at their conventions on the need of organizing women workers. Then concerned themselves with the most skilled and highest paid workers who, certainly, did not include the women, 92 per cent of women workers being unskilled and semi-skilled, 4.8 per cent laborers and only 3.3 being skilled workers. At the present time, the A. F. of L. and its women's organization, the Women's Trade Union League, have given up all semblance of being a working class organization and have gone over part and parcel to the bosses. The women's locals in the A. F. of L. have lost a great number of their members, in the shoe, textile, food, etc. What is left of the women's locals are being used by the officials to sell out the workers in their struggles.

Trade Union Unity League to mobilize the working women in the U. S. for the class struggle. Special attention must be paid to women in industry. Special programs of work, special demands must be worked out by the various industrial unions, to win large numbers of women for the unions.

Every member of the Party must rid himself of whatever remnants of social democratic tendencies still exist with regard to work among women. They must learn special means of approach, how to win them for the class struggle, how to get the most militant and class-conscious into the Communist Party.

John Porter



John Porter will make a speaking tour of the country after his release from Alcatraz Military Prison next month. He was imprisoned because of his militant activities in the New Bedford textile strike in 1928.

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International Labor Defense in Class Fight

Fourth National Convention of ILLD Prepares to Meet Sharpening Struggles

By J. LOUIS ENFADAL

The role of the International Labor Defense in the class struggle was clearly established at the Fourth National Convention

just held in Pittsburgh, heart of heavy industry, the capital city of "Andy" Mellon's steel and coal empire. The Pittsburgh Convention marked a sharp break with many of the past traditions of the organization, and a clear orientation toward the present period of growing class struggles, in which the increasing radicalization of the toiling masses is being met with new and desperate attacks by the employing class. Building the I. L. D.

For the first time the question of organizing the I. L. D. in the shops and factories, mills and mines, was definitely discussed and favored unanimously, where it had not even been mentioned in previous conventions.

For the first time the social composition of an I. L. D. Convention, with heavy representations of coal miners and steel workers, provided the basis for a really proletarian gathering.

The I. L. D. and the Negroes For the first time there was an effort made at least toward approaching an adequate representation of Negro workers and farmers. There were twenty-five Negro delegates present.

For the first time an I. L. D. convention met outside the two recognized centers for such gatherings—New York City and Chicago. This was in itself an approach to the workers in the basic industries, especially in Pittsburgh, where the working class has faced the heaviest attacks, as in the Woodlawn Sedition case, resulting in three workers being now in prison for five years each, the effort to railroad Salvatore Accorsi to the electric chair; the Tapolehary deportation case, the effort to revoke the citizenship of this Hungarian worker and send him back to certain death at the hands of Horthy fascism in Hungary.

Delegates from the South For the first time a delegation was present representing the workers in the South, not only in the textile, but also in other industries, and including Negro representation.

The shortcomings of the I. L. D. in these matters in the past were so clear that the great wonder is no real effort was made to correct them until now. They were definitely corrected at Pittsburgh.

The I. L. D. convention gave full recognition to the rapidly growing economic crisis; the increasing rationalization and its attacks on the living standards of the workers; the mounting mass unemployment; the feverish war preparations; the social fascist role of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party, and the need for developing the movement for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Faced 6,000 Arrests Previous conventions of the I. L. D. had made no serious efforts to link up defense struggles with the concrete and political situation of the times in which they were held.

The Pittsburgh convention faced the fact that the I. L. D. had handled nearly 6,000 arrests within the recent period, including the fight for the lives of the sixteen originally facing death in the electric chair and the defense of workers charged with the most elemental working class activities, distributing literature, taking up collections for strikers on the streets, or holding meetings at factory gates.

It is this period of growing acute class conflicts between the workers and their oppressors that called for a quick turning in the methods of struggle, the organizational forms and the whole approach of the International Labor Defense to the American working class, so that it will rapidly become a broad mass defense organization of the native as well as the foreign-born, of the Negroes as well as the white workers.

"Gastonia!" and "Illinois!" "Gastonia!" and "Southern Illinois!" in this period, are outstanding attacks against the workers, but at the same time flaming calls to all labor to struggle against the attacks of the employers, to organize the unorganized, to build class struggle industrial unions, to fight back the whole series of persecutions developed as, for instance, under the criminal syndicalist laws, costly directed against the Communist Party.

Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and California—vicious and desperate efforts at combating the growing desire and need for organization by labor, especially in the coal and steel industries; efforts to maintain and promote race prejudice of white workers against Negro workers, through arrests and smashing of joint meetings of both races (Norfolk, Virginia; Harlem, New York; Wilmington, Delaware, etc., etc.) through lynching and segregation in all their various forms; Tapolehany; Woodlawn; Accorsi; plans to rush Shifrin and the Mincola defendants to trial in New York

City; the eager use by the Chicago police of an admitted spy to frame up leading members of the Communist Party on serious charges; the wholesale arrests in Chicago as part of the government's campaign to outlaw the Communist Party in this important industrial center; the murder of Ella May and the Marion strike martyrs; in the new attempt to charge the I. L. D. organizer, Cliff Saylor, with the death of the Gastonia chief of police, Aderholt; with the repeated police mobilizations against all working class demonstrations (First of May, Gastonia, the First of August, International Youth Day, Hayti, Cuba, Mexico, etc., etc.) resulting in bloody beatings and arrests of workers; attempted registration of workers in the shops (New York shoe workers); proposed closing of immigration to alien Communists and barring of all revolutionary literature (tariff act); special registration of workers in the 1930 census, accompanied by a whole series of petty persecutions and discriminations.

Fight the Lynch Mobs. Mass arrests and raids by government agencies, orgies of violence by extra-legal organizations (the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, Sons of American Freedom, etc., etc.) attacks on workers and their organizations by lynching mobs organized by employers' agents, like City Solicitor Carpenter and Major Bulwinkle at Gastonia, will characterize this period in other sections of the nation as well as in the South, calling for ever-increasing and strengthened defense activities, for the organization of Worker Defense Corps.

The long-delayed recognition of the fact that it must wage unrelenting struggle against lynching, that it must take up seriously the fight against race discrimination, that Negro workers must be drawn in large numbers into all its leading bodies, burst with full force upon the Pittsburgh convention of the I. L. D.

Hold Effective Demonstration. It was dramatized by an effective demonstration against the Monogahela Hotel, that had refused to house Negro as well as white delegates. The whole convention participated in the protest.

The 25 Negro delegates, from many states and all important industries, entered into the convention debates with enthusiasm, helping to solve its problems. The Southern white delegates acclaimed the fact that, "This is the first time we have ever heard a Negro woman make a speech."

Definite struggle for the Negro workers had brought to the convention the fight for Stephen Graham, the young white worker of Norfolk, Va., charged with inciting Negro workers against white workers because he had brought workers of both races together at the same meeting and carried on the work of organizing them into the Trade Union Unity League.

Self-Defense on the Agenda. It was the first time that support of labor's struggle to defend itself had ever been placed squarely before an I. L. D. convention. It was an outstanding slogan at Pittsburgh, just as it will be a major issue in all mass struggles to come.

Self-defense, that took the field against the Manville-Jencks mob at Gastonia, that was raised in the Accorsi case, that will be raised in the Shifrin case in New York City, was not on the agenda of the first three conventions of the I. L. D. It has a definite place there now.

Biting itself squarely on the class struggle the International Labor Defense takes up the fight against all enemies of the working class.

The I. L. D. cannot tolerate as members of its organization those who are opposed to its class struggle policies.

It combats the hostile policies of Cannon and Lovestone, viciously and those who support them. The I. L. D. as a class organization supports the Union of Soviet Republics and joins actively in the growing defense of the Soviet Union. The theories of Cannon and Lovestone and of those at tacking and opening hostile to the Soviet Power, undermining the Five-Year Plan, the victories of which are already clearly apparent, seeking to build a Chinese wall between the Soviet Government and the worker and peasant masses declaring that they have interests hostile to each other, and negating the creative power of the Proletarian Revolution itself, constitute open support of the counter-revolution, of the imperialist attack against the First Workers' Republic.

The I. L. D. supports the policies and defends the interest of the class struggle unions. The theories and practices of Cannon and Lovestone and their followers are hostile to these class interests. No honest worker can support the views of either Cannon or Lovestone. Labor's Only Defense Organization.

The I. L. D. is the only defense organization of the working class. Basing itself correctly on the policies adopted at the Pittsburgh convention it will become a powerful, protecting shield for the working class in all its struggles.

Workers from the Shops, Mines and Mills Greet the "Daily"

Greetings from workers in the industries, from those who sympathize with the aims and policies of the Communist Party and its central organ, The Daily Worker, appear on this page.

Comrades and Friends: This symbol of proletarian solidarity constitutes a basis for rooting The Daily Worker among masses of workers in all the industries. When the Sixth Anniversary Edition reaches these workers, most of them unorganized and without

leadership, they will at once realize that The Daily Worker champions their cause, fights for them uncompromisingly day by day to overthrow the exploiting class and their government, for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

We call upon all workers whose names appear below to spread The Daily Worker in all shops, in all working class neighborhoods. For your contribution and support, given to make this and future editions possible, we extend our appreciation.

NEW YORK CITY

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THE NEGRO AND COMMUNISM

"Ow-oo-oo!"

LENIN ON IMPERIALIST WAR

By Fred Ellis

By ROBERT MINOR.

The present violent disturbance of the stabilization of the capitalist system throughout the world is both an economic earthquake and a political volcanic eruption that concern the colonial empires of all the big imperialist powers.

Look at a map of Africa and you will see a great red streak from the northern coast southward through the desert, tropical jungle and fertile farming land and diamond and goldfields, clear to the southern-most tip at the Cape of Good Hope. This is the British African empire. You will also find to the westward an enormous French African colonial empire, and in the valley of the Congo a colossal Belgian empire. To the east is Mussolini's African slave territory. In addition there are Dutch and Portuguese colonies of great size, and—although the capitalist world does not admit it—there is a newly conquered colony of the United States which toils in slavery under the ironic name "Liberia" and under the rule of the Firestone Rubber Co.

All of Africa is slave territory for the Negro. The capitalist world-look regards Africa as existing for the exploitation of its tremendous Negro population. To capitalism the Negro is still a slave, historically and perpetually—"Negroes, mules, corn and cotton."

This standard is carried out consistently by the United States Government in this country and in Haiti, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Cuba.

To the capitalist system the Negro throughout the world is a slave, not because of some theoretical reasoning, but because the capitalist imperialist system depends upon colonial exploitation. Because of this economic necessity of capitalism, the whole capitalist world maintains as one of its most sacred principles the theory that the Negro (and also the yellow man and the brown man of other continents) is an inferior order of human being, biologically and in every sense.

The fierce insistence of the ideologists of capitalism upon the theory of race superiority has been given the name of "White Chauvinism."

White Chauvinism is more strongly cultivated today throughout the capitalist countries than ever before in history—because the capitalist imperialist system is now in a crisis on a world-scale.

But also never before was the revolt against this imperialist exploitation and conquest so strong as it is today.

For instance, the great continent which might be called "the mainland" of the whole world—Asia—is now in a position as follows: the northern half is occupied by the free revolutionary workers' and peasants' state, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in whose territory not only the Russian Slavs, but also several scores of the different nationalities of so-called "inferior" peoples have become the free builders of the most modern socialist society. The south-eastern quarter of Asia is in the turmoil of revolution and counter-revolution (the latter being organized and paid for by the imperialist powers). The Chinese revolution, once apparently drowned in blood by the mercenary tool of the American Government, General Chiang Kai Shek, is beginning to rise again to a new and higher stage. Within the other great section of the continent, the peninsula of India is now in a rapidly developing revolutionary situation, which a capitalist journalist has described as giving to the British imperialists their greatest crisis since August, 1914.

Lenin taught us to see Asia. Lenin, who led the successful revolution that overthrew the Czar's empire across the 6,000 miles stretch from Leningrad to Vladivostok, taught us to see the black, brown and the yellow peoples in the revolution. It is worth while to look at a tabulation of the population of the world according to the division between the colonial, exploited and the imperialist nations.

A popular table of "racial" divisions (not reliable for serious political estimates) is the following:

Mongolian	645,000,000
Population of India (native)	319,000,000
Negro (Africa, U. S. A., etc.)	139,000,000
Malay, Polynesia, etc.	40,000,000
American Indian (South America, etc.)	28,000,000
Total "dark" populations	1,171,000,000
"Whites" (including Asian Semites)	577,000,000
(About three times as many "colored" as "white")	

But a much more useful and accurate tabulation, based upon political reality, gives the approximate total world population as \$1,905,000,000, divided as follows:

In Colonies and Semi-Colonies	1,134,000,000
In Soviet Russia	143,000,000
In Intermediate Countries	264,000,000

Total world population outside of Imperialist "home-lands"	1,541,000,000
Total inhabitants of Imperialist countries exploiting colonies	353,000,000

The average white chauvinist wakes up with the start to discover that three-fourths of the entire population of the world consists of "colored" peoples—black, brown and yellow—and that the great majority of these are fast being drawn into world revolution, if not already in it. A further shock to the white chauvinists is, of course, the realization that the largest single state in the world—that of Soviet Russia—is unalterably an ally of all of these colonial peoples, who seek liberation from the "superior" imperialist powers, and that within each imperialist country also the revolutionary working class is their ally. The revolt of the Russian workers and peasants in 1917 which established the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was indeed not a revolution of a single country, but the beginning of the world-wide revolution of the working class and the oppressed farming class and colonial peoples all over the surface of the entire globe.

It is, of course, no accident that the capitalists and their governments in all countries fear the Communist International. The Communist Movement is the only fear of those who want to preserve the imperialist system of exploitation and conquest. There is a lesson in

this for every Negro working man and woman in the world:

If Communism is the only fear of those who oppress you, then surely Communism has a message for you!

The twelve million Negroes who live in the United States have a particular importance to the movement for liberation of the Negro and other oppressed peoples throughout the world. Here in the United States the modern Negro working class has come into existence in modern industry. In the revolutions of modern times it is the wage working class which necessarily must lead the struggle. And in America a Negro wage working class of enormous proportions has been formed by the development of capitalist society. During the world war and since, the development of the Negro proletariat in the United States has been proceeding at a rapid pace. A new militancy and a new consciousness of their position are already to be seen. The rapid throwing in of hundreds of thousands of Negro workers into modern machine industry is transforming a large part of the Negro population into the very best material for the leadership of the struggle for liberation.

New Leadership.

The Negro liberation movement in the United States has in the past been led by a class which will not and cannot desire liberation for the masses of Negroes. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the "respectable" organization which claims to struggle for "liberation" of the Negro. But to that organization "liberation" means merely the acceptance of a few Negro intellectuals and business men into the privileged class of American capitalism—and the perpetuation of the enslavement of the Negro and white masses. It is true that the N.A.A.C.P. raises a "liberal" voice against lynching and against the "excessive" cruelties of colonial exploitation—but the entire leadership of the organization is in favor of the capitalist system and violently opposed to the raising of any hand against the bourgeoisie class which it so ardently hopes to be allowed to enter. To a large extent the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. is composed of politicians of the Republican party—the same party to which Hoover and Coolidge and the other chief murderers of Haitians and Nicaraguans belong. A few more of these leaders belong to the Democratic party of Woodrow Wilson, which is now ruling, exploiting and lynching the Negro masses of the South. A few busy little fellows among its leadership belong to the "socialist" party, which supports the same program fundamentally and differs only in its position of more "liberal" words and more treacherous ways.

An example of what can be expected from the N.A.A.C.P. is to be found in two recent facts. First, that the highest struggle for the organization of the Negro working class masses on a basis of complete political, racial and social equality together in the same trade-unions with the white workers has been going on; men and women have been murdered, flogged, jailed and given 20-year sentences in prison for attempting to organize Negro and white workers together on a basis of equality—the N.A.A.C.P. has given no word of aid to the struggle. Of course the reason it has not done so is that the men and women who lead the fight are Communists—people who want to destroy capitalism. The N.A.A.C.P. is for capitalism, which enslaves the workers, black and white. The N.A.A.C.P. has in the last few days made an open attempt to ally itself with the American Federation of Labor just at the moment when the A. F. of L. begins its present "Southern drive" with the avowed purpose of breaking up the Communist struggle for the Negro and white workers.

Then there is the movement headed by the famous and genial Mr. Marcus Garvey. Garvey is a charlatan of considerable natural talent who has so openly prostituted himself by begging for favors from the white ruling class and openly offering to sell out his people, as to leave very little influence for him. Garvey thrived at a time when the American Negro masses were still seemingly hopelessly saturated with peasant psychology—when they still dreamed the peasant dream of a "native land" in Africa which Garvey promised them without even the trouble of being obliged to take it away from the British, French, Belgian, Italian, Portuguese and Dutch imperialist armies and navies. But just at this time the Negro masses in the cities of this country are losing the peasant psychology—they are getting to understand themselves as wage-workers, as members of the working class.

The Negro masses in this country, in developing class-consciousness, are at the same time beginning to get their first understanding of the working class program of liberation—the program of the Communist Party and Communist International. The experiences of the American Negroes in present-day class struggle are beginning to have effect. But with this experience necessarily goes the approach to the Communist Party which leads the workers in the struggles and brings them to the conscious program of struggle for liberation.

In the last presidential election thousands of Negro workers got a glimpse of the arrest and jailing of candidates for public office for advocating on the public platform full political, racial and social equality for the Negro masses—and learned that these candidates were the candidates of the Communist Party.

Then came the southern textile strike where the Negroes saw the Communist Party and the unions influenced by it, mobilizing masses of white workers to fight for the full equality of the Negroes and whites and their organization together in trade-unions to struggle for economic and political demands.

More recently came the murderous assault upon Haiti, and the American Negro masses witnessed the fact that only the Communists went out as the leaders of the workers on the streets to protest and to battle with the police on behalf of the liberation of Haiti.

Still more recently such a "little" demonstration as that of the delegates to the convention of the International Labor Defense at Pittsburgh against the exclusion of Negro delegates from the facilities of hotels—this again under the leadership of the Communists—has come before their eyes.

Thus, the Negro masses are learning that the Communist program is their program—the only program which is not against them.

The Negroes will more and more come to see that the capitalist system cannot free them,



The Boss does not like to find the Daily Worker distributed at the gate of the factory. It teaches the workers how to fight against wage-cuts and the speed-up, and how to conduct the revolutionary class struggle for the overthrow of Capitalism and the emancipation of our class.

REACH THE MASSES AND BUILD THE PARTY

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT.

The main task before us is to break out of the narrow circle within which the Daily Worker functions as spokesman—spokesman to a few. Stating it sharply, we can say that all we have been doing for a long period is just talking to ourselves.

Our national mailing list tells the story. Our readers are mainly Party members and a number of sympathetic workers so scattered that we can truthfully claim that the Daily Worker does not give leadership to any compact group of workers in any industry.

Right now, with workers in all industries ready for struggle against speed-up, low wages, with capitalism in crisis and unemployment growing by leaps and bounds, we must be very frank. The Daily Worker, our Party is not a war hospital filled with nurses at the rear of the battle line. We either lead the workers in outbreaks, demonstrations, the broadening of strikes—or we are not Communists.

We must be frank. There are 100,000 steel workers in Gary and East Chicago. The Daily Worker mailing list for these two important centers has just been placed into my hands. How many Daily Worker subscribers in these two steel cities, filled with sweating, starving, extremely exploited workers? Exactly eighteen.

The same situation applies generally. Have we a compact group of coal miners, textile workers, war industry workers in any large industrial center, any factory town, any mining district who, after a day of back-breaking toil, during which their rebellious spirit has mounted to the "down tools" point, go home to their Daily Worker, there to find clarification regarding methods of struggle, organizational needs, leadership in aims and policies?

We have not. Until we have, we remain a blank 22 in an 18-inch cannon. We, therefore, repeat: Methods to reach workers in basic and all industries must be devised. Concretely speaking, we must mobilize large forces of Party members, under competent leadership

that no party can support their struggles except a party which is willing and determined to overthrow the whole social order of capitalism! No other party can be willing to fight for racial equality against White Chauvinism; no other party can be willing to organize the Negro masses which, when organized, cannot be otherwise than a battering ram against the whole capitalist structure of tyranny and exploitation.

The approach of larger numbers of Negro workers to the revolutionary Communist Party has a relationship to the recent great improvements in the Communist Party itself—the smashing of the open right-wing opportunist Lovestonites and the Trotskyites, who were, until so recently, debasing the revolutionary policies of the party.

It is necessary now in the immediate future to draw many hundreds and thousands of Negro workers into the Communist Party. If the southern capitalist newspapers are now snarling that the Communist Party is the "Nigger Party"—we can very proudly accept the compliment and go the masses of Negro workers to say that only the Communist Party—the revolutionary party of the working class—is their party of liberation. They must join it and go forward with it to victory.

and centralize our attack upon the one or half-dozen most important industries in every industrial center. We will not win these workers for the Daily Worker in a day, or a week. We will make contacts and win them after a steady barrage over a period of time, but once won, they march with us towards revolution.

Lenin must again be quoted. The Communist Press is the agitator, educator and organizer for our Party. The Party must have a central organ, no matter how many other organs it publishes, no matter how many district organs are established. There is danger in a localized movement, and in simply a language movement, referring specifically to our language press. The central organ must give leadership to all subsidiary activities and, therefore, our Daily Worker must live and grow. Political outbreaks, demonstrations, strikes, throughout the United States must be related and co-ordinated. The workers in each industry must become acquainted with the struggle, problems and revolutionary tasks that face workers in all industries. The Negro masses must be closely connected with the white proletariat. Colonial rebellions, strikes in other imperialist countries, the increasing number of war conferences held cloaked in the poison gas of peace parleys, international mobilization of imperialist nations against the Soviet Union, exposure of reactionary leaders, reformists and renegades, the growing crisis, unemployment, the broadening struggles—these problems our Party center gives uninterrupted consideration to, enunciates policies and concrete tasks, which then the Daily Worker, in news and articles, places before the Party membership and should place before hundreds of thousands of workers.

We must change the "should place" to "we do." The workers in all industries must be reached. One thousand subscribers in Gary will very soon mean 500 Party members among these steel workers.

Lenin said in 1902, when the problem of establishing a central revolutionary organ in Czarist Russia was being debated: "And I continue to insist that we start establishing real contacts only with the aid of a common newspaper as a single, regular All-Russia enterprise, which will summarize the results of all the diverse forms of activity and thereby stimulate our people to march forward unflinchingly along all the innumerable paths which lead to the Revolution.... The mere functions of distributing a newspaper will help to establish real contacts (that is, if it were a newspaper worthy the name, if it is issued regularly....)"

Seemingly, many Party members, some district bureaus, hesitate about agreeing with Lenin in this matter. To them, the Daily Worker is still extraneous to every-day tasks. Using it as an instrument for contacts seldom enters their minds.

A mass circulation and distribution of the Daily Worker will help build a mass Communist Party. It will mean more power to the workers now, and then—ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The Lenin Campaign of the Communist Party, extending through the month of January, comes at a time when all the forces leading to a new imperialist war are multiplying in feverish haste; when international capitalism threatens to drive millions of workers and poor farmers to slaughter one another in a new world butchery. The Communist Party knows that its first duty to the working class is not to lose a moment in rousing it to this growing danger, to prepare and organize the working masses against this new bloodbath, to educate them to the necessity of turning the imperialist war into a civil war in which the oppressed will put an end to capitalist oppression once for all.

It was V. I. Lenin who first waged a merciless struggle against the betrayal of the international working class by the Socialists all over the world in the last imperialist slaughter. It was Lenin who held aloft the red banner of international working class solidarity and called upon the soldiers of the various hostile countries to fraternize, to get together against the capitalist masters, at a time when the leading Socialists of the Second International were telling the workers to shoot one another in defense of "their own" capitalist class. It was Lenin who unmasked the reactionary robber character of the war and showed the workers of the world the only way out. The Communist Party, therefore, owes it to the American working class to acquaint it with Lenin's teachings.

In this Lenin Corner, the Daily Worker, throughout the month of January, will continue to run some of Lenin's most important writings on imperialist war and party organization.

The present article is taken from Lenin's Imperialist War—The Struggle Against Social Chauvinism and Social-Pacifism, which is being published by International Publishers as Vol. XVIII of Lenin's Collected Works.

On January 8 the Swiss papers received the following communication from Berlin: "It has of late been repeatedly printed in the public press that peaceful attempts at fraternization have been made between the soldiers of the German and French trenches. According to the Tägliche Rundschau (Daily Review), an order dated December 29 prohibits fraternization and generally every form of intercourse

with the enemy in the trenches. Disregard of this order will be punished as state treason."

It seems that fraternization and attempts at intercourse with the enemy are a fact. The military authorities of Germany are disquieted by it, consequently they attach to it a serious importance. In the English paper, Labour Leader, of January 7, 1915, a whole series of quotations from bourgeois English papers is contained bearing witness to the fact that cases have occurred when English and German soldiers had fraternized, had established a "forty-eight-hour truce" at Christmas and had met in a friendly fashion halfway between the trenches, etc. The English military authorities forbade fraternization by a special order. And still the Socialist-opportunists and their defenders (or maybe servants like Kautsky?) have in the public press assured the workers with an air of unusual self-satisfaction and with the comfortable feeling of being protected by military censorship against refutations, that understandings between the Socialists of the belligerent countries as to anti-war activities were impossible (a verbatim expression of Kautsky's in the Neue Zeit!).

Imagine that Hyndman, Guesde, Vandervelde, Plekhanov, Kautsky and others, instead of aiding the bourgeoisie, which is now their occupation, had formed an international committee for the propaganda of "fraternization and attempts at mutual relations" between the Socialists of the belligerent countries both in the "trenches" and in the army in general. What would have been the result after several months if even now, only six months after the beginning of the war, in spite of all those political bosses, leaders and stars of the first magnitude who betrayed Socialism, there grows every where an opposition against those who voted for military appropriations and against the ministerialists, while the military authorities threaten death for "fraternization"!

There is only one practical question: the victory or the defeat of our own country," Kautsky, the servant of the opportunists, wrote in unison with Guesde, Plekhanov and Co. This is true; yes, if we were to forget Socialism and class struggle, this would be true. But if we do not forget Socialism, it is untrue! There is another practical question: whether we should perish in a war between slaveholders, ourselves blind and helpless slaves, or whether we should perish for the "attempts at fraternization" between the workers, with the aim of casting off slavery?

Such is, in reality, the "practical" question.

PARTY RECRUITING DRIVE

Collinsville, Ill., Challenges Hammond

We, the comrades of the newly organized unit of the Collinsville League of District 8, hereby challenge the comrades of the Hammond, Indiana League unit to carry out the following plans in the Recruiting Drive. This challenge being made wholly in the spirit of Revolutionary Competition.

1. To secure 10 additional members for the League.
2. To build 1 mine nucleus and 2 factory nuclei.
3. To publish 1 mine bulletin and 1 shop bulletin, if possible 2 shop bulletins.
4. To secure 16 subscribers for the Young Worker.
5. To secure 10 subscribers for the Daily Worker.
6. To sell 25 copies of "Why Every Worker Should Join the Communist Party."

Buffalo Functionaries Discuss Membership Drive

Friday, January 3, 1930, the Buffalo Functionaries discussed the membership drive and the situation of the Buffalo Units.

It was pointed out that: 1. The Buffalo Units were too isolated from shops and factories; that there was not enough mass activity. 2. The units were not taking up the political problems but merely collecting dues. 3. The units had no functioning bureaus that would direct in an organized manner the activities of the units. 4. That the forces were not well distributed, too many developed comrades in one

Lenin on a Bolshevik Newspaper

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following extracts are taken from the section on "The Plan for an All-Russian Political Newspaper" in Lenin's famous pamphlet "What Is To Be Done?" which now comprises part of Vol. IV, Book II, of Lenin's Collected Works, published by International Publishers under the title of "The Iskra Period." The importance which Lenin attributed to a paper are indicated quite clearly in these extracts, which were written in 1902, when the Russian Bolshevik Party was on the verge of assuming independent political existence.)

A newspaper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer. In that respect, it can be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building in construction; it marks the contours of the structure, and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work, and to view the common results achieved by their organized labor.

I continue to insist that we can start establishing real contacts only with the aid of a common newspaper, as a single, regular, All-Russian enterprise, which will summarize the results of all the diverse forms of activity and thereby stimulate our people to march forward unflinchingly along all the innumerable paths which lead to the revolution in the same way as all roads lead to Rome.

We... could... establish a daily newspaper that would be regularly distributed in tens of thousands of copies over the whole of Russia. This newspaper would become a part of an enormous pair of smith's bellows that would blow every spark of class struggle and popular indignation into a general conflagration. Around what, is in itself very innocent and very small, but in the full sense of the word a regular and common cause, an army of tried warriors would systematically gather and receive their training.

unit and none in another.

After a good discussion, in which many comrades participated, it was decided to organize a new unit, to reorganize all the old units and to assign each unit a definite factory and a definite territory to concentrate upon.

Many suggestions how to get and how to keep new members were given. Special attention to organize a functioning apparatus in each unit was stressed.

The meeting adjourned, accepting all proposals of the district organizer, Comrade Mills, as a basis for further work.

Perth Amboy Challenges Passaic

Dear comrades:

At our last Unit meeting (held recently) we, the members of the Perth Amboy Unit, decided to challenge the comrades of the Passaic Unit, although that Unit is larger in members. We raised our quota to 12 new members, instead of 8 as per decision of the last Jersey Section Executive Conference, Dec. 8th. We challenge your Unit on a Revolutionary Competition that our Unit will double our quota sooner than your Unit will. Will you let us know through the Daily Worker whether you accept our challenge or not?

—A. HOFFMAN,
Secretary-Organizer.

Flashes From Recruiting Drive

Philadelphia has set January 12 and January 19 as Red Sundays. On these days the entire Party membership is being mobilized for the Recruiting Drive. The district has compiled a complete list of all subscribers to the Party press (sent by the Organizing Department to all districts) plus all other names of sympathizers gathered in past year. To each of these addresses of workers a Party member will go armed with application cards, Daily Workers and sub blanks, Recruiting Drive pamphlets, leaflets and Lenin Memorial Meeting tickets. While hammering away in the factories as the basic recruiting ground for the Party, this is a method which all districts can use as supplementary to factory recruiting.

In Minnesota over 300 metal miners have been organized into the National Miners Union and a Lumber Workers Industrial Union has also been organized. This shows a good orientation on the part of the Minnesota District. From amongst these elements the Party must recruit new members. Results to date are poor in Minnesota. Additional plans have been worked out to stimulate the Drive, including tours, meetings and a Red Sunday on January 19 throughout the district. Minnesota has the task of carrying all its good plans into life.

Workers! Join the Party of Your Class!

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

I, the undersigned, want to join the Communist Party. Send me more information.

Name

Address

Occupation

Mail this to the Central Office, Communist Party, 43 East 125th St., New York, N. Y.