

THE COMMUNIST

Vol. X

JULY, 1931

No. 7



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Earl Browder

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THE COMMUNIST

A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of
Marxism-Leninism

Published Monthly by the

Communist Party of the United States of America

MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

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

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August 1, 1931

By ALEX BITTELMAN

AUGUST FIRST has already become established among the masses as the day of international working class struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The first world demonstrations on that day took place in 1929. They came in response to the call of the Communist International and were led by its various sections all over the world. The experiences of the August First struggles of the previous two years have demonstrated the following. First, that the working class of the capitalist countries and the oppressed toiling masses of the colonies are becoming increasingly more aware of and ready to struggle against the danger of imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union. Second, that the Communist Parties, while still lagging behind the radicalization of the masses as pointed out by the XI Plenum, are able to put themselves at the head of masses, leading large numbers of toilers in revolutionary demonstrations despite the fascist reaction of the bourgeoisie and its shock troops—the social-fascists.

The August First demonstrations of 1929, following the sharp revolutionary May Day struggles of the same year—especially in Germany and Poland—have revealed the growing combativeness of the masses and their increasing readiness to assume the counter-offensive against the offensive of decaying capitalism. This was very clearly evidenced also in the militant response of the masses to the appeal of the C.P.U.S.A. on the first International Anti-War Day. Since then August First has become a powerful weapon of the proletariat for the further development of the revolutionary counter-offensive against the danger of imperialist war and against military intervention in the Soviet Union.

In our preparations for August 1st, 1931, we must proceed from the fact that the danger of armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. has become especially acute and that this constitutes a *direct danger to the whole of the world proletariat.*

“The growing world economic crisis and the ruthless struggle among the imperialist powers for markets intensify all imperialist antagonisms and cause them to become exceptionally acute. The danger of armed conflicts between the imperialist powers is growing. But the growing antagonism of interests between the imperialists does not diminish, but on the contrary, increases the danger of a war

of intervention in the USSR." (Eleventh Plenum Resolution. Our emphasis.)

Every time that the contradiction of interests between the imperialist powers reaches an especially acute stage, the attempt is made to try to solve these contradictions *at the expense of* the Soviet Union, the colonial peoples, or the toiling masses of the capitalist countries. An interesting sidelight on this is to be found in the deliberations of the International Chamber of Commerce at its last gathering in Washington, D. C., in May, 1931. When this body of world capitalism found itself hopelessly tangled up on the question of tariffs and war debts, an effort was made to crystallize some sort of united action along the lines of an economic boycott of the Soviet Union. Especially prominent in these efforts was the Hoover administration which was very anxious to divert the Chamber from deliberating upon the U.S. tariff and the cancellation of war debts. The fact that this effort did not fully succeed at this gathering of the International Chamber of Commerce does not in the least detract from the correctness of the statement that the sharpening rivalries between the imperialists *increase* the danger of a war of intervention against the U.S.S.R.

THE PEACE POLICIES OF THE GROWING SOCIALIST SYSTEM—THE
WAR POLICIES OF THE DECAYING CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The events of the past year "have revealed with unparalleled acuteness the antagonism between the system that is *building up socialism* and the *decaying capitalism.*"

"This growing contrast between the two systems, which is the kernel of contemporary relations, affects the further development of the contradictions within the imperialist world which have become particularly intensified as a result of the crisis. Deprived of the opportunity of exploiting and imperialistically enslaving the peoples of the USSR by the October Revolution and finding themselves directly menaced by the socialistic industrialization of the USSR, which is creating the conditions for the economic development of the land of the Proletarian Dictatorship independently of the technique of the capitalist countries, the imperialists are with increasing fury hurling themselves into the struggle against each other for markets, which are becoming more and more restricted as a consequence of the crisis and the growing impoverishment of the masses. The efforts being made by the imperialists to extricate themselves from the crisis at the expense of the toilers, at the expense of their competitors, at the expense of the colonies and the USSR, are leading to an unrestrained policy of Protection and Dumping, to the intensification of the imperialist struggle for world hegemony and for the redistribution of the colonies, to increased preparations for imperialist wars and for military intervention in the USSR." (*Eleventh Plenum Resolution.*)

Preparations for military intervention against the U.S.S.R. are going on without interruption. Armaments are increasing. The states bordering on the Soviet Union are fascicized and militarized in preparation for the attack. French imperialism is granting large loans to Poland, Jugo Slavia and Rumania for this purpose. Actual plans for directing the military operations against the U.S. S.R. are being drawn up by an International Commission, set up by the French General Staff, including representatives of the Polish and British General Staffs. The date set for the beginning of military operations had once been set for 1930 and then changed to 1931 at the latest.

Especially important for the toiling masses in the United States is the active role of the Hoover imperialist group in the intervention preparations. The Hoover administration undertook to supply foodstuffs for the armies of intervention. For this purpose the Federal Farm Board was set up, headed by Legge, director of supplies for the Allied Armies during the late imperialist war. The Federal Farm Board had purchased stocks of provisions to the amount of \$500,000,000 to be delivered at a date fixed by the French General Staff for the beginning of military intervention. The provisions were held in readiness at the ports of the Atlantic seaboard.

Preliminary to armed intervention, world imperialism has organized an economic war against the Soviet Union. In order to disrupt the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction, world capitalism has initiated a vicious campaign against so-called Soviet "dumping" which was followed up by licensing, discriminating and outright prohibition of Soviet imports. The hypocritical cry of a "Red Trade Menace" is coming with special ferocity from the imperialist gang around the Hoover administration.

This hypocrisy of the capitalist world, designed to hide the real meaning of the economic war as a preliminary to armed war against the Soviet Union, has been brilliantly exposed by the proposals of the Soviet spokesman at the European Union Commission of the League of Nations in Geneva and at the International Wheat Conference in London.

As against the policies of decaying capitalism—the policies of unrestrained economic warfare among the imperialist powers, leading to new imperialist wars, and their common economic war against the Soviet Union preliminary to armed intervention—comrade Litvinov stated the policies of the system that is building Socialism. He proposed "the complete cessation of all forms of economic aggression," challenging the capitalist powers to sign with the Soviet Union a protocol by which "the parties undertake not to adopt in

their relations with each other any discrimination whatsoever and regard the adoption in any of their countries of a special attitude militating against the interests of one or any of the countries subscribing to this protocol as incompatible with its principles."

Within one month after the XI Plenum of the Communist International has sharpened the attention of the world revolutionary movement to the contrast between the world of decaying capitalism and the world of growing socialism, the spokesman of these two worlds appeared at Geneva, and in the struggle between them this contrast was once again demonstrated and clearly accentuated. The capitalist world appeared in ever-deepening crisis; bankrupt and decaying; bent upon war and discrimination among themselves; and war against the working class, the colonies and the Soviet Union. The socialist world appeared confident and farsighted; growing in strength day by day; free from the anarchy of capitalist production, the miseries of unemployment and capitalist exploitation; determined upon the establishment of "peace and fraternity between nations."

The capitalist leaders at Geneva could not and would not accept the proposals of comrade Litvinov. Nor did they dare to reject outright and openly these proposals. Rather they tried to create the appearance of an atmosphere of sympathy around these proposals. However, we must not be deceived by that. Briand, Henderson, etc. know full well the appealing power of Litvinov's proposals to the suffering masses of the capitalist and colonial countries. They also know the increased strength of the Soviet Union, and its grown prestige among the toiling masses. In the face of this situation, an outright rejection of Litvinov's proposals would have been a rather dangerous procedure for capitalism. Hence, the capitalist statesmen have chosen the road of evasion from acting in the open, resorting to maneuvering and secret manipulations to get out of the difficulty created for them by the proposals of the Soviet Union.

Litvinov's proposals have been rejected in fact. All the rest that the capitalist statesmen say or do is directed to cover up this fact and also to cover up the continuation of the capitalist policies of war and intervention.

The International Wheat Conference in London, held simultaneously with the Geneva meeting of the European Union Commission, offers another example of the contrast and antagonism of policies of the system that is building socialism and decaying capitalism. In looking for a way out of the profound agricultural crisis in the capitalist and colonial countries, capitalism is proceeding along the line of shifting the burden of the crisis to the workers, peasants and colonial peoples. The U.S.S.R. has no agrarian

crisis. On the contrary, it is developing and collectivizing its agriculture at a tremendous rate on a higher technical basis. To this world-historic fact the capitalists answer with a hypocritical cry of so-called Soviet "wheat dumping" accompanied by an effort to practically blockade the export of wheat from the U.S.S.R. The Hoover administration is to be found in the front ranks of this campaign.

At the London Conference the U.S.S.R. has challenged the bourgeois cry of Soviet wheat "dumping," exposed the anti-Soviet machinations of the U.S. Federal Farm Board and the Hoover imperialist group, by offering to join the other wheat-exporting countries in considering the question of the distribution of the wheat harvest of the year 1931. In making this offer, the representatives of the U.S.S.R. laid down a certain fundamental condition, namely, that "the possible methods of solving this important question must not however lead to the lowering of the standard of living of the working masses." (From an interview with Lubimov, head of the Soviet delegation to the Wheat Conference.)

This condition of the Soviet delegation, which will be greeted by the toiling masses all over the world, meant first of all that the "limitation of wheat acreage" scheme championed by the U.S. grain speculators, banks and the Hoover administration, must be ruled out as a measure which inevitably lowers the standard of living of the working masses. It meant, secondly, that the distribution of the 1931 wheat harvest must be done in such a way as will allow the release of sufficient wheat on the world market at prices accessible to the consuming masses and satisfactory to the producing peasantry. In connection with this must be considered the Soviet proposal that wheat be sold on the home and world market at the same price.

It fell to Mr. McKelvie, spokesman of the Hoover imperialist group at the wheat Conference, to make the main attack on the proposals of the U.S.S.R. Defending the interests of the United States grain speculators and bankers, McKelvie declared that the "United States will not participate in any international wheat pool," and that for the time being "all concerned should curtail production." The Conference adjourned without any tangible results because of the inner antagonisms between the various capitalist countries and especially because of the refusal of the U.S. delegates to consider any joint proposal for the marketing of the 1931 wheat harvest. Once more, the bankruptcy of capitalism and its decay was revealed to the world. And in contrast with this was shown the growth of the U.S.S.R., its productive forces and well-

being of the masses, and its policy of peace and safeguarding the interests of the toiling masses all over the world.

THE HOOVER GROUP—AN ACTIVE FACTOR FOR MILITARY
INTERVENTION AGAINST THE U.S.S.R.

The Hoover imperialist group in the United States is becoming increasingly more active as a factor for the intensification of the economic war against the U.S.S.R. as a preliminary to military intervention. We have shown before how the Federal Farm Board was storing up provisions on the Atlantic seaboard for the armies of intervention by arrangement with the French General Staff. We have referred to the effort of the Hoover group to manipulate the deliberations of the International Chamber of Commerce in such a way as to consolidate world economic action of the capitalists against the Soviet Union. We have also shown that the Hoover group has assumed leadership in the imperialist campaign against the export of Soviet wheat as a means of disrupting the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction. The activities of the Fish Committee have thus foreshadowed the intensifying intervention activities of the Hoover administration.

The explanation for this is to be found in the developing crisis, the growing radicalization of the masses, the desperate need of the Hoover administration to restore its "prestige," and to continue to fool the farmers by placing their misery at the door of Soviet wheat "dumping," the sharpening rivalries between U.S. and British imperialism and the increasing antagonisms between the U.S. and the European capitalist powers, and the tremendous growth of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. All this leads to an ever intensifying attack upon the standard of living of the workers and farmers, growing capitalist reaction and fascist methods of oppression, increased pressure upon the colonies, notably, in Latin America, preparations for imperialist war and especially for military intervention in the U.S.S.R.

The Hoover imperialist group is aspiring to *leadership* in the intervention campaign against the Soviet Union. In this way, the powerful capitalist interests supporting Hoover expect to be able to solve the contradictions between American imperialism and British imperialism and between American capitalism and the European capitalist powers. The maneuvers of the Hoover group at the International Chamber of Commerce and especially at the London Wheat Conference clearly expose this criminal game.

It is in the light of these developments that we must view the intensified war preparations of U.S. imperialism. Let us consider

some of the more important manifestations of the war preparations.

1. The War Department's plan for the mobilization of a conscript army of 4,000,000 at the outbreak of war. This plan is no utopia or pious wish but a practical proposition for the realization of which the War Department has already laid the technical and organizational foundation. What are these foundations? First, the regular army. Its actual strength today is 136,037 officers and men as compared with about 100,000 in August, 1914. Under the national defense law of 1920, the regular army has an authorized strength of 280,000 men alone. Second, the National Guard which is part of the Federal military forces. Its present strength is 184,371 men and officers as compared with 120,000 officers and men in 1914. Third, the Reserve Corps which numbers 113,523 officers alone. This Corps is continually being increased by active training duty for officers with the army garrisons, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps and the Citizens' Military Training Camps. During last year the Reserve Officers' Training Corps instructed 129,958 young men in schools and colleges, over six thousand of whom took additional six weeks of military training at Summer Camps. In the fifty-three Citizens' Military Training Camps established last summer nearly 40,000 persons were enrolled. Completion of the course is regarded as a material step towards a commission in the Officers' Reserve Corps.

With the regular Army and National Guard, totaling at present 320,408 men and officers, and with an Officers' Reserve Corps of about 130,000 (continually increasing), the War Department expects to be able to absorb, train and organize an army of 4,000,000 at the outbreak of war without difficulty or loss of time.

2. The mechanization of the cavalry involving the substitution of tanks or "combat cars" for horses. These tanks,—\$70,000 a piece—equipped with machine guns and small cannon, would become the weapon and vehicle of the U.S. cavalry. "As an example of the efficiency of motorized units, it is pointed out that the 300 mile march from Fort Eustis in Virginia to Fort Bragg in North Carolina can be made in two days by the fighting trucks, as against twenty-five by the horses." (*World-Telegram* Staff Correspondent.)

3. Mobilization of industry for war. The War Department outlined before the Congressional War Policies Commission a complete plan for the war-time mobilization of industry. Already the War Department has commissioned 14,000 big capitalists as "contact men" who will assume charge for the War Department of

the industrial machine immediately upon the outbreak of war. Not satisfied with this, the Assistant Secretary of War, F. H. Payne, demands that Congress authorize the placing of, what he calls, "educational orders" for munitions in peace time without advertising for bids. This must be done, according to the militarists, in order that factories now producing peace-time articles might know how to change over to munitions in a minimum time after Congress declared an emergency.

4. The Army Air Maneuvers in May. Six hundred and seventy-two planes took part in the maneuvers. But this is only a nucleus "of a full-sized war division which would include 2,238 planes." (New York Times, May 25, 1931.) Millions of dollars have been spent for the maneuvers alone while not a cent is made available by the Federal Government for unemployment relief.

5. The strengthening of military bases in the Caribbean. The maneuvers of U. S. imperialism to line up the Latin-American governments against the U.S.S.R.

We have not mentioned the continual war "games" of the Navy in the Atlantic, Caribbean and Pacific, showing feverish preparations for an imminent war. In this connection it is very illuminating to find in Hoover's speech at the Cornell University Memorial (May 23) the following:

"Fourteen years ago this morning a group of American boys carried an American flag into the fighting on the Aisne front, and thereby made a *splendid gesture symbolical of the might of the new world mustering for the decisive issue.*" (Our emphasis.)

This is the result of the "disarmament" efforts of U.S. imperialism. Under the cloak of disarmament and pacifist maneuvers (London Naval Conference, Kellogg Pact, etc.) the U.S. government is making the most intensive and elaborate preparations for war. And in the light of the anti-Soviet activities of the Hoover administration, these preparations present the greatest danger to the U.S.S.R.

Along with war preparations goes the intensified offensive of American capitalism upon the standard of living of the workers and farmers. The crisis continues. Terrific unemployment is pressing upon the working class while the niggardly charitable and other "relief" has been practically discontinued. The summer months may prove to be considerably more serious for the masses than were the winter. Wage slashing is developing in a more direct way and on a wider scale. Preparations are on foot for even wider wage cutting throughout the country. Moody's Investors' Service sums up the case for the capitalists as follows:

"Since the productivity of labor, with the present state of factory efficiency, cannot easily expand as rapidly as it did immediately after the war, the reduction of manufacturing costs may have to be effected *through some further decreases in wage rates.*" (Our emphasis.)

Starvation on the farms is just as rampant as in the cities. The farmer Coney, who led the march of 500 Arkansas farmers for food into the town of England, thus described the situation: "We all got pretty low on food out here, and some was a-starvin'." The policy of the Hoover administration, which calls upon the farmers to "curtail production" serves the interests of the speculators in agricultural commodities (grain, cotton, etc.) and the banks that are financing such operations. For the farmer, this policy spells further ruin. And it is in the name of this policy that the Hoover administration is leading the fight against the U.S.S.R. on the question of wheat exports.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SOCIAL-FASCISTS

On the role of Social-Democracy in the preparation for military intervention against the U.S.S.R., the XI Plenum resolution says the following:

"In this criminal work for the organization of the economic blockade and the preparation for military intervention against the USSR, the Second International and the Social-Democratic parties play a direct leading role for which they bear full responsibility."

The anti-Soviet activities of the Social-Democratic and "Socialist" parties all over the world amply demonstrate the correctness of the above statement. This role of Social-Democracy was brought out with especial clarity at the trial of the Russian Mensheviki in Moscow. There it established that the Second International "jointly with the French General Staff and the Russian white guard emigrant organization in Paris (Torg-prom) organized the Russian Mensheviki as an agency for wrecking work with the aim of preparing for military intervention."

The Social-Fascists in the United States are playing the same direct leading role in the organization of the economic blockade and the preparation of military intervention against the U.S.S.R. The leaders of the A. F. of L., Woll, Green, etc., are actually leading the campaign of Hoover, Fish and Company for an economic blockade of the U.S.S.R. Woll especially is exerting himself in this direction, using the hypocritical imperialist cry of Soviet "dumping" and the "Red Trade Menace" for this purpose. The irony of it is that Woll, the arch-traitor and betrayer of the American workers,

the flunkey of the big corporations and of the worst exploiters of American labor, the same Woll who is helping the capitalists to carry through the wage cut — Woll is doing his criminal work of incitement to intervention in the name of “maintaining the standard of living of the American workers.”

The Socialist Party of America supports the anti-Soviet activities of the American Federation of Labor and of Fish and Company. The Socialist Party trade union bureaucrats are part and parcel of the Green-Woll combination, playing a leading role in the vicious campaign against the U.S.S.R. and against the revolutionary movement in the U.S.

The appearance of Norman Thomas before the Congressional War Policies Commission, and his proposals there, throw some more light on the active role of the Socialist Party in the preparations for war and intervention. Thomas had nothing to say against the preparations for war. He accepted it as a matter of course. All he was desirous of impressing upon the War Policies Commission was that the proposal of La Guardia for the complete militarization of government and industry shall be adopted only in case of “extreme emergency.” Thomas was also anxious to protect the good name of American capitalism and of the hypocritical pacifist nature of the Kellogg Pact, so he declared: “to socialize simply for war is to militarize the State in the eyes of the world and this will be regarded as a lack of faith in peace on the part of a nation which sponsored the Kellogg pact.”

Like a true social-fascist, he was urging upon the War Policies Commission the use of a little more *social demagogy* to cover up the war and fascization plans of American capitalism. Following out this method himself, he declared that “we shall pay for war as we go, and that the abomination of giving a favored class of our citizens a claim on the national income, after the war is over, will be ended.”

Thomas accepted the imperialist fake of Soviet “dumping.” But in true social-fascist style, in order to deceive those of the rank and file in the Socialist Party that are becoming disgusted with the anti-Soviet activities of its leadership, Thomas felt compelled to deprecate very mildly the “stupid war-breeding policy against Russia,” urging, however, an “agreement to prevent dumping.” (*New York Times*, May 21.)

The growing radicalization of the masses, the increasing prestige of the U.S.S.R. in their eyes, and their willingness to defend it against intervention, and the rising influence of the Communist Party, are bringing about a greater display than heretofore of demagogy and “left” phrases among the social-fascists in the United

States. We must therefore follow more closely than before the "left" maneuvers of the social-fascists in order to expose and combat them.

Green and Company have all of a sudden become vocal in the matter of wage cuts. The social-fascist betrayers, who have signed up with Hoover for the prevention of strikes during the crisis thus assisting directly in the wage cutting that was taking place continually, whose declamations for a six-hour, five-day week, with a corresponding reduction in wages, was but a bridge to the "stagger" system of the capitalists, these same social-fascists are now mouthing phrases about "resisting" wage cuts. What has happened?

What happened was the series of strikes against wage cuts that took place in the last two months (coal, marine, steel, textile), and the obvious imminence of a fresh strike wave all over the country. Green and Company are therefore trying to fulfill their social task, namely, to check, break-up, or get hold of the strike movements in order to betray them. The campaign of the Communist Party against wage cuts and the improving methods of work of the T.U.U.L. are urging the social-fascists on towards more demagogy as well as to more intense struggle against the revolutionary working class movement.

At the same time we find an increasingly greater display of "left" phrases and maneuvers among the "left" social-fascists, Muste and Company. The special social task that the capitalists have imposed upon this group is to try to check the flow of the more radicalized workers to the Communist Party and the T.U.U.L. Operating among more advanced sections of the workers, those on the road to Communism, Muste and Company must employ more left-looking demagogy than the one used by Green, Thomas, etc. But the purpose is the same: to retard the growth of the revolutionary movement under Communist leadership, to check the development of the class struggle, to save the social-fascist A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party. In exposing the counter-revolutionary and anti-labor character of social-fascism, we must concentrate especially on exposing and defeating the "left" variety of social-fascism.

And what is the role of the right wing and Trotskyite renegades? What is the social task that the bourgeoisie has imposed upon them? It is to serve as instruments of the "left" social-fascists for discrediting and disrupting the activities of the revolutionary working class movement — the Communist Party, T.U.U.L., etc. The renegades are paving the way for Muste under the slogan of "true" Communism. Muste is paving the way for Green-Woll and Company with the slogan of "Communism without the Communists." Green-Woll and Company are doing in the labor movement, more

or less openly, the work of American capitalism and imperialism. It is this combination that must be exposed systematically and fought against most ruthlessly in the mobilization of the masses against imperialist war and intervention in the U.S.S.R.

In carrying on this fight, we must keep our eyes on the rank and file of the reformist organizations. Our task is to win this rank and file away from the social-fascists of whatever color or shade. This rank and file is undergoing a profound process of disillusionment and awakening. It is precisely because of this fact, and in the fear that the process of awakening of the masses will lead them to the revolutionary unions and the Communist Party, that moves the social-fascists (Right and "Left"), and the renegades, to demagoguery and maneuvering, each with its own special "methods" and approach.

Hence, our intensified struggle for winning the rank and file of the reformist organizations, as part of our task of winning the majority of the working class. Our united front policies must be applied more systematically, on the basis of concrete and burning issues, more thoroughly from below (in the shops and factories) in order to facilitate the coming over of the awakening workers to our side. We must apply this policy with the greatest determination in the struggle against the war danger and military intervention in the U.S.S.R.

OUR TASKS FOR AUGUST FIRST

We must aim at making our preparations for and the carrying out of the August First struggles *a real turning point* for the improvement of our anti-war, anti-military and anti-intervention activities. Above all must we aim at securing, maintaining and consolidating definite *organizational* results from our agitational and political achievements in these struggles.

The XI Plenum of the Communist International had some very harsh things to say—and rightly so—on the shortcomings of our Parties on this vital field of struggle. The Plenum took note of the fact that "the number of workers and peasants who are prepared to defend the U.S.S.R. actively and revolutionarily as their only fatherland is undoubtedly growing and far exceeds the political sphere of influence of the Communist Parties. It is beyond doubt also that the work of the Comintern in defense of the U.S.S.R. has become one of the most important factors for the preservation of peace, a factor which caused the postponement of the imperialist slaughter."

"Nevertheless it must be stated that the intensity of the struggle against the danger of war and against the danger of intervention against the USSR does not at all correspond to the intensity with which the imperialists are preparing for war against the USSR."

This should touch us to the quick. Especially, remembering that the Hoover imperialist group is becomingly progressively more an active and leading factor in the economic war against the U.S.S.R. and in the preparations for military intervention. Also, always remembering the fact that "our own" imperialism is carrying on the most active preparation for war to secure world hegemony.

Then on the sporadic and narrow "campaign" character of our work, says the Plenum:

"The agitation against the war danger is not carried on systematically, and in many cases only from campaign to campaign."

This is true for us also. During the Fish Committee investigations and the trials of the counter-revolutionists in Moscow our agitation was very active and effective. But after that—we slackened down, whereas the interventionists and imperialists did not.

"The fundamental weakness of the work of the Communists in the fight against the danger of an intervention war is that the concrete measures being taken in preparation for war in Parliamentary Commissions, in the imperialist armies and in the war industry are not sufficiently exposed to the masses."

Also this criticism fits us. Have we exposed *sufficiently* the war plans of the War Department as they have been outlined before the War Policies Commission of Congress? The mobilization of a conscript army of four million, the mechanization of the army, the building up of an enormous Officers' Reserve Corps, the development of the Air and Chemical branches of the army and navy, the integration of the "captains of industry" into the war machine, etc. Have we sufficiently exposed that? No, we have not. We must correct ourselves on that.

"The Communist Parties have not yet learned how to explain to the masses sufficiently clearly the connection that exists between the war preparations of the imperialists and the growth of the exploitation and suppression of the oppressed masses."

Here, too, we must improve our work. Not that we have not tried to connect the two phases of the capitalist offensive, but that we have not been able to show it to the *masses* with sufficient *clarity and convincingness*. This we must learn, and we must not take too much time in doing it.

"They (the Communist Parties.—A. B.) have not yet learned how to expose by concrete illustrations the fact that social democracy is the bulwark of imperialism in preparation for counter-revolutionary war against the USSR."

Have we anything yet to learn in this sphere of work? Yes, we have; although the *Daily Worker* can rightly point to numerous instances in which Green, Woll and Company were exposed by *concrete illustration* as the bulwark of imperialism in preparing intervention. But these instances are not numerous enough. Moreover, we cannot confine ourselves only to the *Daily Worker* or even to the entire Party press. We must develop more and additional means of agitation (leaflets, pamphlets, meetings) to carry this message. Secondly, what about the Socialist Party and the Musteites? Have we exposed *them* systematically and with concrete illustration as component parts of the bulwark of imperialism? The answer must be: No. Very much remains to be improved on this score.

The XI Plenum repeatedly emphasizes the task of every *individual* Communist in this struggle. It says: "the activity of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries in the struggle against the war danger, depends upon *the activity of every single Communist.*" And further: "The duty of every Communist Party, of every Communist is to expose the social democrats as the agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the preparation for military intervention against the working class of the U.S.S.R." This means that every individual Communist is responsible *himself* or *herself* to carry on the work of exposing the social-fascists and to win the workers over for the defense of the U.S.S.R. One does not have to wait for instructions from the Party unit or for an assignment of tasks to do this duty. Whatever the Party unit organizes in a collective way, every member participates in it. But in addition to this, every Party member has an individual duty and responsibility to carry on this struggle.

Then on the question of propaganda in the Army and Navy, the Plenum says:

"The Eleventh Plenum of E.C.C.I. emphasizes the imperative necessity for a determined change in the direction of intensifying the anti-militarist work of the Communist Parties, and especially of the Young Communist League, as an integral part of the struggle against the danger of war and the menace of intervention."

The Plenum resolution speaks of *a determined change*. This is exactly what we need here. Not just a little improvement. This we have been trying to do right along with the result that very little was happening. That is why we need a real change in the direction of *intensifying* our anti-militarist work—Party and League. The Plenum reminds all Communists of the instructions of the II Congress laid down by Lenin. There we find that:

“Refusal to carry out such work is tantamount to the betrayal of revolutionary duty and is *incompatible* with membership in the Third International.”

In the preparations for August First—and after—we shall have the first serious opportunity after the XI Plenum to begin improving the shortcomings pointed out in the Plenum resolutions. The following should be considered the essentials in the preparation and carrying out of the August 1st action.

1. On the question of slogans. There will have to be three main slogans corresponding to the three main lines of our struggle at the present stage as formulated in the XI Plenum resolution. But in the following order: 1. Fight against imperialist war and military intervention in the U.S.S.R. This is the *central* slogan. 2. Fight against the capitalist offensive. And 3. Fight against the bourgeois dictatorship in all its forms. The tasks of concretizing these general slogans for August 1st consists in this: placing the struggle against military intervention in the center, we must link up with it all those slogans around which revolutionary mass struggles are developing at the present time and also those slogans with which we are about to initiate mass movements.

II. On the agitational work. The agitational campaign for August 1st should be planned out as thoroughly as possible, including the preparation of slogans, material, etc., especially showing the contrast between the capitalist and socialist systems, the actual war and intervention preparations, the role of the social-fascists, etc. In addition to our agitational material of a general character, we must provide for special material (leaflets, etc.) for the farmers, the armed forces, the Negroes, the Latin-American workers, women workers, etc.

III. On the question of organization. This may prove to be our weakest spot if we are not alert to the problems involved. What are these problems? (a) The organization of the widest possible united front action from below. We must undertake to set up anti-War Committees, as many as possible in the shops and factories, and also on a local basis. Under the leadership of the Party, which outlines the campaign and calls for the United Front, this work must be carried on also through the non-Party mass organizations. All the existing shop organizations (shop committees, grievance committees, etc.) must undertake to carry through the anti-war United Front action in their shops, and in this process they must widen their mass base, drawing into active work fresh proletarian elements. Especially must we strive to mobilize the masses for August 1st through the T.U.U.L. and the Unemployed Branches and Councils. It is ad-

visible that the City Conferences for the setting up of local Anti-War Committees be called under the joint auspices of the Friends of the Soviet Union, the All-America Anti-Imperialist League and the T.U.U.L. It may be advisable to stress here the point that the widest campaign for the sending of delegates to these Conferences must be carried on among the masses in the shops, among the unemployed, in the reformist unions, etc. (b) The absorption and assimilation into the Party of the more advanced proletarian elements that we will come into contact with in this work, in the Conferences, meetings, demonstrations, etc. The Org Departments and the various Party units must work out this problem in great detail, making sure that responsible Party organs are on the job tackling this problem. (c) The work of the local Anti-War Committees after August 1st and the general organizational maintenance and consolidation of the achievements of this mass action. It is not at all too early to raise this point now. All the contacts and organization that we will establish *in the factories* around August 1st, we must be prepared to utilize, firstly, for the organization of Party shop nuclei, and grievance or factory committees connected with the T.U.U.L. It is not at all excluded that a successful August 1st, especially if we link up skilfully the struggle against intervention with that against wage cuts, and materialize factory contacts and organization, will enhance the maturing strike struggles against wage cuts and place us at the head of these struggles. As to the local Anti-War Committees, it is suggested that the organizations composing them might be urged to affiliate after August 1st, either to the F.S.U. or the A.A.A.-I.L. Hence the need of bringing forward these organizations prominently in the August 1st struggles. Above all, we must not go about this work in a perfunctory routine manner, but, on the contrary, must reach out to new layers of workers, organizing them for the struggle against war, intervention, and against the capitalist offensive.

NOTE: Since this article was written the United States Government has taken new aggressive steps in its program of war on the Soviet Union. The so-called reparations moratorium proposal is admittedly intended as a measure to 1) draw Germany definitely into the Anti-Soviet Imperialist War Front, 2) stem the revolutionary upsurge in Germany and 3) to temporarily relieve the strained relationship between the imperialist powers in order to consolidate the Anti-Soviet Imperialist War Front in which the United States is the definitely established leader. Demonstrate against this open war maneuver on August First.—EDITOR.

The Coal Strike

By WM. Z. FOSTER

AS I write this article in Pittsburgh, on June 11th, the strike is in the process of development. Mines are being struck every day. Already the total number of strikers mounts to 25,000 and the strike is just beginning to spread into Ohio. So it is difficult, in this stage of the struggle, to speak of the lessons of the strike or to deal in detail with perspectives, and this article makes no such effort.

But a few things are already clear. And central among these is the complete justification of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. line, and, of course, of the general line of our Party and the T.U.U.L., for the building of revolutionary unions in the United States. More than that, the correctness of the R.I.L.U. strategy and tactics for the development of the organizations and their struggle has been equally justified by the course of events in the strike. The Lawrence strike gave a first demonstration in the United States of the correctness of the R.I.L.U. line. This strike re-emphasizes it.

The strike is a brilliant exposition of the correctness of the analysis of the growing radicalization of the workers. The workers are in a flame of indignation and revolt at the intolerable starvation conditions under which they live. Their slogan is that they may as well starve fighting as starve working. They turn to the National Miners Union for organization and leadership with an enthusiasm and determination which is sending the shivers down the backs of the capitalists and their hangers-on in this vicinity.

The rapid development of this struggle under the leadership of the N.M.U. fully supports the program of building the new unions. It is a blow in the face to such people as the Lovestoneites, Cannonites, and the main Muste group. All the croakings of these elements that the N.M.U. is isolated from the masses, have been dealt a deadly smash. The way the N.M.U. has been able to develop this struggle indicates the vitality of the revolutionary unions. We may expect that such struggles will develop in other industries. There should be a feeling now of much greater reliance on the correctness of building the T.U.U.L. It would be interesting indeed to see Lovestone come here and tell the workers to go back into the strike-breaking U.M.W.A. or Cannon to try to herd them into the fake Howat organization.

Despite many glaring weaknesses in the application of the R.I.

L.U. strike strategy, this strike, regardless of its future development, has already given ample evidence of the fitness of that strategy. Just a few months ago the N.M.U. had merely a handful of members and was confined to only a few mines. But by concentrating upon a single mine or two, by developing small strikes around simple demands, minor victories were won. This attracted the attention of broad ranks of the miners, who had been largely demoralized by the terrible betrayal and defeat of 1927-28. They began to look to the new union with hope. It began to establish contacts with many mines. Then came the attempt to further cut wages in the Avella mines of the Carnegie Coal Company and, in consequence, the organized strike by the N.M.U., beginning on May 26th.

This strike immediately set the miners afire. Manifestly, a broad movement was in the making. The previous strategy of close concentration upon individual mines was developed into a systematic spreading of the strike by marches, mass picketing, etc., on an unparalleled scale. This spreading has been going on, at this writing, for two weeks and there is no end to it yet. The strategy now is to spread the struggle into Ohio and West Virginia and then, if the scope of the movement justifies it, to call a national conference or convention of the miners and to seek to extend it all over the bituminous fields and to really build the National Miners Union.

Naturally, with the spread of the strike, the character of the demands has been varied accordingly. More basic demands are being raised with the strengthening of the movement. Should the movement develop nationally or over the decisive sections of the bituminous fields, a real fight may become possible for still more basic demands.

The strike has also already completely justified the rank and file strike committee system of the R.I.L.U. At this writing, there are broad strike committees at almost every struck mine. These are joined together in section committees, and the central rank and file strike committee links all the local committees into a broad committee of about 200 made up of delegations ranging from 3 to 5 from each mine.

These strike committees have already proved invaluable in setting up the first elements of organization, in giving the rank and file control of and confidence in the strike and union and in developing new forces to lead the strike. Without these committees, in fact, it would have been quite impossible, with our small forces, to have set this mass into motion and to maintain any control of the situation. Naturally a real trade union democracy is the very

breath of life of the strike committee. The workers took to the formation of the mass strike committees as naturally as ducks take to water, although such democratic forms of organization were quite foreign to the autocratic practice of the U.M.W.A.

The strike has also already shown the correctness of the theses of the growing fascization of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. The U.M.W.A. has openly done everything possible to hinder the strike and, unless all signs fail, we are about to witness one of the most shameful instances of union strikebreaking in the history of the American labor movement. The capitalist press, mouthpiece of the coal operators, are openly calling for the rebuilding of the U.M.W.A. as a barrier against the N.M.U. and the companies are everywhere telling the men to quit the red unions and to get back into the old organization. The U.M.W.A. is desperately trying to get a mass basis in preparation for the strike-breaking now being organized. Under police protection, in face of the militant hatred of the workers, they are, in open cooperation with the bosses, setting up fake locals here and there. Doubtless the operators' strategy is, using the Pinchot government as its tool, to try to bring about some fake settlement with the U.M.W.A., probably via arbitration, and then try to drive the workers back to work by duplicity, terrorism and starvation. The U.M.W.A. is ready for such open strike-breaking, no matter how brazen it will be.

The highly political character of strikes in this period is doubly emphasized by this struggle. Almost instantly the government got into action with all its weapons of terrorism and "conciliation." Armies of state police, coal and iron police, local police, company thugs, deputy sheriffs, etc., were immediately thrown into the strike area to terrorize the miners. Sheriffs in the strike districts abolished the right of assembly, etc., making a crowd of three a riot when any local policeman wants to so declare it. Workers on the picket lines have been mercilessly clubbed, gassed, shot and arrested.

But the most dangerous aspect of the state interference will doubtless be its efforts to "settle" the strike. Under the guise of "peace" the "progressive" Pinchot will try to break the strike with the cooperation of the U.M.W.A. and to drive the workers back to work. To defeat these strike-breaking efforts of the government and the U.M.W.A., jointly with the operators, will doubtless present the greatest problem of the strike. It requires a high politicalization of the struggle. This is a major task. Efforts are being made in this direction by demands for the right to picket, strike, assemble, etc., by demands for removal of the armed forces, for the right of self-defense of the workers, against arbitration, etc. At present, the capitalist politicians and labor fakers are run-

ning around frantically to "settle" the strike, a grave danger, but also a testimonial to the powers of the strike.

The strike is a great demonstration of working class solidarity. Men, women, children are participating in it en masse. On many of the picket lines often not only every miner in the camp, but practically all the women and youngsters too, take part. Compare this with the old U.M.W.A. system of a handful of paid picketers.

There has also been established real solidarity between Negroes and whites. Even the capitalist press had to remark this. Almost everywhere they struck solidly together. The Negroes play a leading role in all strike committees and activities.

The problem of consolidating our forces, of actually organizing the strike and of building the union is an acute one. Although the first order of business up to date has been the spreading of the strike, the work of solid organization is being pushed as fast as our limited forces will allow. A mass recruitment is being made, locals formed, women's auxiliaries, etc. Besides the first steps are being worked out for setting up youth sections and the development of special committees for work among Negroes. High pressure is used to develop new forces from the strikers for the multitude of tasks to be accomplished.

The strike also offers a splendid illustration of the solidarity of the employed and the unemployed. I have yet to hear a single striker express fear of the unemployed as strike-breakers. Both categories are being lined up for the strike. The unemployed are joining militantly in the mass picket lines. The combined forces of unemployed and strikers are now organizing gigantic demonstrations to take place in the coming period to demand relief for both unemployed and strikers. These will take on a real mass class character.

It is too early to speak of the mistakes and shortcomings of the strike. But one thing was glaring—the weakness of the Party nuclei in the mine field. This gravely handicapped the development of the struggle. In fact, most of the nuclei became more or less paralyzed at the outset of the strike and have played little or no leading role. This was a great weakness. The District in general however, has been extremely active, throwing every available force into the fight. The same, of course, is true of the C.C. of our Party. Now the strengthening of the Party forces is going ahead systematically—the recruitment of members on a large scale, the setting up of nuclei, the development of the Party's leading role in the coal camps, etc. This situation should emphasize to the Party the supreme necessity of building shop nuclei in key plants in the basic industries in preparation for such struggles.

This strike should definitely place the Party on the map in the coal industry.

It is necessary that all forces of the Party, T.U.U.L., etc., be rallied to win this strike, which is so vital to the building of the revolutionary forces generally. The most urgent phase of this support is strike relief. The miners are actually starving. Broad relief committees must be set up. Intense campaigns of collections of money, food, and clothes, must be started. These must be started quickly as the miners have no reserve. And they must be on a mass basis, as already at least 100,000 people are involved.

It is difficult to forecast the perspective of the strike. The bosses are preparing to try to drive the workers back to work quickly by a combination of terrorism and strike-breaking A. F. of L. agreements. The great task of the union is to defeat these efforts by spreading the strike as widely as possible, by rallying the masses solidly behind their economic demands, by consolidating the strike through broad strike committees and organizing the union, by exposing the strike-breaking role of the government and the U.M. W.A. and by mobilizing the workers to defeat their machinations by a militant strike which must be based upon the mass action of the workers on the picket line, control of the strike by a huge collection of relief, and avoidance of the pitfalls of arbitration through insistence upon direct dealing with the coal operators. How long the strike will last, and just how the settlement will work out, is highly problematical. We may be sure, however, that the strike will mark a decisive point in the development of the revolutionary unions in this country. The National Miners Union must dig in for a hard and bitter struggle to become established.

Faith in the Masses—Organization of the Masses!

NEXT STEP IN PREPARING THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM; WELDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE MASSES THROUGH ORGANIZATION.

By EARL BROWDER

"The theoreticians and leaders of the parties, who know the history of the peoples, who have thoroughly studied the history of the different revolutions from beginning to end, sometimes fall victims of a certain shameful disease. This disease is called 'fear of the masses,' lack of faith in the creative genius of the masses. On this basis there sometimes arises a sort of aristocratic outlook of the leaders in relation to the masses, masses not versed in the history of the revolutions, but which nonetheless are destined to break down the old systems and build up the new. The fear that the elements may break out, that the masses may 'break up much more than is necessary,' the desire to play the part of a nurserymaid attempting to teach the masses from books, but not wishing to learn from the masses—such is the basis of this kind of aristocratic outlook.

"Lenin was the opposite of such leaders... Hence the contemptuous attitude on the part of Lenin to all those who tried to look condescendingly on the masses and teach them from books. Hence the tireless sermon of Lenin: learn from the masses, grasp the meaning of the actions, study minutely the practical experience of the struggle of masses.

"Faith in the creative forces of the masses—constitutes that peculiarity in Lenin's activities which enabled him to grasp the meaning of working-class movements and direct their course into the channels of the proletarian revolution." (Stalin: *On Lenin.*)

FAITH in the masses, expressed in such practical work among the masses that results in the solid organization of masses under the leadership of the Communist Party—that is what the C.P. U.S.A. must achieve if it is to successfully carry out its next tasks in preparation for the proletarian revolution. The above quotation from Stalin contains for our Party that lesson in Leninism which will enable us to grasp that particular link in the chain of life, to which we can cling and, thereby, subsequently pass on to the next link and towards the control of the whole chain.

In November of last year, at the Twelfth Central Committee Plenum, our essential task of the moment was expressed in the slogan from Lenin—"Fewer high-falutin' phrases, more simple every-

day deeds!" This slogan expressed the necessity of our Party to bring its correct program down from the clouds of abstraction, into the terms of everyday life of the masses, into concrete slogans of immediate struggle, leading towards the next higher stage of the class struggle. Our Party set itself the task of a decisive and fundamental turn towards the masses, toward mass work, toward establishing a Bolshevik approach to the masses, toward establishing the Party among the masses as their trusted, recognized practical leader.

The Twelfth Plenum succeeded in leading the overwhelming majority of our Party in this direction. Our membership took its slogan with deep seriousness, began to drastically overhaul its entire daily life, methods of work, and methods of approach to the masses. In the political orientation of the Party the turn has been made. But in practical life it has only begun. We are still burdened with a heavy inheritance from the past, of inertia, of slowness, of old habits, and of *fear of the masses*. This hangs around our necks like a millstone, pulling us down, holding us back, still preventing us from stepping forward boldly to assume our proper historical role at the head of a mighty working class movement, upon the stage which has been fully prepared by the deepest crisis in the history of capitalism.

With the meeting of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Central Committee, in August, our Party enters the period of completing the turn to the masses. The slogan of this Plenum will be: "*Faith in the masses—organization of the masses!*"

POLITICAL OBSTACLES TO MASS WORK

There remain some remnants of the old political obstacles to the development of work among the masses. Chief of these is the conception of the "automatic" development of the crisis of capitalism, and the consequent neglect and underestimation of the role of the Party, as the leader and organizer of the mass struggles of the working class—the *subjective factor* in the development of the crisis. The result is a dragging behind the radicalization of the working class.

Even our Twelfth Plenum, while correctly fighting against the "automatic" theory, and rejecting the idea that the deep economic crisis had already created a political crisis in the United States, seriously weakened this correct fight when it declared the presence of "rapidly maturing elements" of a political crisis entirely upon the basis of the objective conditions, and without reference to the degree of development of the mass struggle of the workers.

This serious political weakness was found to be common to many of the important sections of the Communist International, and the

meeting of our international Executive Committee in March-April (Eleventh Plenum of E.C.C.I.) had as its first task the complete liquidation of these remnants of the past from the life of the Communist Parties. There it was made clear that a "political crisis" of capitalism today in any country can only mean a *revolutionary crisis*: that is, not only must the "upper strata" be unable longer to rule as of old, but also the "lower strata," the toiling masses, must be determined not to live in the old way, and must express this determination in serious mass struggles. This, in turn, presupposes the liquidation of the mass influence of the reformist and social-fascist leadership (A. F. of L., Farmer-Labor Party, and Socialist Party) among the masses, the winning of the masses to the Communist Party.

The Communist Party, and its leadership and organization of the masses for resistance to the capitalist offensive, its development of the counter-offensive against capitalism—this is the decisive factor in the maturing of the revolutionary upsurge of the working class, in the maturing of the revolutionary crisis of capitalism. The degree of success of our mass work in the United States, measures the degree of development of the pre-conditions of the revolutionary crisis. Every weakness, or slowness, in the work of the Communist Party means an extension of life to capitalism, deepening of misery of the working masses, postponement of the revolution. Every step in overcoming our weaknesses, in hastening the tempo of development of mass struggles, in strengthening mass organization and the Communist leadership, shortens the life of capitalism, and shortens the sufferings of the masses, hastens the proletarian revolution.

With such an understanding of the supreme importance of strengthening our Party, and improving its methods of work, must the Party approach the Thirteenth Plenum of the Central Committee, and all its tasks.

HAVE WE BEGUN TO MAKE THE TURN?

Since the Twelfth Plenum (November) the tasks of the Party have multiplied so swiftly, the opportunities for work have grown so widely, that all our weaknesses and shortcomings stand out more sharply than ever before. This has led some very good comrades to seriously question, has the Party even begun to make the turn required at the Twelfth Plenum? It has been declared that "our Party has not yet even seriously started" this turn; that "hardly any change from past practices can be recorded"; that "either the workers are unwilling to fight against starvation, or the Party is incapable to organize and lead such a fight. We do not expect any Party

leader to plead the first cause. We must accept the second as an explanation for the absence of mass struggles."

Such an approach to our problems must be sharply rejected. It contains the deadly poison of pessimism, which will not help, but only prevents, the overcoming of our weakness and the solution of our problems.

The truth is, that we have begun to make the turn. This has only begun, it is far from completion, the utmost emphasis must be given to the hundred-fold greater progress which must be made before we can speak of a higher stage of the class struggle having been reached in the U.S.A. But further progress is only possible upon the basis of *recognizing and extending* what has already been accomplished, and quickening the tempo of our progress.

Proof that we have improved our work among the masses, and begun the process of rooting ourselves there, is contained in the following facts:

1. Our street demonstrations have been transformed from the old almost spontaneous and weakly-organized gatherings (typified by March 6, 1930), into more highly-organized marches and actions. This higher type of struggle is gaining steadily in volume (May Day, 1931, mobilized 600,000 workers, compared with 350,000 last year; national mobilizations in 1931 grew steadily from 200,000 on February 10, to 400,000 on February 25, to 600,000 on May Day).

2. Passing over from street demonstration to higher forms of organized mass actions, in the State hunger marches in 9 States (others being organized), sustained actions over periods of days and even weeks, involving thousands of direct participants and hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in the various cities and towns passed through; reaching scores of hitherto untouched towns, and setting up organizations there; replacing the vague general slogans ("Work or Wages") with concrete demands; raising the political consciousness of the entire working class; beginning of real Unemployment Councils. The social-fascist *Ameringer* sorrowfully testifies:

"Sad to say, it is only the latter (Communists) who so far have shown the courage to accuse capitalism as the main culprit. Only they have shown enough backbone to go out in the open and demand justice for the suffering masses and a change of the social order responsible for their sufferings. Only they had the nerve to butt their heads up against our venal courts, our beastly cops, our thoroly press-poisoned public opinion." (*American Guardian*, May 29.)

3. Upward turn in the organization and leadership of economic struggles, shown in the Lawrence strike, the Western Pennsylvania

coal miners' strike, the stopping of decline in membership of the revolutionary trade unions and beginning of growth in some of the most important of them, the revival of left-wing oppositions in the A. F. of L. unions.

4. The decisive raising of the ideological level of the movement on the Negro question, around the Yokinen trial, and the consequent rousing of a broad mass movement of struggle for Negro rights, under Communist leadership, around the Scottsboro case.

5. Increased effectiveness and volume of printed agitational and propagandist material; improvement of the *Daily Worker* and doubling its circulation; extension of *D. W.* circulation to over 1,800 cities, compared to 1,200 last year; extension of low-priced pamphlet circulation with hundreds of thousands of 5-cent pamphlets, beginning of the 2-cent pamphlet series; growing richness and variety of Party literature.

6. Internal consolidation of the Party, politically and organizationally; we have completely liquidated old factional remnants; we have begun a decisive cleansing of opportunist remnants in the language mass organizations—Halonon and Company in the Finnish movement; Strasdas and Company among the Lithuanians; we have made a serious step in the solution of the problem of cadres, in the 3 months full-time National Training School with 60 pupils, and in the seven district full-time schools with 200 pupils for one month; there has been a distinct raising of the level of activity and political life in the majority of the units although this is still far from satisfactory; we have improved the organization and methods of work of the Central and District leaderships, and to some extent also of the Sections and Units, with establishment of planned work, shock methods, and concentration points.

Besides these main decisive steps forward in our work, we can also record progress of a lesser degree in other fields. It is undeniable that the Unemployed Councils and Branches, in spite of all their weaknesses, are growing in membership and deepening their activity. The Unemployed Council movement has sunk roots among **the masses.**

The Young Communist League, after a long period of crisis and stagnation, can be said definitely to have entered into a period of mass work and forward progress with the successful Youth Day mobilizations on May 30th, in Paterson, Youngstown, Milwaukee, Superior, and Fresno, which centralized a mass movement of thousands of young workers from scores of cities around concrete youth demands and activities. The action of the Youngstown police, in bloodily smashing the Youth demonstration there, has been met by

a great mass protest involving hundreds of thousands of hitherto untouched workers.

We must declare emphatically that we have begun to make the decisive turn to mass work, to work on a truly Bolshevik line. We have proved by our own experience that our policies are correct, that most favorable objective conditions exist, and that the Party itself, to the degree in which it has established the proper relations with the masses, can command all the forces necessary to complete the turn and create an organized mass movement of revolutionary struggle.

FAITH IN OUR PARTY—FAITH IN THE MASSES

Our past and present weaknesses grew and thrived in a soil of our own distrust in the abilities of the Party and fear of the masses. We have largely liquidated the distrust of the Party since the Twelfth Plenum. Our Party now has faith in its abilities. There remains a considerable fear of the masses which must be finally and completely eliminated from the Party's life.

Fear and distrust of the masses is the ground of the main weakness of the Party. These weaknesses, concrete manifestations of the Right Danger, are seen in a continued lagging behind the radicalization of the masses, failure to take advantage of opportunities for work, inadequate struggle against demagoguery and social-fascism (S.P., A. F. of L., Muste group, the renegades), the intolerable slowness of growth of the mass organization, inadequate use of the united front from below, extremely slow growth of the Party membership. Above all must be emphasized the slow development of factory work, of penetration of the large shops and key industries especially, with united front organizations, trade union groups, and Party nuclei.

These weaknesses can be overcome only by full, frank, and detailed self-criticism of the sharpest character. With full faith in the ability and soundness of our Party, with the conscious overcoming of all tendencies to fear or distrust the masses, we must proceed to develop self-criticism to a higher stage than hitherto, as the main weapon of Bolshevik leadership of the Party and of the masses.

SELF-CRITICISM AND METHODS OF WORK

Self-criticism consists of examining our work, separating the good from the bad, the effective from the non-effective, learning from the masses and measuring our work by response of the masses, strengthening those policies, methods of work and tactics, which entrench us deeper among the masses and build up our organizations, combatting and eliminating all those factors which hold us back,

which separate us from the masses, which weaken our organizations. Self-criticism is that particular method of work, by which we improve all methods of work; it is that policy by which we check up on all our policies.

We still have among us a few comrades who think self-criticism consists in the Central Committee scolding the Districts, and the Districts scolding the membership—or the other way about—with the entire Party scolding the masses for their “backwardness.”

All tendencies toward the “scolding” or “whining” type of self-criticism are as harmful (or futile) as the idealistic philosophy of the petty-bourgeoisie from which they spring. They have no more relation to Bolshevism than has religion or “ethical culture.” Especially is such an attitude harmful when it is directed by Party leaders towards the membership, or by Communists generally towards the masses. It separates the leadership from the Party, and the Party from the masses. With such methods it is impossible to build a Bolshevik Party or to win the masses.

Stalin has described how Lenin “believed so passionately in the creative forces of the proletariat,” how his constant slogan was “learn from the masses,” as the only road to the winning of the masses. He also tells us how Lenin built the leadership of the Bolshevik Party in struggle against “whining” and scolding. At the 1906 Congress, when the Bolsheviks were in a minority within the Social-Democratic Party as we are today a minority within the working class, Stalin relates:

“I remember how we, Bolshevik delegates, clustering around Lenin, looked up to him, asking his advice. The speeches of some of the delegates evinced weariness, despondency. I remember how Lenin in reply to such speeches muttered through his teeth sarcastically: ‘Don’t whimper, comrades, we are certain to win, for we are in the right.’ Hatred of whimpering intellectuals, faith in our own forces, faith in victory—such were then the topics dealt with by Lenin in his conversations with us.” (Stalin: *On Lenin*.)

Such is the spirit with which we must take up the weapon of self-criticism in the Thirteenth Plenum of the Central Committee in the struggle against our own weaknesses and mistakes, which are the main obstacle in winning the masses. No whining, no scolding—and also no boasting of our “world-shaking achievements”—but a relentless, Bolshevik winnowing of the harvest of our experiences in the United States, separating the wheat from the chaff.

STRENGTHEN THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL-DEMAGOGY

The weakest link in our mass work, politically, is found in the inadequate exposure and fight against the demagoguery of “progress-

sive" capitalist politicians, of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, of the Socialist Party and its "Muste" wing, and their little brothers, the renegades from Communism.

Take, as outstanding example, our struggle against unemployment, for relief and social insurance. On March 6, 1930, we were able to mobilize a million and a quarter workers on the streets, because we had no competition on this issue, we had a monopoly, all other political parties and groups were either silent or denied the existence of unemployment. But after the upheaval of March 6 had shaken the bourgeoisie from its complacency, we had a different story. A hundred varieties of capitalist demagogues appeared, with a hundred varieties of "relief," from the bread lines of Mayor "Jimmy" Walker in New York and Scarface Al Capone in Chicago, to the more dignified though less tangible "study of unemployment insurance" of Governor Roosevelt, leader of the Democratic Party. The S.P., the A. F. of L., and the renegades, took up their parts in the chorus. The largest part of our great mass movement dissolved under our eyes. Because we had not organized this movement, because it had not been disillusioned of the demagogues by experience, we could not hold it solidly. We registered a sharply declining mass mobilization throughout 1930 until after our Twelfth Plenum. From 1,250,000 on March 6, we dropped to 350,000 on May Day, to 200,000 on August 1st, anti-War Day, and to 100,000 on Labor Day in September.

This decline in the mass movement in 1930, was a *tribute to the effectiveness of social-demagogy and a signal of intolerable weakness, political and organizational, in our struggle against it.*

In November we took the first decisive steps to remedy this weakness. We reorientated the entire Party on the struggle for concrete partial demands, and crystallized plans for the higher organizational forms of struggle in the State and city hunger marches; we gave a concrete immediate goal and culminating point to the signature drive for the Workers' Unemployment Bill by the workers' delegation to Congress and national demonstrations on February 10. Around these tactics and organizational measures we were able to expose the demagogy of the politicians of all stripes, and begin the process of winning to our leadership *in the process of struggle against demagogy* those masses who on March 6 were with us only because the demagogues had not yet entered the field.

Thus we are now building the movement on a more solid basis. The masses are being disillusioned of the demagogues, by participating in or witnessing the actual struggles undertaken on their behalf under the leadership of the Communist Party.

This is the basic, primary form of the struggle against demagogy

and against social-fascism. Upon this basis we develop our agitational and propagandistic work among the masses, explaining patiently and in detail the meaning of Mayor Murphy's fakery in Detroit, the vicious attack upon living standards of all the workers contained in the "Pittsburgh Plan," which are the outstanding examples of the application of the Hoover "stagger plan" for the whole United States.

We have accomplished just enough along this line to prove the correctness of our policy, to prove its *effectiveness when it is energetically applied*. But the outstanding feature of our work has been this, that in the overwhelming majority of cities, and at most times, *it has been applied very weakly or not at all*. The Party as a whole, and our sympathizers, have not yet become skilled in this tactic and in these methods of work. We work clumsily and slowly. When we consider the enormous possibilities before us, we must say that we are lagging behind in an intolerable fashion. In our largest mobilization this year, we still had less than half as many workers on the streets as we had on March 6 of last year.

In this situation there is not the slightest ground for self-satisfaction or relaxation of our efforts. Only the sharpest self-criticism and driving toward more energetic, planned, and stubborn work among the masses, can close the gap that still exists between our possibilities and our achievements. The struggle against demagoguery and social-fascism remains one of our weakest points in the fight for the majority of the working class.

AGAINST RIGHT AND "LEFT" DEVIATIONS

Such progress as we have made on the correct road to the masses, has been only by overcoming deviations, both right and "left," along the way. The lessons of this struggle must become a part of the experience of the entire Party, to permanently arm it against such dangers in the future. The main efforts of our daily work are in overcoming the right danger—passivity and lack of faith in Party and masses.

One of these deviations appeared, when the fascists and social-fascists of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, raised the slogan for the Hoover "stagger plan" under the disguise of "achieving the shorter work-day," calling for a division of work through the 5-hour or 6-hour day with the 5-day week. Some of our comrades wanted us to compete with the demagogues, by adopting the 6-hour day, 5-day week slogan, as the means of fighting against the demagoguery and exposing it as part of the Hoover "stagger plan." These comrades thought that our correct slogan of 7-hour day without reduction in pay, was causing us to "drag behind the movement," and

that "we are not leading the shorter-hour movement, but are actually opposing it." This was a tactic of substituting slogans for struggles, instead of using slogans to develop struggles. That we should have had hesitation in this issue, in the leadership of the Party, and some weaknesses by the entire Political Bureau, shows us the necessity of extreme vigilance in developing the struggle against demagoguery and social-fascism, and in constantly educating the entire Party in the issues of this struggle.

Deviations of this nature, sometimes appearing to be "left" of the correct course, are always actually a capitulation to opportunism.

"Left" deviations also appeared in the fight for unemployment relief, in attempts to stimulate artificially the struggle for food, by direct seizure, on the part of comparatively small sections of the working class. The Political Bureau had failed to guard against such a deviation in time, by failing to develop a realistic program by which the starving unemployed in the Unemployed Councils could secure the necessary food, and using this as a means of leading to higher forms of struggle; only in February this year was such a program worked out and applied, and before its effects could be felt in the daily life of the Councils all over the country, we were already faced with some menacing "leftist" symptoms. The Politbureau scotched them in time to prevent serious damage, but the only guarantee against their reappearance at some future time lies in a thorough understanding by the Party of the nature of these mistakes. They were a shrinking back from the difficult and arduous efforts of organization and protracted struggle which are necessary to bring the majority of the working class into the revolutionary battle in which they will seize what they need from the capitalists. They were an effort to substitute an idealistic, "heroic" action to "inspire" the masses, in the place of the necessary Bolshevist organization and leadership of the masses and their education through partial struggles.

An open right-wing opportunist deviation has developed in many cities, in the degeneration of the Unemployed Council work into a mere solicitation of food for the starving. This is dragging behind the most miserable bourgeois charity policy. Our fight for immediate relief, for food for the starving, must at all stages lead to and prepare actual struggles, rousing all workers in contact with it against the capitalists, against the government, and against the "socialist" fakers. At the same time we must resolutely overcome the "leftist" contempt for "mere questions of food." The masses are actually starving and our Councils must secure food.

Only by resolute struggle against both the right and "left" deviations within our movement, by a clear-cut and stubborn hammering

upon our proven correct line, will it be possible to fight successfully against the demagogy of the fascists and social-fascists.

The struggle against demagogy must become more concrete, more systematic, more persistent, and be carried on with tenfold energy.

TRADE UNIONS AND ECONOMIC STRUGGLE—OUR WEAKEST FRONT

With the onset of the economic crisis in 1929, our revolutionary trade union organizations also entered a crisis of their own. They were in the first stages of learning the theory and practice of independent leadership of the economic struggles of the workers, and still heavily burdened with relics of the past period of "legal oppositions" (more or less "legal") within the reformist unions. On top of the handicap of incomplete political and theoretical development, and poor understanding of modern methods of mass work, came the additional difficulties produced by the economic crisis, mass unemployment, etc. Our revolutionary trade union organizations went into a sharp decline, which has only been halted since the Plenum of November, 1930. Our trade union work still remains the weakest sector of the class-struggle front in the U.S.A.

During the crisis in our trade union work, some dangerous theories appeared among a section of our members. Chief among these was the theory, adopted from the opportunist renegades, that economic struggles develop only in periods of prosperity, but in periods of economic crisis the workers turn only to "political struggles." This theory led to the acceptance of the decline of the trade union work, as a natural and inevitable phenomenon, to retreat from the tasks of independent leadership, and thereby would have prevented anything effective being done to rehabilitate the revolutionary trade union movement.

These comrades, victims of the opportunist theory, failed to see that while difficulties are multiplied for trade union struggles during the economic crisis, *the necessity for such struggles is multiplied even more*. Therefore, such strike struggles, while slowed up in the first period of the crisis (1930 was the lowest point in the strike movement since the world war), will inevitably break out on a mass scale, and take on unprecedented sharpness and volume with the further deepening of the crisis. The necessity arises of tenfold more serious and concentrated work on the trade union field, which occupies an even more important place than before, and a more thorough discarding of obsolete methods of work.

Outstanding weaknesses in all trade union work have been and are: (a) Weakness in bringing forth concrete slogans, immediate demands, for which the workers are ready to fight now, use of abstract and artificial demands; (b) Slowness in establishing inde-

pendent organs of leadership of struggles combining the masses with the revolutionary union leadership; (c) Inadequate preparation, conduct, and conclusion of struggles; (d) Failure to build the unions in the midst of struggles, and general looseness of organizational methods; (e) Weakness in leading the struggles to a higher plane, by skillful development of political demands and slogans arising directly out of the economic struggles; (f) Failure to remain in the field after the struggle is over, and consolidate our gains, in preparation for new and greater battles.

Our Party has already examined in detail several strikes which exhibited these weaknesses in an exaggerated form; notably, the Illinois coal miners strike of December, 1929, and the Philadelphia longshoremen's movement of the summer of 1930. It is not necessary to repeat the details of our analysis of these battles. We must emphasize, however, that only the beginning has been made in overcoming the weaknesses there disclosed. Such weaknesses remain the chief characteristic of our trade union work in a greater or lesser degree.

We have a few examples of progress in overcoming these weaknesses. Such an example is the Lawrence textile workers' strike. Here we were on the ground in advance, conducted planned work of preparation, gained a foothold of organization of several hundreds of workers in the factories, foresaw the struggle and correctly formulated the demands for it in consultation with the workers involved, called the strike at the proper time, organized a strike committee representing some of the various departments and mills involved, gained a partial victory with the concession of the principal demands by the bosses, and concluded the strike in an orderly fashion when it was clear that no further gains could be made at the moment. A small measure of organizational success was secured.

But even here, we must still emphasize the weak points; inadequate concentration of forces in preparation for the strike, incompleteness of representation in the strike committee, lack of sufficient mobilization in support of the strike, and intolerably small organizational gains during and after the struggle. There was a woeful weakness in combatting the demagoguery of the bosses' agents, and the fascist elements, and in the development of the political issues arising from the strike. Above all, there was the relapse in the follow-up work after the strike was over, which has characterized almost all our work on the trade union field.

The coal miners' strike in the Pittsburgh district, just under way as this is being written, gives promise of registering a further advance in effective methods of struggle. Here we have formulated concretely the demands for wage increases, check-weighmen, etc.,

for which the mass of miners are ready to conduct a stubborn struggle, and unified them all under the popular slogan of "Strike against starvation," a slogan embodying the really desperate situation of these miners. From the first moment our National Miners Union has been in the field with preparatory organizational work, and has crystallized a complete system of strike committees, from the local unions to sections, from sections to general district strike committee, all elected by the masses of strikers, and is actually developing these committees as functioning organs, has drawn Negroes and women directly into the struggle and leadership; has mobilized militant mass picketing by all the workers involved; has promptly prepared and executed the plans for calling, extending, and consolidating the forces of the strike; has begun energetic enrollment into the Union and the formation of local unions; has launched immediately a comprehensive campaign for relief, and for unity of employed and unemployed workers; has combatted effectively in the first stages the demagoguery of the fascists and social-fascists; and has registered a continuous advance, day by day, in the first two weeks of the strike.

The Pittsburgh strike is only begun. Undoubtedly we will find many faults and weaknesses as it progresses and in its conclusion, no matter what its degree of success. So far it stands as the best model we have from our own experience, of how a strike should be prepared, organized, and conducted. Insofar as our other experiences fall behind this, they represent retrogression, failure to live up to our proven best abilities.

We must constantly apply stricter tests, to every new experience in the field of economic struggles. We must set ourselves ever higher standards of achievement, and wield the weapon of self-criticism mercilessly, search out every weakness and defeat it.

STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

In spite of some partial advances in the anti-war work of our Party, this remains one of our weak points. An inner-political reason for this weakness lies in the remnants of a petty-bourgeois skeptical attitude regarding the war danger, the idea that the war danger is real only after the moment the guns begin to boom. This is capitulation before the pacifist barrage of the warmakers. There also remains an underestimation of the role of American imperialism in the preparation for intervention against the Soviet Union; this tendency sees the military enemies of the Soviet Union in every imperialist country except our own, it thinks we are "exaggerating" when we point out that Washington is step by step moving forward to the hegemony of the anti-Soviet war front. And above all, there

is the almost complete neglect of the vitally necessary work of penetration of the armed forces with the message of workingclass solidarity and directives for effective organizational measures to root the anti-militarist movement in the very heart of militarism.

In the anti-war campaign now beginning which culminates on the International Day of Struggle on August First, we must make decisive steps towards overcoming these weaknesses. August First must be a mass-mobilization against war, far surpassing anything we have hitherto done on this field. Our Central Committee Plenum must mercilessly examine this campaign to search out and expose all the weak spots in it, as the necessary step toward strengthening the future work.

Especially must we learn to make more effective use of the deepening contrast between the magnificent achievements of the workers in the Soviet Union, on the one hand, with the catastrophic misery of the workers in the capitalist countries, on the other hand. This is the mightiest weapon for winning the masses.

PLANNED WORK AND DETAILED WORK

Our concentration upon the detailed carrying through of practical work, in the development of mass struggles for immediate demands, must be carried forward under a planned system which is periodically reviewed and revised. We must have a constant checking up on the results achieved under the plans.

Since the Twelfth Plenum of the Central Committee, considerable progress has been made upon this line.

Now this must be extended and deepened. Every unit of the Party must set itself more serious tasks, which must be more intimately woven into the section, district, and national plans of work. Control of carrying through the plans to 100 per cent completion must be more strict. Reporting must be more thorough.

On a national scale we must also begin to forecast our broader plans for deepening and widening the proletarian class struggle, with a longer perspective.

Concretely, we must make use of August First International Anti-War Day and the coming election campaigns as concentration points for all the partial economic struggles, the struggle for unemployment insurance and relief, for protection of the foreign-born, for Negro rights, against the growing police terror, etc. Using the election campaign to bring together all issues of the workers' lives, we must throw all the forces available in a great, organized mass protest against capitalist starvation, rousing the masses and involving them in struggle.

After the election campaign must be a great mobilization to present the workers' demands to Congress, which opens early in December. Perhaps the time will be ripe for a well-organized, mass hunger march from all over the United States to Washington, to demand Unemployment Insurance, and relief; and express the workers' fighting determination to struggle against wage cuts, speed-up, and political reaction. Such a march should reach and rouse to action the workers in every industrial town in America.

All the innumerable struggles of the coming year, must already be viewed as the preliminary campaign to the opening of the National elections in 1932. In the 1932 national election campaign, our Party must really mobilize masses and consolidate itself as leader of the working class, on a platform of revolutionary solution of the problems of the crisis.

We must set ourselves some definite goals in this respect. The following are some tentative proposals in this direction:

1. Double the Party's active membership in the coming six months, in the process of building up mass trade unions of 100,000 members, and mass Unemployed Councils.

2. Reach 5,000,000 workers in election campaign meetings in 1932, and double that number with election leaflets, with factory meetings, and house-to-house visits.

3. Drive for one million Communist votes in the elections, and in the course of the campaign to build the Party to 80,000 members.

Such goals for the year 1932 will be, of course, only illusions without the most serious advances during the remainder of 1931. They are proposed only as orientation points of how we should measure the possibilities which exist for us, provided we make use of every force that we have, every week, every day, every hour, from now on.

It is possible for our movement to make tremendous strides forward if we can understand the possibilities, push boldly forward in organizing the struggles of the masses, make use of all our accumulating experience, enlist tens of thousands of workers in the fight, with every worker giving constant attention to detailed work among the masses, building our organizations, according to bold and realistic plans of work.

Faith in the masses! Organization of the masses! For the revolutionary struggle against capitalist starvation! We will rally the revolutionary vanguard of the American working class to a new advance, to a higher stage of the class struggle, under these slogans.

Some Experiences in Mass Work

By BILL GEBERT

OUR Party is making a turn from being a Party of agitation and propaganda into a Party of organizing and directing mass struggles of the workers. Our Party has led strikes, unemployed demonstrations, struggles for the defense of the Negro masses and foreign-born. On May Day we led 600,000 workers on the streets in more than 130 demonstrations.

In the field of unemployed work our Party can record some definite achievements, forcing city governments to pay relief. For instance, in New York City, as a result of our demonstrations, the city was forced to appropriate \$1,000,000 for unemployed relief. In other cities we are responsible, directly or indirectly, for the help given by government to the unemployed workers. In Hammond, Ind., the capitalist press openly admits that because of the pressure of the Communists, forced labor was discontinued and those who receive relief are not forced to work for it for the city. In Chicago, many hundreds of starving working-class families receive relief thanks to the activities of the branches of the unemployed. Many eviction cases have been stopped. In Indianapolis, the struggle against evictions became so powerful for a while that the capitalist government did not dare to evict unemployed workers. Dozens of such examples of our work could be cited. These are only small fractions of what actually could be done in the field of unemployed work and demonstrates to us that the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, can actually force the boss class and the bosses' government to give relief. The Social Insurance Bill can be forced on the boss class under our leadership only by developing mass movement of the employed and unemployed workers.

In this period, the Party has learned that it can stabilize itself, build and grow only in mass activity and mass struggles. We cannot build the Party only by propaganda and agitation, and actually, our Party can be built as a mass bolshevik Party in the mass struggles of the workers.

The decisive sections of the working class are in the factories. Here is where they are exploited by the bosses. Here is where the grievances of the workers are accumulated. Here is where the workers, hundreds thousands and tens of thousands concentrated under capitalist production in one factory have common aims, common

grievances, and common tasks. The crisis hit the factory workers severely. Wages have been cut, working conditions worsened,—speed, up, increase in lay-offs, stagger system. All this accumulates tremendous discontent among the masses of workers and develops revolutionary energy.

We notice numerous spontaneous strikes which are taking place in the Chicago district. In a period of two months we have had a number of small strikes. In Collinsville, Ill., a strike of 600 dressmakers against a wage-cut; a strike in Mishewauka, Ind., of 2,400 rubber workers against a wage-cut; a number of strikes of coal miners in Illinois against wage-cuts and unemployment, lay-offs, as in the case of striking miners in Johnson City where they struck against the shut-down of the mine and attempt to spread the strike to the other mines of the same company (Old Ben Corporation). In Rockford, Ill., a number of strikes have broken out in departments and factories. Other strikes have taken place in Indianapolis, Cudahy, Waukegan, etc. But not a single of these strikes have been organized or prepared by our Party or revolutionary unions. All the strikes have been spontaneous reactions of the workers against further onslaught of the bosses on their conditions.

In all of these strikes our Party participated in one form or another after they had been declared. In some cases the workers looked upon us with suspicion. In Rockford, for instance, in the lock factory, when the workers struck, we came there. They greeted us with quite a bit of hostility. This was broken down only by the proper approach of the comrades towards the strikers. They picketed the factory together with them, helped them to form the picket lines and slowly began to win the confidence of the strikers and our participation in the strike helped the strikers to secure partial victory. In Collinsville, Ill., we issued a leaflet formulating the demands of the workers. The day the workers struck, our organizers were arrested and thrown into the jails. The strike was left the first day without leadership. This was taken advantage of by the mayor of the town and the I.L.G.W.U. fakers who took the control of the strike in an attempt to break it and sell it. In other cases we have had similar experiences.

All this shows us clearly one thing: that our Party and the T.U. U.L. organizationally were not prepared to take full advantage of the strikes and to give leadership and guidance to the workers in the factories. We already are able to give some leadership and

NOTE: This article was written before the outbreak of the present coal strike.—ED.

guidance to the struggles of unemployed workers. We are capable of organizing street demonstrations but, as yet, we did not demonstrate our best abilities to lead the workers in their economic struggles. This disparity, this gap must be closed. Our Party is the Party of the whole working class, but we have not established ourselves in the factories. Here is the concrete picture in the city of Chicago. We have 720 members in the city of Chicago, organized in 40 units. All of these units are street units with the exception of six, which are supposed to be shop units. But as far as the workers in the factory are concerned, we are not seriously undertaking to carry on *even agitational* work among them.

The existing six shop nuclei are stagnating, they do not increase in their numbers, but on the contrary, there is a decrease in the number of members in the shop units as a result of lay-offs and occasional firing of Party members because of activity in the shop. Probably with the exception of only two units, where a little work is carried on inside the shop, all the other four units do not carry on any activity whatsoever inside the factory. The shop units do issue shop bulletins. The content of the bulletins are not the best and, what is worse, the bulletins are not a result of the work of all the members of the units, but, in most cases, of one Party member who is more energetic in giving information to Section Committees and District Agitprop Department with whose help these papers are gotten out. The papers are mostly sold or distributed outside the factory and very few copies are taken inside by our members or connections. Just because of this, the units do not grow. The workers in the factory do not know, do not feel the presence of our Party units. They do not take up the grievances of the workers, they do not develop any struggles and if any struggles would develop in such factory, we can very safely say that the struggle would be developed outside of our present units in these factories.

We have experiences how our units act in case these struggles develop. For instance, in a strike of the Cooperative Society in Waukegan, controlled by the renegade Halonen, our Party unit, during the strike, did not meet for two weeks just because they were "too busy" with the strike. In Whiting, Ind., in a strike situation of the workers in the Sinclair Oil Company, when a wage-cut of 10% and 15% had been announced, the meeting of the unit was called only by the instruction of the District Committee (and with a representative of the District Committee) to take up the problems of the strike. In Collinsville, during the strike, a unit of the Party was organized, but the unit was not an active force in the strike. These few experiences are demonstrating very

clearly to us that our work in the shops is not taken seriously by the Party leadership, that it is not organized systematically to carry it out.

There is a tendency to put the blame for this situation on the membership. This tendency is wrong and must be combatted and rooted out. The membership demonstrated its willingness and ability to carry on work when they were assisted and shown how this work was to be carried out. Our membership showed its ability and initiative in the street demonstrations, in the Scottsboro campaign in Chicago, etc. When the membership can be mobilized for this work, they can be mobilized to work inside of the factory. But despite numerous resolutions that the shop work is the main and most important task of the Party, this only remains on paper. Leading comrades who have been assigned to the shop units acted more as advisors to the units, telling them what to do and did not work and do not work with the unit every day and work out the tasks together with the comrades in the shop. Nor have the street units, which were assigned to help the shop units, helped to coordinate their work. Whatever work was done inside the shops was rather a result of the initiative of the individual comrades belonging to the shop unit.

In the city of Chicago there are 11,000 factories, shops, and establishments in which workers are employed. Naturally, we do not have connections in all of them. But about 60% of our members are working in shops, and up till now we did not pay attention to develop the work by individual comrades. The comrades, also, do not feel the necessity and importance of carrying work individually in the shop. In cases where individual Party members carry on the work inside of the shop, some results have been accomplished. In one of the factories, one Party member, a foreign-born worker, unable to speak English well, was responsible for organizing a group of seven workers who joined the T.U.U.L. In other cases comrades also reported some progress. In one of the largest industries of Chicago, in the stockyards, because of a little more organizational attention to the work, the result has been that we have already five Party members and the possibility of establishing a factory branch of the Food Workers Industrial League, and proceeding to carry on work. How was this done? In a neighborhood we found that in one organization sympathetic to the Party, there are six workers who are working in the stockyards. We visited them and through them were able to establish contact with a large number of workers. These methods demonstrated in the stockyards can be applied practically in all the cases. In addition to 720 Party members in Chicago, we have at least, 20,000 sympathetic workers in the mass

organizations, which are close to the Party. Workers in these organizations work in the shops. We went to these organizations with all our campaigns: May-Day, Anti-War, Protection of Foreign-Born, Scottsboro, etc., and we were able to mobilize the members of these organizations to participate in our street demonstrations, to donate money to the Party, Daily Worker, etc. They respond to all our calls, but we never approached them to help us build the Party and factory branches in the leagues and unions of the T.U.U.L. This presents itself as a problem of how to involve non-Party workers in work in general and in the factories in particular. There is also a tendency in our District on the part of some functionaries who do not have sufficient confidence and faith in non-Party masses to involve them in the work, and especially no confidence in native American workers. This resistance to drawing in non-Party masses into work must be smashed completely if our Party is to make further progress in the work. We must state that the Party today is better prepared to undertake seriously the problem of developing shop work than before. The ideological turn has been made in this respect. What is necessary for the leadership is to understand how to take advantage of the opportunities presenting themselves and to make a turn "in order that the whole system of Party leadership be directed to the factory." This is one of the main tasks confronting the Party in District 8, and, as yet, the Party leadership in District 8 has not "directed its main attention to the factory."

The building of shop units is also connected very much with the membership drive of our Party. Practically all the factory and shop units will have to be established with the new members and that means that our methods of recruiting members must be changed. We should not follow the line of least resistance, by recruiting members only from a narrow circle of workers in the language organizations, but reach further—to the native American element in the shop. To do this, in addition to developing work and struggles in the factories, utilizing every connection at our disposal, we must intensify our struggle inside the American Federation of Labor. There is still about a quarter of a million workers belonging to the A. F. of L. in Chicago, and without developing struggles against the social-fascist and fascist leadership of the A. F. of L., without the concrete exposure of their betrayal of the workers, without systematic work of building revolutionary opposition inside of the local unions of the A. F. of L., we will not be successful in carrying the work in the shops. The work of building shop units, and shop committees through developing struggles, must be connected with the struggles inside the American Federation of Labor on concrete

issues and problems confronting the working class and building of leagues and unions of the T.U.U.L.

In the period of the last few months we can record some improvement in our agitation. Our leaflets to the workers have been improved in their content. They are much more concrete and dealing with the problems of the workers. However, there is not sufficient ability, or in many cases, no ability at all, to link up the immediate demands of the working class with our ultimate aims. On May 1, a large number of workers came from the factories to our demonstration, as a result of some 15 shop leaflets and six shop papers issued directly to the workers in the different shops and as a result of our general propaganda. But they did not come in organized manner, they came individually. In connection with the problem of winning the workers for our movement, we must overcome some obstacles and difficulties presenting themselves in the work in the shops. The spy system is well developed in the factories, police terror is known, and many workers, who are ideologically ready to join the Party, are afraid to come in for fear of losing their job, for fear of spies and stool pigeons. We must show to the workers that we will take measures that they shall not be victimized as a result of their membership in the Communist Party. Surely, there will be some victims, but these victims must be as few as possible and made not as a result of our inability to cope with the situation. Having meetings of small groups where each worker knows the other well, helps materially in solving this problem.

In the Chicago District we are taking first steps toward a turn from our present status of a Party primarily of street units into a Party whose organization is in the factories. The whole Party membership must earnestly undertake this task and by doing it we must understand one main thing, that our Party in the shops can be built as a result of carrying on mass campaigns and struggles, and raising such demands and political slogans that will involve broad masses of workers in these campaigns. Building shop units is the real foundation in the shops for the leagues and unions of the Trade Union Unity League. Around Party members and Party units in the shops we must build factory branches of the T.U.U.L., and broaden it out, involving other workers by establishing grievance committees. The establishment of shop nuclei will accelerate the building of the T.U.U.L., but the formation of grievance committees and T.U.U.L. groups must not be delayed until we have shop nuclei. But we must understand that the revolutionary unions can be built and developed only under the leadership of our Party, involving broad masses of non-Party workers.

Planned Work, Concretization and Practical Activity

By JACK JOHNSTONE

ON every side one hears the question: Why doesn't our Party grow? While this places the question squarely before us, it is not placing the situation in the proper light. The fact is, we are growing, politically and organizationally, but we are certainly not growing in proportion with the opportunities for growth and, of course, there must be a reason for it. We see a great increase in strike struggles. Already 1931 has seen more strikes than the whole year of 1930—militant strikes: Harlan, Kentucky, where the miners are in armed battle with the company guards and state troops; 3,000 silk workers strike in Allentown, Pa.; 2,500 rubber workers strike in Mishawaka, Indiana; strikes among steel workers, among longshoremen, needle workers, building trades, and so on to an ever-greater extent represent the counter-offensive of the workers against wage cuts taking place; so much so, that the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, sensing the situation, are beginning to indulge in strike talk in order to be more able to lead these strikers to defeat.

While the organizational growth of our Party and of the T.U.U.L. is very small, I am of the opinion that we are moving in the proper direction and that we are entering a period of decisive growth, growth of the Party and of the revolutionary unions, growth of united-front forms of strike struggles and growth of the sentiment against imperialist war and for defense of the Soviet Union. We must not underestimate the tremendous friendly influence that the admitted success of the Soviet 5-Year Plan has upon the American workers. America, the "land of the immigrant," is now sending immigrants to the Soviet Union. But there are many weaknesses in our work that must quickly be overcome in order to be able to take full advantage of the favorable objective conditions. Among the main weaknesses are the lack of understanding how to plan work, how to apply our general policy on concrete situations, and how to put a plan into practise.

Take for example the building of Unemployed Branches, the T.U.U.L., or the building of shop nuclei, or of grievance commit-

NOTE: This article was written before the outbreak of the present coal strike.—Ed.

tees in the factory, on a united front basis, based upon the partial demands of the workers, as a step in the direction of a shop committee. Does the entire Party work as a united whole carry out this much-needed organizational task? We do not. It is true that we all agree that it must be done, but we proceed to do it without a plan. Oh, yes, we have a three-months' plan, and we had a six-months' plan before that, but I believe a mere glance will convince us that we do not yet know how to plan work, especially in the factory, and among the unemployed, and we must remember that this is the basis for our planned work.

Take factory work: how many Unit Bureaus work out a plan of work for their members in the factories where they work? Not many, if any at all. How many Unit Bureaus work out a plan of work for the members in the buildings where they live? Not many, if any at all. Does the Section Committee or District Bureau take these important questions up? I doubt it. I know we have just begun to do so in New York. How can we seriously consider work in the factory when our Party members working in a factory are not considered factory contacts and, in most instances, not even members of a Union or League? How can we seriously consider our weaknesses in Tenants League work when every Party member, who has enough to pay rent, is not considered a potential organizer of a House Committee? How can we seriously consider the organizing of the unemployed when our unemployed Party members do not belong to an Unemployed Branch?

I am not arguing now against working at our factory concentration points, but concentration and Communist activity begins in the factory where we work and in the building where we live and this experience will teach us how to concentrate on factories where we have not yet established contacts. When we learn and begin this work, the growth of the Party, the unions and leagues will be fast. Then the whole strength of our Party will be used to build the factory organization, and our Party will be established on a factory nuclei instead of a street nuclei basis.

Inside factory work is more dangerous than general activities and much more difficult. But it is the only effective way to build our Party on a Bolshevik structure. The distribution of a leaflet inside a factory has a much greater effect upon the workers than when it is distributed in the street. Naturally ways and means must be developed so as not to expose our comrades. Personal acquaintance of our comrades with other workers should be developed—conversation conducted on the conditions in the factory and on the housing conditions, approach made to the workers on the elementary problems of life and definite contacts established, home visiting con-

ducted for the purpose of cementing a group, and finally a group should be organized, either by the comrade himself, or in conjunction with the union, the league or the unit.

Of course, there are a great many difficulties to overcome, but if we really mean to root our Party in the factories, to set up grievance committees, as a means of developing strikes, then the first factory to be given attention is the factory in which the comrade is working. The same holds true of Tenants Leagues, and neighborhood Unemployed Branches. But what are we doing? Let me draw a picture of a street unit of 20 members, a typical unit, doing work at the point of concentration. Fifteen members of the unit are working in different factories and five are unemployed. In the factory of concentration there are no Party members or contacts. The Unit Bureau assigns the comrades to sell *Daily Workers* at the factory gate, other comrades are assigned to be chairman and speakers, to sell literature, etc., at the gate meetings twice each week; others are assigned for special leaflet distribution in the morning or the evening. The members of the unit work hard and very little time is allowed for study or recreation. After months of concentration, the results generally are, a few more *Daily Workers* sold, more leaflets have been issued than before, more meetings were held, the unit is more active, the workers are interested, but no organizational results have been attained.

What is wrong here? Many things. Some of them the units will have to discover for themselves, for example, something is wrong with the approach to the workers, with the methods used to make contacts, with the visiting and following up of contacts, etc. However, I wish, in this article, to take up a few other points that I think are basically wrong and which have much to do with the general wrong tactical approach to concentration work.

First, the majority of our Party members are not active in the factory where they work, they are not active in any union or league, or Unemployed Branch, their work is done with other Party members, their acquaintance becomes narrowed down to Party members, they become isolated from the masses, and begin to even forget how to use the simple language of the workers, and get into the habit of talking to, instead of with, workers and as a worker. This is what must be overcome immediately in order that our Party will take full advantage of the favorable objective conditions. In order to overcome this, it is necessary that Section Committees and Unit Bureaus take up seriously the working out of plans of activities for the unit members in the factory where they work and the systematic checking up of this work, and the best place to start is with the members of the Section Committee and of

the Unit Bureau. That is, what work does the Section organizer and the members of the Section Committee and Unit Bureaus do in the factory where they work? If unemployed, what Branch are they a member of and what do they do to build the Unemployed Branches? What union or league do they belong to? Do they attend any meetings and help in the work? When this has been worked out and begun to be put into practice and a systematic check-up made, then the drawing of the Party members as a whole into factory mass work will become a reality and not as it is now, still a talking point.

The difficulty in carrying on inside factory activity is the fact that our Party is still based on street nuclei. What does this mean? Take a typical unit. We have a street nuclei in the Bronx of 25 members—all of them working in different factories or unemployed. The factories are located in territories of other sections of the Party. These sections have neither contact with or knowledge of what work, if any, these comrades are doing in the factory where they work. Neither does their unit, who in assigning them work in the territory in which they live, show any interest in any work which they may do or should do in the factory, building or territory where they work. The result is, they generally do nothing during working hours, rush home at night to carry out the work of the street nucleus; they hold aloof from the workers in their own factory, have no time for union or league work, become detached from the workers, and the work carried out by their own unit suffers, thus weakening the entire Party and with it the struggles of the workers.

As in factory work, so it is with work among the unemployed. A glaring example of this inconsistency between policy and application of policy was shown by two units whose joint concentration work was the building of the down town Unemployed Branch. Here the work of the units consisted of assigning comrades who were already members of the Unemployed Branch, in fact, who had come into the Party through the Unemployed Branch, to continue the work there! Other older comrades were assigned to visit the Unemployed Branch meetings and they told the workers what to do and how to do it, but were always too busy to do any of the work themselves. Why? Was this a deliberate shirking of Communist tasks? By no means. This, our Party or members cannot be charged with. The trouble was that the units had assigned these comrades to do unemployed work for the units but not as actual members of the Unemployed Branch. So, actually we had three concentration points; two for the two Party Units and one for the Unemployed Branch, all in the same territory, with

very little results accomplished at any of the points of concentration.

The argument advanced by some comrades was that to do otherwise would result in hiding the face of the Party. So, we have the unit canvassing a neighborhood in the struggle for immediate relief—and trying to set up house committees for lower rent struggles, etc. It is too weak in itself to do effective work, and the same applies, probably to a lesser degree, to the Unemployed Branch. It is in this confusion that the basic weakness of our Party lies, which reflects itself in the present inability to more rapidly consolidate the ideological influence of our Party, unions, and unemployed branches, into organized expression. This is why the T.U.U.L., the revolutionary unions and the unemployed branches are weak. Our Party is not, in the real sense, yet in mass work. Our Party gives guidance to these organizations, but less than 500 members in New York are really active in trade union or unemployed branches.

Would the planning of factory, union or unemployed work for every member of the Party strip the Party of active forces, create more tasks for our Party members, or lessen the Communist character of our work? By no means? On the contrary, a proper application of work, a proper correlation of unit work and mass organization work, would lessen the tasks and give some necessary time for study and recreation. One of the weaknesses is the Party trying to perform all the tasks without any serious attempt to draw in non-Party workers. For example, we see a committee of six Party members going out to canvass a neighborhood on the problem of unemployment relief. This fairly eats up the energy of the Party. With six Party members, the least we should expect is six committees, composed of one Party comrade and 5 non-Party workers, or one committee, with 5 of the comrades relieved for other work, to go home and study, or to pay a friendly visit to workers from their factory in their homes, or to go to their union meeting.

Let us take other examples: in New York our Party members are located in about 1000 factories and, with the membership of the revolutionary unions as a whole, the number of factories with which we have contact will reach nearly 2,000. Here we have some real contacts, or to be more correct, they should be real contacts. Is it far-fetched to think that with a proper approach that thousands of more contacts could be made, let us say, within two weeks, and within a month a committee of three formed in at least half of these factories—not a shop nucleus, not even a grievance committee—just three workers who have a common grievance

ance in the factory and believe in organization, that could meet in someone's house and map out with the union, some concrete demands and a plan of organization for the factory? Would this interfere with the work of the unit, the union or league at the point of concentration? Of course not. It would strengthen it, give us practical inside factory experience, strengthen the T.U.U.L. a hundred fold, and begin laying the foundation for the building of our Party on a shop nucleus basis.

Has this method been tried? In a small way it has and proved very successful. The Metal Workers' Industrial League three months ago was in a state of stagnation. For every meeting 200 letters were sent out, and fifteen, twenty members showed up and discussed why the others were not active. Finally, the Executive Committee decided on a new method. They visited the contact in a factory, got a couple more, had a meeting in a house, took up the immediate problems in the factory, began to agitate and organize for the correction of these grievances, drew in new members into the group, and developed the inside factory group activities. Today, they have fourteen in that group and the Metal Workers' Industrial League has organized three more groups in three other factories. The business meetings of the League are lively and they have doubled their membership in two months. There are other examples, all of them exceedingly small, but nevertheless successful, which with our Party members drawn into this basic task of the unions and leagues on a bigger scale than they are today, indicate how we can not only insure a more rapid growth of the T.U.U.L., but the setting up of shop nuclei. Every one of the four metal groups mentioned are material, not only for the building of a shop committee, but for the building of shop nuclei.

Take the numerous Red Sundays which our Party conducts for the *Daily Worker*, Election Campaign, Scottsboro frame-up, etc., all carried out by our Party members. Is it impossible to get the mass organizations to join in this work, to get non-Party workers to participate? It is not. However, as long as our Party members have no planned work in the factory where they work, or in the building where they live, as long as in the New York district, only some 400 members are active in the revolutionary unions, and less than 100 active in unemployed branches, just so long will the Party members be over-burdened with tasks which should and can be done by the mass organizations, just so long will our organizational growth be slow, just so long will many strikes be stifled or sold out by the fakers, because we were not there or came too late, just so long will our Party be based on street instead of shop

nuclei. There may be shirkers in our Party. My opinion is that our Party members work hard, too hard. There are too many tasks piled on their shoulders. The solution is not to do less work but to plan our work better, for our Party members to get into the revolutionary unions, the unemployed branches, the oppositions in the reformist unions and to draw into activities other workers who can and are willing, if given the opportunity, to carry on the work. In the District's three-months' plan of work, four sections were selected by the District for concentration. My opinion is that we would make more headway if we would select four or five units, appoint a number of instructors who will aid in working out a plan of work for the members of the unit in each factory and, beginning with the Unit Bureau, work out a plan of work for the unit as a whole, seeing that the work of the unit and unit members is related to and not isolated from the work of the unions, leagues and unemployed branches and that the members of the unit have sufficient time for study. I repeat that our main weakness is the lack of understanding how to plan work, how to apply our general policy concretely to a given situation, how to put a plan into practice.

Role of Party Training Schools in Developing Leadership

By A. MARKOFF

THE question in our Party today is not, "Do we need theoretical training?" but rather, "How can we increase the theoretical training for the members of the Party and the revolutionary unions?" Even those who did not grasp the full meaning of Lenin's "Without revolutionary theory, there cannot be a revolutionary movement," have realized that without an adequate theoretical understanding of the problems of the class struggle, the Party would lag behind the struggles of the workers in this country.

While theoretical training has been carried on by our Party during all the entire period of its activity, it is only within the last year or so that the educational activities have been organized on a systematic basis and more or less permanent instruments set up for that purpose. One of the outstanding institutions in the Party which supplies theoretical training to hundreds of workers yearly is the Workers School. Every year between eight hundred and a thousand workers attend the political courses given by the Workers School. With the exception of one or two courses which are limited to Party members, there are many courses open to outsiders. The classes are conducted in the evening because practically all students are workers in shops, factories, offices, etc. The Workers School in New York is the most successful of all the schools which are from time to time organized in other districts. It is now eight years old and is an established permanent institution in the Party. It has gained popularity and influence among the workers in New York and vicinity. Other districts such as Chicago, Boston, Detroit, Cleveland, and others have, from time to time established similar schools, but due to certain difficulties have not been able to develop. These evening courses are an important phase in our movement and each district should strive to develop such schools on a permanent basis.

The more important problem, however, which I wish to deal with is the full time training schools conducted by our Party and the revolutionary unions. Our experiences with a number of district training schools, week-end courses, and the three National Training Schools proved conclusively that this method of inner-Party education is the most efficient method of training cadres of functionaries for the revolutionary movement. The number of full time train-

ing schools reported by districts like Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, and our districts in the South, is an indication that our districts recognize the necessity of developing their own local institutions for the training of cadres. Recent reports from Chicago, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and other cities state that a number of schools are in preparation for the summer. District 2 in New York has gone far ahead of other districts in the solution of this problem. During the last eleven months three full time training schools were carried through, about twenty students were sent to the National Training School, and at present, another full time district training school is to start on July 6. We, of course, realize that District 2, the largest district in the Party, has greater facilities and therefore, we can expect more from District 2 than from any other district in the Party. It is, however, important for each district to further this work of training of cadres by making the training schools a permanent institution in the district.

THE NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL

The successful completion of the National Training School, May 30, 1931, is a real achievement for the Party and the TUUL. The results of this school demonstrated the tremendous possibilities for developing leading cadres of functionaries through the National Training School. Quite a number of functionaries are now occupying leading positions in the Party who received their training in the last National Training School. A number of comrades who came to the National School without any previous theoretical training showed remarkable development at the end of the three months' course.

Prior to the last National School there were two schools organized by the Party in 1927 and in 1930. The last National Training School, however, differed from the preceding ones in many respects. Numerically, it was the largest of the three, 54 students in all. The student body was 100 per cent proletarian and over 90 per cent American element. There were also 25 per cent Negro workers, several from the South, about 17 per cent young workers, and about 16 per cent were women. The curriculum and method of instruction, the division between class work and self-study period, was more systematized than ever before. Our Party is today a monolithic Communist Party, strongly united for the support of the Communist International. It was, therefore, in a position to give correct interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist theory and was able to train students in the correct application of the policy and political line of the Communist International and our Party in the every-day struggles of the workers in this country.

While on the whole the National Training School was a success, and we tried as much as possible to avoid many mistakes, nevertheless, we attempted too much, forgetting the fact that the human mind, and particularly the mind of the worker who has not received any systematic training, can absorb theoretical knowledge only at a certain rate. The tendency on the part of the School Committee was to try to crowd in as much as possible in the short period of three months, although the curriculum was far less ambitious and more concrete than the curricula of the former schools. The orientation of the school program was in the direction of less class work and more independent study on the part of the students, both in groups and individual. A correct balance between the two was maintained during the first six weeks of the school but in the second half of the course it became necessary to add a number of lectures to the already overcrowded program, and thus, the balance between class work and study group was upset so that the period of group study was reduced to about two hours a day, instead of four or five hours as originally arranged. We cannot overestimate the value of some of the lectures for they certainly contributed tremendously to the clarification of many problems. Experience, however, taught us that students never derive as much from lectures as they do from either discussions in the class or in group study.

Another important feature in connection with the school, whether it be a national or a district school, is the organization and preparation of the reading material for the students. We cannot stress too strongly the importance of preparing and systematizing the reading material long before the school starts. One of the outstanding shortcomings of the last National School was the failure on the part of the comrades in charge of the organization and trade union classes to have their material ready for the beginning of the School. Instead, reference material had to be prepared in a hurry and thus created difficulties.

The division of the students into more or less homogeneous groups, in accordance with the level of their theoretical knowledge is essential. Some of us on the School Committee thought that if we separated the more advanced students from the less developed that it would interfere with the progress of the elementary group. But experience proved that we were wrong. If the school is numerically small, it is not advisable to make such a division, but when there is a large number of students, it is necessary to split up the student body into two groups, the elementary and the advanced. The more advanced student should be given the opportunity to go ahead at a more rapid pace.

A shortage of instructors was another handicap in the last school.

Several of the leading comrades had to be away from New York and it became necessary for one instructor to teach the entire number of students in one class. Such a situation was certainly not conducive to the best development of the students. It is physically impossible for any instructor to pay individual attention to every student in a class of over 50. We must guard against this in the future.

Assignments of written reports on various phases of the school work should be included in all the classes. This was a major point of criticism made by the students at their meeting, with which we fully agree. Such assignments stimulate the students to deeper study of the subject and also develops within them the ability of research.

The method of group study is undoubtedly the most effective method which should be used in all our schools but we must bear in mind the necessity of giving guidance to these groups, either by the instructor or by someone especially assigned to this work. We cannot expect that the leader of the group, himself a student, should be able to clarify the many problems which arise during the course of study. A great deal of time is wasted in useless discussions. The inability on the part of the School Committee to give such guidance in the last Training School was a serious defect.

The assignment of students to practical work during their school term is a very important phase in connection with the planning of our schools. It should be carefully planned, so that the practical work will co-ordinate with the theoretical training during the school term. This was one of our weakest points in the last National School.

Although a number of shortcomings in connection with the last National Training School have been noted, it is safe to say that this school has rendered real service to the Party. The growing demand for leadership by the developing struggles of the workers in the United States, can be satisfied through the medium of such National Schools. It is, therefore, imperative for the Party to plan for the next National Training School immediately. The task is not an easy one. There are many difficulties, and the greatest difficulty of all is the financial problem. Our districts must take up this question very seriously. The Central Committee of the Party is not in a position to foot the bills of the National Training School. Each district must begin at once to organize a special fund for this purpose. With greater experience, better trained instructors, greater facilities, our Party can and should establish a permanent National Training School in the United States. This will not only serve the needs of our Party, but will also give a helping hand to our sister Parties in the Latin American countries.

The Negro and His Judases

By ROBERT MINOR

THE constantly deepening economic crisis has brought mass unemployment among Negro workers even to a greater proportion than among white workers. The unprecedented misery among Negro workers is increasing from day to day. At the same time widespread bankruptcy and incipient bankruptcy among the Negro petty shop keepers and small business men has been aggravated to an extreme degree by the dependence of the Negro merchants upon the diminishing retail buying capacity of the segregated Negro working class population.

A growing discontent, militancy and tendency to seek organizational methods of struggle on the part of the Negro *proletariat*, is accompanied by sharply increasing discontent among the Negro *petty bourgeoisie*, and peculiar petty-bourgeois projects for a "way out."

The efforts of the bourgeoisie to impose the burden of the crisis upon the proletarian masses, the increasing friction between landlords and tenant farmers (black and white), the frantic efforts of both white and Negro petty bourgeoisie to maintain their positions, inevitably are leading to attempts to divert all struggles against capitalism and against the big bourgeoisie into channels of conflict between different racial elements of the proletariat, the landless farmers and the petty bourgeois mercantile class. Increased persecution of the Negro masses as a national minority takes both legal and extra legal fascist forms. Open lynching is being increased, and at the same time a further development of summary "court-house lynchings" (framed-up legal procedure in rapid trials with the boasted "same results" as open lynching).

Against this background, and as a result of drastic wage-cuts, speed-up and unemployment entirely without real measures of relief, there is a fast increasing will on the part of the proletarian Negro masses, and to a considerable degree also amongst the landless Negro farmers, to militant action against exploitation as proletarians and peasants, and also against exploitation as a suppressed and persecuted "race" (national minority). A marked growth of national-minority tendencies is to be found amongst the Negro masses, but by far to the greatest extent this national aspect is taking hold amongst the Negro petty bourgeoisie.

The agitation among the Negro workers and the organization of unemployment councils, together with the development and popular-

ization of the Trade Union Unity League program of unity amongst Negro and white workers, the beginning of actual organization of Negro and white workers together in revolutionary trade unions and unemployment councils, added to the increased and better-directed Party activities in defense of Negro rights, although, as yet, all of these are by far inadequate and only a beginning, have, nevertheless, given a channel to the revolutionary tendencies amongst the masses of Negro workers. Already there are repeated instances of spontaneous defense of the Party and the revolutionary unions on the part of new elements of Negro workers. Even the Negro petty bourgeoisie, under the sharp lash of the economic crisis and the repressions of the ruling class, have not been entirely unaffected by such activities as the Party has already put into practice in defense of the Negro masses as a persecuted national minority. This is reflected in some of the petty-bourgeois Negro newspapers which, although still upholding the completely reactionary and traditional submission to the imperialist policies of the imperialist political parties, are not entirely closed to the campaigns of the Communist Party and the class struggle organizations. In some of these papers repeatedly appear open admissions that the Communist Party is the only party that advocates or fights for equal rights for Negroes and the right of self-determination for the Negro people.

Among the many examples of this reaction of the Negro press, we will cite only two for lack of space:

NEGROES AND COMMUNISTS

(From The Florida Sentinel)

"The frequent appeals of the Communists to American Negroes is causing the black man to think more seriously of his new-found friends and to consider more at length their doctrines for the progress of the workers.

No group of white men has made so bold attempt to defend the Negro and to work religiously for his protection as the Communists.

Sometimes their words are ill-timed and carelessly hurled, frequently they contain too much venom, and often they are without direction, but the men seem to be sincere and whole-hearted in their efforts to aid all the workers without regard to color.

The Communists have shown a total disregard for color prejudice and lack of appreciation for station and titles. They have accepted the black man on equal plane with all other workers throughout the world and seem willing to toil for his elevation as they do for all others of their grup.

Recently members of the organization in Germany staged a demonstration for the aid of the eight Negro boys condemned to death at Scottsboro. They hurled bottles at the American consulate which contained messages saying 'Down with American Murder and Imperialism,' 'Hail the Brotherly Union of White and Black Youth

Proletarians,' and 'Down with the Bloody Lynch Law on Our Negro Comrades.'

While we do not approve the type of demonstration the Communists are given to adopt in their various protests, there is something about the fundamental appeal of the organization which is becoming very attractive to the ears of Negroes who are being so sorely oppressed beneath the heels of the oppressors.

The Negro wants a fairer and more equal opportunity to earn a living, a chance to demonstrate his political fitness at the polls, a right to self-determination, better streets and more sanitary conditions. Our white friends of longer understanding and maturer years don't seem to think we are ready for these things; the Communists, the new-found friends of a bold nature, say that we are ready and should have them.

Time will tell whether the Negro will continue to listen to the stern words of the masters who command and demand, or turn to the men who commune with him on equal planes and offer to stand with him in his march to the upward avenues of life."

NO MENACING REDS

(From the Afro-American, Baltimore)

"The National Security League, headed by white U. S. army officers who are dedicated to the proposition that Negroes shall not get army commissions, had an address broadcast May 26 on the subject of the 'Menace of Communism.'

But Communism is no menace to Negroes. The fact is, we prefer the Communists to the National Security League.

The Reds are going our way. Like ourselves, they represent a feared and hated cause. They are the first white group since Emancipation to advocate race, social equality and intermarriage for those who wish it.

In fact, there is more real Christianity among white Communists than in the white Y. M. C. A., the white Christian Endeavor Societies, or the white so-called Christian churches.

If the Communists ran Baltimore, for example, Negroes could get jobs on the police force, or drive city garbage carts, at least. Shields Alley would be paved. Negroes would sit on the school board, the jail board, and when qualified, on the Board of Awards. They could get a bed in Hopkins Hospital or attend the Maryland University Law School which they are taxed to support. They could even attend the nearest church, whether it happened to be predominantly black or white.

The Reds are no menace to Negroes. In fact, it is very comforting to find groups of such people as Communists in this color-mad western world."

We will not on high theoretical grounds go into a criticism of these expressions; we will not stop to protest that the modern Communist movement is not to be confused with the religious instruments which the bourgeoisie employs to dope and suppress the masses, both Negro and white. We will only comment in passing that these and a dozen more editorial expressions that we could

quote are a reflection, not of some sudden transformation occurring solely in the minds of a handful of editors, but are a reflection of the most terrific volcanic pressure upon such editorial offices from the deep-lying masses of the Negro people who are being driven far faster than most persons realize toward the conviction that life in the old way is no longer possible for them.

It can be said without the slightest hesitation that the great mass of Negro people will be one of the great and most effective forces in the revolutionary overturn in the United States. No editors, no middle-class leaders can for very long stop them.

The discontent of the Negro masses, together with even the first beginnings of unity between Negro and white workers as a result of the struggle of the Negro masses against starvation and oppression, is at the same time forcing the *reformist servants* of the American imperialist bourgeoisie amongst the Negro masses, to an increasing use of proposals purporting to solve these problems, but in reality only to retain and bolster up the influence of these spokesmen of the big bourgeoisie amongst the discontented Negro masses. More and more are the capitalist parties resorting to the use of Negro candidates for office. Connected with the traditional adherence of the Negro masses to the Republican (also the Democratic and even the "Socialist") Party, there is now going on a feverish activity of Negro reformists and outright bourgeois politicians attempting to divert the whole mass of discontent into a distorted bourgeois nationalist form—not in opposition to the persecutions of the Negroes as a national minority, but in open support of the capitalist system and the imperialist program of the United States Government.

The chief and "highest" representatives of the American imperialist bourgeoisie amongst the Negro masses, centering about such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and the more prosperous Negro churches in the larger cities, in the given conditions of extreme economic misery and increasing persecution of the Negro masses, are driven into positions and actions which tend to unmask these supporters of capitalist imperialism who have for so many decades stood before the Negro masses as their "race leaders." Five years ago these elements were still able in words to accept, though in fact sabotaging, proposals of the Communists for the organization of the masses of Negro workers in trade unions with the white workers for militant struggle. They were able to pass dainty resolutions of platonic sympathy with the persecuted Negro colonial peoples ruled by the United States, even while personally assisting in United States imperialist procedure against Porto Rico, the Vir-

gin Islands, and Liberia. They were able then to pose in the eyes of the masses as the stalwart fighters against lynching, by means of such measures as the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill (in reality a bill which in practice would, if passed, be used for the hanging of Negro and white strikers and protesting Negro tenant farmers).

Today, however, in the conditions of sharpening class struggle and the increasingly brutal persecution of the Negro national minority, these reformist spokesmen of the American ruling class are unable to maintain the illusion of their leadership of the struggle against oppression, provided that the leadership of the Communist Party is exercised in a Leninist manner with a full realization of the nature of the struggle.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), established in 1909 by a group of middle-class liberals, including two or three Negro intellectuals, has existed since then as an organization to employ legal measure against certain illegal atrocities perpetrated upon Negroes. Its activities have been almost exclusively confined to law courts, where individual Negroes were persecuted in direct violation of the law, appealing against discriminatory legislation on the ground of unconstitutionality, employing lawyers for cases where existing law remained unenforced to the injury of Negroes, etc. The organization through the past 22 years has been flooded with aspiring Republican politicians, and even a few aspiring Democrats. Senators, congressmen, Negro preachers and white philanthropists, lawyers, etc., are the stars at all of its "conventions," which are usually welcomed to the convention city by the capitalist mayor who for one day of the year condescends to associate with Negroes. In this atmosphere the purposes of the organization have tended more and more to include the purpose of securing comfortable jobs for Negro intellectuals and large donations of money from white philanthropists. The organization in this way became more and more welded into the fabric of the capitalist order. "Social equality" ceased to have any connotation pertaining to the vast masses of poverty-stricken Negro workers and peasants as a social mass seeking self-determination, and was reduced to the triviality of a few Negro gentlemen enjoying the privilege of putting their legs under the tables of an occasional white millionaire. The church and the Y.M.C.A. (that is the Jim Crow sections in which these organizations segregate Negroes) became the main organizational channel of the N.A.A.C.P. in the localities. In general the N.A.A.C.P. became an instrument for the mobilization of Negro votes for the anti-Negro and imperialist Republican party, with the Democratic party alternating in some local situations. At the Philadelphia Convention in

1924 a spokesman for the N.A.A.C.P. (James Weldon Johnson) openly declared that one of the purposes of the organization should be the securing of political positions for Negro politicians. Only a few guarded and very ambiguous speeches of platonic sympathy for Negro peoples in countries invaded by imperialist troops, and a few extremely legalistic disapprovals of lynching and disfranchisement became the pink stream of "rebellion" in the N.A.A.C.P.

We had long ago declared that the leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. were living in a fool's paradise in thinking that the Negro masses could be led by that organization and for its purposes. But it required the economic crisis of 1930-1931 to give our prediction the color of reality in the eyes of the masses.

Then came the Scottsboro case. This case broke upon the N.A.A.C.P. leaders as a storm of elements entirely beyond their understanding. The whole organization was trained to the attitude of seeking to have all Negroes accused of crime receive their "day in court."

When the news came that nine Negro boys were accused of "raping" two white prostitutes on a freight train in Alabama, the concern of the N.A.A.C.P. leaders was two-fold: first, that the accused Negroes should be handled by the machinery of the law and not by the illegal method of mob violence; and second, that the reputation of the N.A.A.C.P. for respectability should not be stained by having the name of the organization associated with the defense of "rapists" "if guilty." Fixed in this position, the organization was totally unable even to dream of real defense of the boys. The N.A.A.C.P. was unable even to conceive of such a thing as the great, the profound and historic social significance of the case. Shaken by the mass movement which the Communist Party stirred up for the defense of the boys, the N.A.A.C.P. deserted its first position of complete silence, in which they felt that Negroes had "disgraced" their people, and rushed into an even more transparently untenable position by insisting that their "one object" was to secure a "fair trial" for the nine boys, but to whose obvious innocence they were even unwilling to commit their organization.

The Scottsboro case cannot be regarded as a "rape" case (as the N.A.A.C.P. leaders regard it) without a complete surrender of the lives of the innocent victims of the Alabama capitalist court. The truth is that any effort to base the defense of the boys upon a reliance upon a "fair trial" in an Alabama court where the white ruling class dominates and tortures a great mass of Negro peasants and workers, is a surrender of their cause in advance.

I have recently made an analogy between the Scottsboro case and the case of the young Jew, Beilis, who about 20 years ago was prosecuted in Czarist Russia on the charge of murdering a Christian child in the course of what was supposed to be a customary ritual of Jews in celebrating the Jewish passover with Christian blood. The analogy is a good one. In the Scottsboro case, the contention of the ruling class is that Negro males (even children of 13 and 14 years old) have a "natural" tendency to commit sexual violence upon white women. Therefore the admitted fact that Negro boys were riding a freight train, and even fighting white boys on the train, on which two white women were riding in male attire, is all that was needed to bring about the death sentence of these nine representatives of the persecuted people.

Behind the ghastly crime of this frame-up is the whole question of the exploitation, persecution, disfranchisement and constant murder of Negroes. But the upholders of the capitalist system cannot enter into the question of this social position of the whole Negro mass, because to do so would be to feed the current of revolt against this system.

Of all the lickspittles of the capitalist class who are in the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P., the worst has proven to be William Pickens. Pickens started out by responding to mass pressure and rushing to the defense of the Scottsboro boys following in the wake of the Communists. But, under the attack of his own associates, Pickens turned around and submitted shamelessly to become himself the agency for the expression of the most amazingly contemptible philosophy of the reactionary servants of capitalism who rule the N.A.A.C.P.

"The more the ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of the ruled class, the more solid and dangerous is its rule." (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume 3, Chapter xxxvi.)

Pickens was sent to Chattanooga to attempt to break up the mass movement in defense of the Scottsboro boys. He there enunciated fully the philosophy of that reactionary organization of which he is the obedient servant. In a land where Negroes are lynched as an everyday public proceeding, this contemptible flunky of the Southern white ruling class said:

"Let the white people of Alabama and the South sit up and take notice: this Communist sapping through the densely ignorant portion of the colored population, while not immediately menacing to government itself, is certainly most menacing to good race relations. If the defendants in the Scottsboro trials need justice they should get it from the law-abiding Negro and the influential and just-minded whites, and not from a political party of revolutionary aims."

Pickens proceeded to explain that, not the imminent death of the nine innocent Negro boys, but the movement for their defense, was the "greatest menace." Pickens thus establishes himself as a professionally conscious servant of the southern ruling class for suppressing agitation and organization of the "ignorant" Negro masses. This, which precisely coincides with the attitude of the Klan, of course, substantially strengthens the ruling class for the Scottsboro execution. This is true even aside from the fact that Pickens is simultaneously preaching confidence in the Alabama courts and the white ruling class. It is curiously interesting to note that he even carried this line of thought to its logical conclusion by comparing the future course of the struggle for the liberation of the Negro people to the "carpet-bag" rule of the South, partly by Negroes, at the end of the American Civil War of 1861-1865. It seems amazing that a supposed leader of Negro people could sink so low as to disparage the necessary course of history in even the abolition of chattel slavery. And, of course, it is true that the real liberation of the Negro and white masses of the South will follow the inevitable course that leads to the second dictatorship—this time a proletarian dictatorship of the masses in which, indeed, black laborers will administer the affairs of Southern states over the heads of the present murder-soaked white ruling class.

The N.A.A.C.P. today represents, and is openly soliciting a further consolidation of its position as, an instrument of the white capitalist class for the perpetration of this slavery of the Negro people. There are curiously interesting points of analogy between this reactionary organization and the Socialist Party. It is interesting to note that the coming convention of the N.A.A.C.P. in Pittsburgh will have as one of its principal speakers the Reverend Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party. Social-fascism tends to concentration in the effort to head off the rising movement of the Negro masses under the lash of the economic crisis and the race persecution that goes with it.

The masses cannot be led by the N.A.A.C.P. toward anything but slavery. And one of the most ghastly aspects of it is that the lives of the nine Scottsboro victims are placed in double jeopardy by the reactionary policies of this organization.

The present period is one in which the masses of Negro people cannot live under their present tortures without struggle. Therefore the crisis among the Negro masses in which the N.A.A.C.P. finds it is losing its hold.

The Negro people find themselves unable even to fight for the lives of their innocent children against the habitual murderers of the ruling class, without associating themselves with the revolutionary movement which will overthrow our common oppressors.

Development and Perspective of the Chinese Revolution

By M. JAMES

I. THE RISING REVOLUTIONARY WAVE

AFTER the Canton Uprising in December, 1927, the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1928 and the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1929, clearly pointed out the inevitability of the new revolutionary wave in China. Events since 1928 have proved the correctness and truth of this Marxist-Leninist characterization of the Chinese Revolution. Especially since the beginning of 1930, the motive forces of the Chinese Revolution, the proletariat and the small and middle peasants, have revived and consolidated their strength and carried on the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution with rapid development. The organization of Chinese Soviets and the Red Army over a considerable territory is undermining the domination of imperialism and the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang.

The Trotskyites and other right-cum-left renegades proclaimed that the Canton Uprising was "a putschist tactic on the background of a declining revolutionary wave," that "the victory went to the Chinese bourgeoisie," and that there has been in China "the Stoly-pin period of Chiang Kai Shek." This opportunist, capitulationist and renegadist theory of a "triumphant bourgeois counter-revolution" in China has been mercilessly ground to pieces by life itself, by the undeniable rising revolutionary wave in China.

The objective contradictions which brought about the Great Chinese Revolution in 1925-1927 have by no means been liquidated. The contradiction between imperialist domination and the independent development of the Chinese people, the contradiction between the pre-capitalist, semi-feudal forms of exploitation and the peasantry, the contradiction between the feudal relics and the national bourgeoisie, the contradictions between the Chinese workers and the native capitalists and foreign imperialists, and the contradiction among the various militarists representing various groups of native and imperialist interests have been accentuated and aggravated under the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang.

Imperialist domination and the consequent retardment and bankruptcy of the Chinese national economy have brought about the wid-

ening and deepening economic crisis in China. The *Chinese workers*, doubly exploited by the Chinese and foreign capitalists, have been faced with mass unemployment and starvation, wage cuts, speed-up and the general worsening conditions of life. The finance capital of the imperialists has preserved and strengthened the pre-capitalist, feudalist forms of exploitation especially in the villages. The super-exploitation of the imperialist compradores, landlords, merchants, money lenders, and the gentry in the village has ruined the rural economy. Millions of the basic masses of the *Chinese peasants* suffer death from starvation, famine, and epidemics. The industrial and financial crises accentuate the agrarian crisis still further. The *city petty bourgeoisie*, especially the handicraftsmen and the small traders have been pauperized and have suffered mass bankruptcy. The antagonisms among the militarists have brought about the incessant military warfare which means the accentuation of the depth and intensity of the economic crisis.

This has been the fruit of the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. *It is on the basis of these aggravated contradictions that the revolutionary upsurge in China is inevitable.* The Chinese workers, peasants, and the toiling masses realized more clearly the reactionary role of the Nanking Government and under the leadership of the Communist Party of China are struggling against the rule of the feudalist bourgeois, militarists and imperialist reaction, to fight for the revolutionary liberation of China.

The revolutionary crisis in China finds expression not only in the upsurge of the labor movement which has recorded both quantitative and qualitative development after 1928 (about 400,000 workers struck in 1928; 750,000 in 1929, and over 1,000,000 in 1930). *The most characteristic and basic expression of the revolutionary crisis in the present phase of the Chinese revolution is the upsurge of the agrarian movement* which, in many districts, has taken the form of Soviets with the Red Army as their spearhead, to carry on and extend the agrarian revolution, to fight against the reaction of the feudal, bourgeois, militarist and imperialist domination and exploitation.

Soviets have been established in two hundred districts in Southern Central Provinces as Kiangsi, Fukien, Hupeh, Kwantung, Kwangsi, with a territory bigger than that of Germany and a population larger than that of France. The Chinese Red Army has been increased to more than twenty-two corps, over forty-five thousand strong in its ranks. Besides, the guerilla movement has developed with feverish rapidity, spreading to the remote provinces as Szechuan, Chekiang and Anhui, where the Soviet flag begins to fly. So in Southern and Central China *there is the beginning of a state power of the demo-*

cratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, a revolutionary power that basically undermines the bourgeois-landlord regime and imperialist enslavement.

The establishment, extension and consolidation of the Chinese Soviets gives an answer to the Trotskyites' menshevik denial of the revolutionary role of the peasantry, ruthlessly smashes the renegadist conception of Trotsky and his muddled-headed follower in China, Professor Chen Du Su, who advocate the "central slogan" of a Constituent Assembly in place of the slogan of the Soviets put forth by the Communist International and the Communist Party of China. The Soviets in China also prove the invincible truth of Lenin's statement that Soviets are the organ of revolt and power not only for the workers and peasants in the capitalist countries, but also in the backward countries and in the colonies. The Soviets, which the Trotskyites denounce as "adventurism and empty talk," and the Red Army, which they brand as "bandits," have overthrown the domination and oppression of the imperialists, the landlords, the militarists and the Kuomintang. The Soviets have confiscated the land of the landlords and given land to the peasants, the soldiers, and the poor. The Soviets have abolished all governmental, militarist and local taxes and levy a singly progressively graduated income tax. The Soviets have carried out the eight-hour day, increase of wages, and the betterment of the working and living conditions of the workers. *The Soviets have shown the way toward the revolutionary solution of the contradictions in China*, which are unsolvable but intensified under the reactionary rule of the feudal-bourgeois-militarist Kuomintang.

II. MILITARIST SUPPRESSION AND IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION

"Revolution precipitates the consolidation of the reactionary forces" (Marx). This truth has been proved by the "Communist Suppression Campaign" in China. While the contradictions between the imperialist and the Chinese bourgeoisie, between the feudal relics and the national bourgeoisie and among the militarists and the imperialist powers in China are by no means liquidated despite the capitulation of the Koumintang to world imperialism and feudal forces, they have presented a united front in their campaign against the Chinese workers and peasants in view of the rising revolutionary wave and the advance of the Soviets and the Red Army. The bourgeois-landlordist Kuomintang and other militarists understand that the Soviets are the weapons which will finally overthrow their domination and the imperialists understand that the Soviets will sweep their feet off the very basis of colonization.

In addition to the most brutal white terror against the Chinese

workers and peasants (since 1927 more than half a million Chinese workers and peasants have been murdered in cold blood by the Kuomintang government), the Kuomintang militarists under the dictate and with the support of world imperialism, last spring launched the "Communist Suppression Campaign" in five provinces in Southern and Central China. Chiang-Kai-Shek boasted that the Nanking Government would with ease exterminate the Soviets and the Red Army "before the end of April."

Since the start of this suppression campaign, the Nanking militarists have despatched more than twenty-five divisions of their army, over thirty-five bombing planes, numerous militia and police forces, together with many German and other imperialist military advisers to suppress the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army. The most destructive tactics and instruments were used in the campaign. As was openly admitted by the United Press, the agency of American imperialism, which reported on March 18 that "activities of the rebels in the railway zone have become more serious resulting in the government's decision to utilize aeroplanes in the offensive, poison gas is being used against the bandits in both Hupeh and Kiangsi." Once the Kuomintang army succeeded temporarily in occupying some Soviet districts, the most barbarous efforts were made against the workers and peasants and their families. The constructive achievements as the Soviet bank, schools, nurseries, factories, etc., were completely demolished.

In the suppression campaign, international imperialism not only supplied Chiang-Kai-Shek with military advisers, munition, finance, aeroplanes, etc., but actively participated in the direct attack on the Soviets and the Red Army. The imperialists bombarded the Canton Soviet and helped to send the white army to Canton in 1927. They also bombarded and aided the Kuomintang in crushing the Changsha Soviet last July.

Japanese infantry fought against the Red Army in Yo-Chow and twice repulsed the Red Army from Tayeh. French aeroplanes bombarded the Soviet in Lung-Chow. American, British, French, Japanese and other imperialist gunboats and cruisers have continuously fired on the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army along the Yangtse River. It has been admitted by the imperialist agency in Shanghai that in two months' time, the imperialist gunboats have fired upon the Soviets and the Red Army not less than one hundred and seven times. The following report of the *North China Daily News*, dated December 11, 1930, tells us glaringly the role of the American and other imperialists in suppressing the Reds:

"American sailors, together with their British and Japanese fellows, are getting daily practice at living targets on the upper Yangtse

River this winter, and these members of the Yangtse Patrol may become the best sharpshooters in the Navy. These sailors have amused themselves by firing upon the living targets (that is the Communists and broad masses) on the upper Yangtse River. But during the autumn and winter months of this year, battles between foreign guards and Chinese Communists have become so common along the Yangtse that they are no longer 'news' unless some Communists are hurt. Dispatches to the Navy chiefs from boats which encounter Communist-bandits are monotonously alike: We attacked the Communist-bandits on the shore and the Communists answered fire."

Worthy of note is that, in this barbarous dispatch, the murderous role of American imperialism is particularly brought to light. In fact, as was stated by the Rev. G. F. Andrew, a missionary to China, who "is credited with knowing China's great northwest better than any white man living," reported in the *New York Times*, May 31, that:

"One of the most important services rendered to China by the United States during recent years has been the assistance given in China's fight against the flood of Communism which was let loose over the country in 1926-1927 *which* (the assistance.—M. J.) *will probably in the last analysis prove the decisive factor against China going Red.*"

Other imperialists are by no means less active than Yankee imperialism in "the assistance given to China's fight against the flood of Communism." As was openly reported by the *Jih Jih Sin Wen*, the organ of Japanese imperialism in Shanghai:

"Concerning the problem how to unitedly attack the Chinese Red Army, the U. S. A. is the center, suggesting to the various powers to have an unanimous action. Great Britain has expressed her attitude that she is willing to follow the U. S. In case Great Britain and the United States should act together, Japan will adopt the same measure."

The proposed loan of one hundred thousand ounces of silver, heralded by American imperialism, and other loans to China under negotiation by other imperialists through the League of Nations and other channels, while reflecting the antagonisms among the imperialists in their attempts to further colonize China, are essentially the financial help of world imperialism to the Nanking Government to butcher the Chinese workers and peasants, to crush the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army.

In their fight against unemployment, rationalization, wage-cuts, lynching, deportation, and other offensive measures of American imperialism, workers and farmers in the United States and other

imperialist countries must give direct and effective support to the Chinese revolution, remembering that:

“The proletarian movement in the advanced countries and the nationalist movement for the liberation of the peoples of the colonial and dependent lands being both revolutionary movements, or two different aspects of the same great revolutionary movement, it will be to their interest to unite, to form a united front against the common enemy—imperialism.” (Stalin: *Leninism*, p. 140.)

III. THE BOLSHEVIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

In the face of the stormy revolutionary upsurge and the concentrated militarist and imperialist offensive against the Soviets and the Red Army, the situation demands that the Communist Party of China, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat and the leader of the Chinese revolution, must have the correct estimation of the internal and external situations, the correlation of class forces, and adopt the correct Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics in order to lead the workers, peasants and the toiling masses to accomplish the tasks of the anti-imperialist, agrarian revolution and open the way for the transition to a higher phase of the revolution. This also demands of the Communist Party absolute iron discipline and Bolshevik organizational measures.

The Communist Party of China, since its formation in 1920, has gone through bitter struggle and acquired rich experiences. Especially after the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, the Communist Party of China has recorded remarkable progress in its ideological development, in the Bolshevization of its ranks and in the political influence and practical leadership among the Chinese masses in their struggle against the feudal-bourgeois-militarist Kuomintang and world imperialism. It is under the leadership and guidance of the Communist Party that the Chinese Soviets and the Red Army have been formed in a considerable territory in China.

At this critical moment, there were discovered among some of the leaders of the Communist Party waverings and opportunist tendencies which have been corrected by the Communist Party of China under the guidance of the Communist International. The liquidation of these opportunist elements and tendencies are not only a valuable lesson to the Chinese Revolution, but to the revolutionary movement of the international working class.

A Marxist-Leninist construction of lines of tactics must take into consideration the concrete internal and external situation. To express more fully:

“In determining its lines of tactics, each Communist Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the

correlation of class forces, the degree of preparedness of the proletariat, the position taken up by the various intermediary strata in the country, etc." (*Program of the Communist International*, p. 79.)

Some of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, headed by Comrade Li-Li-Shan, have failed to observe this Leninist truth and fell into the morass of opportunism and anti-Leninist, semi-Trotskyist strategy and tactics.

Basically, Comrade Li-Li-Shan did not understand the important law of uneven development. Marx long ago said, "capitalist production would be impossible were it to develop simultaneously and evenly in every sphere." Lenin, in his article on "The United States of Europe Slogan" and other works, pointed out clearly that, "under capitalism, equal economic progress of individual concerns or individual states is impossible," and that, "unequal economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism." Following this law of uneven development, it is important to note the uneven development of the revolutionary upsurge in different countries and in different parts of one country alone in order to determine correct lines and tactics.

On an international scale, Comrade Li-Li-Shan could not see the uneven development of the economic crisis and the political crisis. He loosely identified the third period with the "period of general post-war crisis of capitalism," without understanding that *the third period, mainly characterized by the growing revolutionary upsurge and shaking of capitalist stabilization (including the phase of deepening economic crises in the capitalist countries), in the midst and on the background of the general crisis of capitalism, develops unevenly in the various countries.* As a result of his inability to understand this important feature of the third period, he imagined the maturing of a revolutionary situation all over the world and fanatically advocated a "world insurrection" against world imperialism, and maintained that the Chinese Revolution cannot be victorious without the circumstances of a "world revolution." This right-cum-left theory coincided with the Trotskyist denial of the Leninist truth of the uneven development of capitalism and revolutionary upsurge and the possibility of the victory of the colonial revolution in one country first. It overestimates the strength of imperialism. Comrade Li-Li-Shan could not conceive of the possibility and the necessity of utilizing the antagonisms among the reactionary camp in China and world imperialism to bring about the victory of the Chinese Soviet Government even "on a small territory of the country at first." (Lenin.)

In regard to the situation in China, Comrade Li-Li-Shan was blind to the peculiarity of the present phase of the Chinese Revolu-

tion, the uneven development of the revolution as manifested in different parts of the country and between the agrarian revolution and the labor movement. This peculiarity is a result of the uneven economic development, the feudal dismemberment, the domination of different imperialist countries in different parts of the country and the historical pre-conditions of the revolutionary movement. This uneven development is evidenced by the fact that the tempo of the agrarian movement is far ahead of the labor movement and that the peasant movement develops unevenly in various parts of China. In some provinces, as Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Fukien, Soviets and the Red Army have been formed and extended; in other provinces, as Chekiang, Szechuan, Kiangsu and Anhui, the peasants are just beginning to carry on the mass struggle; in still other provinces, as Yunan, Kweichow and others, there is not yet mass struggle of the peasantry; and in northern China and Manchuria, our influence on the peasants is still weak. The tasks following this situation are the formation and the consolidation of a strong and authoritative Soviet Government and the Red Army to guarantee the victory of the revolution, even first in part of the country, and to make further advances on this consolidated basis; the extension of the agrarian movement and the intensification of the labor movement on the basis of the daily economic and political struggles of the workers in the industrial centers, linking up the struggles of the workers with those of the peasants and with the defense of the Soviets and the Red Army.

Comrade Li-Li-Shan brushed aside the concrete situation and the tasks arising out of it. He was dizzy with the successes of the Soviets and the Red Army and concluded that the victories of the Soviets were evidences of the maturing of an objective revolutionary situation throughout the whole country. He loosely identified "a revolutionary wave" with a "direct revolutionary situation" and advocated armed insurrections in the big cities all over the country, without taking into account the correlation of class forces and the preparedness of the workers for the decisive struggle. He never understood that "Insurrection is an Art" (Marx), that "Never Play with Insurrection" (Lenin), and that:

In order to be entirely victorious, insurrection must not depend on a conspiracy, or on a party but on a revolutionary class. That is the first point. Insurrection must depend on the revolutionary pressure of all the people. That is the second point. Insurrection must break out at the apogee of the rising revolution, that is at the moment when the activity of the vanguard of the people is the greatest, when fluctuations among the enemy and among the people is the greatest, when fluctuations among the enemy and among the weak and indecisive friends of the revolution are strongest. That

is the third point." (Lenin: *Letter to the C. C. of the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia.*)

The strength of the militarists and the imperialists and the unpreparedness of the workers for the decisive struggle in Shanghai and Hankow were never taken into consideration by Comrade Li-Li-Shan. These pure and simple Blanquist tactics, if carried out would mean the physical extermination of the Red Army and the vanguard of the revolution, and the impermissible neglect of the tasks which will finally guarantee the victories of the armed insurrections in the big cities.

The establishment of the Soviet Government in China means that the Communist Party *must prepare for and organize* armed insurrections in the big cities. But without considering with proletarian soberness the concrete situation in the big cities, without correctly estimating the correlation of the class forces, insurrections would be pure Blanquism and adventurism, having nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. Under the present circumstances, we must agitate, organize and mobilize the broad masses in struggle for their partial and especially economic demands, build up our Red unions and link up the struggle of the workers in the cities with that of the peasants in the villages and choose the right moment for insurrection. This is the only way to victorious insurrection. *This is the real and only offensive tactics.*

Comrade Li-Li-Shan has himself denounced his semi-Trotskyist line. And under the guidance of the Communist International, the Communist Party of China has liquidated the putschist elements and tendencies. *The Communist Party of China with this experience has reached a higher stage of its Bolshevization.*

With the correct strategy and tactics, the Communist Party of China has been able to strengthen the Red unions, to lead the Soviets and the Red Army in defending themselves from the militarist-imperialist Suppression Campaign and in making new advances. Both the militarists and the imperialists have openly admitted their failure in suppressing the Soviets and the Red Army. The imminent new militarist war between Chiang Kai-shek and his rivals will provide the favorable objective conditions for the further advances of the Soviets and the Red Army, will further radicalize and revolutionize the masses for a decisive struggle against the capitalists, the landlords and the imperialists. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the bourgeois-democratic, anti-imperialist, agrarian revolution in China will be accomplished and pass to a higher and new stage, the socialist revolution.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF TRANSITION

On the basis of the accentuated objective contradictions, the agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution in China will further develop under the leadership of the Chinese proletariat and the revolutionary upsurge all over the country will be inevitable.

It is necessary that we must now consider seriously the problem of the road of development and the transition of the Chinese Revolution. It is important to look at the question not from an academic standpoint. This question is of vital importance. It is only through a definite understanding of this problem of development and transition that we are able to determine the process of the revolution and our tasks and tactics arising from it.

Although the motive forces of the Chinese Revolution at the present time are the workers and basic masses of the peasantry (the small and middle peasants), with their Soviets and Red Army, the Chinese Revolution is not yet a socialist, but a bourgeois-democratic revolution in its objective tasks. The revolution in 1911 and the Great Revolution in 1925-1927 did not accomplish the bourgeois-democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist tasks. These tasks have been left unfinished and betrayed by the bourgeoisie, and have been taken up for accomplishment by the workers and the peasants. So at this new revolutionary upsurge, the tasks of the Chinese revolution are still essentially bourgeois-democratic, that is, to overthrow imperialist domination, uproot the feudal exploitation, to accomplish the agrarian revolution and to establish the democratic dictatorship of the workers and the peasants.

But what is the perspective of the Chinese Revolution? What road is it taking, capitalist or socialist? Will the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution grow into a socialist revolution?

In discussing this question, we must take into account the present concrete internal and external situation and come to a definite conclusion. We must see clearly the road the revolution is developing in order to set our tasks in regard to it. We cannot be satisfied with abstract theory or general terms of probability and possibility. "In analyzing a given situation, a Marxist must proceed not from the possible, but from the real." (Lenin: *Letter on Tactics*.)

The internal and external historical conditions at this time guarantee that the Chinese revolution will take the road of socialist development and that the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution will *grow into* a socialist revolution. The Chinese Revolution belongs to what Lenin characterized as the "peculiar type" of bourgeois-democratic revolution which will grow into a socialist revolution.

What are these internal and external conditions?

First, the Chinese national bourgeoisie does not lead the revolu-

tion, but has definitely betrayed it and gone over to the feudal, imperialist camp.

Second, the motive forces of the revolution are now the proletariat and the basic masses of the peasantry, that is, the small and middle peasantry with the leadership in the hands of the proletariat.

Third, the Communist Party of China not only has political influence on the workers and peasants, but has secured firm leadership in the Soviets, meaning the new type of state will consciously and systematically facilitate the transition to socialism.

Fourth, the workers and peasants are fighting against the bourgeois-feudal-imperialist bloc, and in addition to the confiscation of the land of the landlords, socialist measures, as the confiscation of the enterprises of the capitalists and the imperialists, are necessary. The existence of these socialist elements is one of the characteristics of the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants in China.

Fifth, the mass organizational forms of the workers have been established and strengthened, and the unity between the proletariat and the village poor has been increasingly manifested and strengthened during the previous stages of development.

Sixth, externally there is the economic crisis of the capitalist countries in the midst of a deepening general crisis. This prevents the Chinese revolution from taking the road of decaying moribund capitalism.

Seventh, the existence and the successful socialist construction of the Soviet Union necessarily inspires the Chinese workers and peasants to travel the socialist road of development.

Eighth, the rising of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in all capitalist countries, and the rising revolutionary wave in the colonial world against capitalism and imperialism undoubtedly will help the Chinese masses in the transition into socialism.

Finally, the consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist leadership and guidance of the Communist International in the international social revolution will lead and guide the Communist Party of China and the Chinese workers and peasants to build up a socialist order.

All these historical conditions are working for the transition of the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

This perspective of the transition of the Chinese Revolution into a proletarian revolution has nothing in common with the anti-Leninist, Trotskyite theory that the *present* stage of the Chinese Revolution is a socialist revolution and that only a socialist revolution is possible in the colonies. The Trotskyites who characterize the present stage of the Chinese Revolution as a socialist one, thus denying the revolutionary role of the Chinese peasants and the leader-

ship of the proletariat, is another monumental proof of the falsity of their theory of "permanent revolution"; their inability to understand the transition of a bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. *The Trotskyist clamor about a "socialist revolution" in China is only a "left" phrase to mask their openly, renegade, opportunist slogan of a Constituent Assembly (which has been also the slogan of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang) in opposition to the revolutionary slogan of Soviets as put forth by the Communist Party of China and the Communist International.*

The intensification and extension of the agrarian revolution, the establishment of Soviets and the Red Army and the consolidation of the leadership of the Communist Party of China is the victory of Leninism over Trotskyism.

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry has, like everything else in the world, a past and a future. Its past is absolutism, feudalism, monarchy, privileges. . . . Its future—the struggle against private property, the struggle of the wage-earners against the employers, the struggle for socialism." (Lenin: *Two Tactics*.)

The revolutionary crisis in China is further developing. *It is through struggle and struggle alone* that the Chinese workers and peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the Communist International will accomplish the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution and open the way for the socialist revolution.

A "Model" Colony of Yankee Imperialism

By D. R. D.

(Concluded)

THE STRENGTH OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

Imperialist domination over backward peoples everywhere proceeds by means of naked forces, political subjugation and economic penetration. American imperialist domination in the Caribbean rests on the same foundations. In the application of the mailed fist American imperialism knows of no discrimination, "free" Haiti or "independent" Nicaragua feels the heels of the bluejacket as does colonial Porto Rico. The world has heard much about "unequal treaties" in connection with China. These are, however, a phenomenon not peculiar to China. In fact, all the "free" republics of Central America and of the Caribbean islands are bound to the chariot of American imperialism by a chain of unequal treaties of one kind or another. In Cuba it is the Platt amendment, in a number of countries the control of the customs and finances.

It is in the field of economic expansion of imperialism that the Caribbean area differs—not in substance, but in degree—from the rest of the colonial world. Nowhere else is imperialist control of the whole national economy of the subject country nearly as complete as here. Thru the far spread net of its banks, the wide ramifications of its plantations, thru monopolistic domination of power, industry (whatever there is of it), trade and transportation, American capital—in spite of fierce British competition—has literally swallowed up the small Caribbean countries boots and baggage. This makes the enumeration of American investments in these countries a pretty useless affair.

In spite of all his tremendous power—military, political and economic—the imperialist robber would not be able to assure his domination over the Caribbean area had he no allies among the population in these countries themselves. *American imperialism has a social basis in the Caribbean countries.* One of these allies can easily be noticed; it is the colonial bureaucracy. The Whaley-Eaton Service letter of January 22, 1927 quotes the following statement by a Washington "authority": "We simply are not going to tolerate unfriendly governments to the South of us, and that is all there

is to it."²⁷ The governments of the small "independent" Caribbean countries and their hangers-on are put into power by American imperialism and kept subservient by bribes and graft. One should not overlook this group of the native ruling classes which apparently is quite large.²⁸ However; the bureaucracy is not a class. To find the class composition of the social basis of American imperialism in the Caribbean countries we must have a picture of the class demarcation in the native population.

CLASS DIFFERENTIATION IN THE CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

Native landowners form, in spite of the spread of the plantation system, a distinct class in all Caribbean countries. In Porto Rico, according to the *Survey*, 3,383 landowners had in 1928 holdings between 100 and 500 acres each, which, in view of the landlessness of the Porto Rican peasant, is quite a respectable estate. The total area of these estates is the largest in the table given in the previous article and occupies (if we overlook the overlappings of various groups) close to one-third of all the privately owned land in the island. In Havana "thousands live upon income derived directly or indirectly from the sugar industry or from lands whose earning value is dependent upon sugar."²⁹ The semi-feudal colonial landowner is everywhere an ally of imperialism. The Caribbean landlord is no exception to this rule.

The *native bourgeoisie* in these countries has some specific characteristics of its own. It is clear from the foregoing economic analysis that, what we know under the name of "national bourgeoisie" meaning by it primarily the industrial bourgeoisie, is an insignificant group in these countries. By far the greater part of the colonial bourgeoisie is connected with imperialist trade and is, therefore, completely subordinated to imperialism. The same can be said of the higher strata of the native intelligentsia which either fill the government offices or are in the employ of imperialist enterprises.

The case of the *petty-bourgeoisie* is different. The overcrowding of the liberal professions and the overproduction of intellectuals drives the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia particularly the youth (students) into opposition against the government subservient to American imperialism. The monopolization of both internal and external trade by the latter ruins a large part of small merchants and traders.

²⁷ Quoted in *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution*. By Frank Tannenbaum. 1930. p. 390.

²⁸ "Habana," says the author of *Cuban Readjustment, etc.* (and in this case we will believe him) "has thousands of people who obtain their income out of the treasury". p. 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

It is these groups that are the loudest in voicing anti-imperialist sentiment. But in the absence of an industrial bourgeoisie the bourgeois-nationalist movement in these countries remains without a backbone. A Sandino may keep on fighting against Yankee marines, but he is unable to organize a popular anti-imperialist movement. Even the support of the rich peasants who also feel the oppression of imperialism cannot create a broad bourgeois nationalist movement in these countries, as is the case for instance, in India.

It is the class differentiation of the peasantry that is of particular moment in the Caribbean countries. Unfortunately, quantitative data are here very meager. In this connection we must first of all deal with the *colono*. A *colono* in Spanish means settler or farmer and, conventionally, one who is in contract relations with a sugar mill or other plantation companies. A farmer can be a rich landowner, a rich, middle or poor peasant—proprietor or tenant. And this is actually the case with the *colono*. The *Survey* mentions a big American sugar central in Porto Rico which gets half of its cane from one and four-fifths from three largest landholders. Evidently such *colonos* cannot be considered as belonging to the peasantry at all. On the other hand, says the *Survey*, "there are single mills, and these by no means the largest in the island, that grind the cane of more than 350 *colonos* whose average holdings are less than 5 acres and whose average crop is 65 tons." (Page 615.) In tobacco farming share-cropping is quite common. The same source states that "laborers on tobacco farms frequently work on shares. The owner of the farm supplies them with land, plow, animals, seed, one-half of the fertilizer and insect poison; and also advances them money to pay for such additional labor as they may employ. The tobacco raised is divided between the owner and the share worker." (*Survey*, p. 561.)

To establish the approximate relationship between the various groups of the peasantry we must make use of a table based on the 1910 census of Porto Rico and giving the number of farmers in the sugar industry:³⁰

	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Total</i>
Sugar farmers	1174	266	1440
Sugar farmers (laborers)	2627	2126	4753

According to the accompanying explanation, the second group represents farmers who operate small farms of their own, but work most of the time as laborers for other farms. This latter group, therefore, corresponds to the poor semi-proletarianized peasant. It

³⁰ *The Cane Sugar Industry*. U. S. Department of Commerce. p. 246.

constitutes 77% of the whole. The following table is based only on the distribution of land but refers to 1928 and is more up-to-date.²¹

Number of individual landowners, by size of aggregate holdings in Porto Rico:

<i>Size of Holdings in Acres</i>	<i>No. of Landowners</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Under 5	16,454	50.3
5 to 10	12,356	..
10 to 20	11,304	36.5
20 to 50	9,605	
50 to 100	3,789	6.6
100 to 500	3,383	5.1
500 to 1,000	297	
1,000 and over	122	.7
Total	57,310	100.0

From this table can be seen that among the landowning group of the Porto Rican peasantry the first two groups (with holdings up to ten acres) which can be considered as poor peasants, account for more than 50%; the next two groups (from 10 to 50 acres) who may be called middle and well-to-do peasants form 36.5%; the rich peasants (50 to 100 acres) 6.6%. The next group (100-500 acres) lies already outside the fold of the peasantry, and, most probably, represents native landowners, while the upper two groups include the plantations. When, however, we take into consideration the previous table and recall that among tenants the proportion of poor peasants is invariably higher, then a figure of 60-70% for this group can in no way be considered as an overestimate. What is true of Porto Rico is more or less true of Cuba and of other small Caribbean countries. In Cuba, in 1913, the sugar colonos numbered 20,160, mostly tenants of the sugar plantations.

The working class in the Caribbean countries is composed of the following important sections; a small section of industrial workers, a larger section of transport workers (railroads, tramcars, docks, etc.) and the largest of all—agricultural laborers. It is the latter group which calls for comment. The impression one gathers from the various materials is that generally speaking, in the Caribbean countries, this group is proportionately larger than in other colonial. On the other hand it is pretty clear that the number of agricultural laborers usually given includes also semi-proletarianized peasants. This can be positively proven in the case of Porto Rico. The *Survey* gives the "number employed in the sugar industry" in 1909-10

²¹ *Survey*. p. 498.

(based on the census) as 87,643. Now, here is the detailed table of the same census:

<i>Classes</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Total</i>
Sugar farmers	1,174	266	1,440
Sugar farmers (laborers)	2,627	2,126	4,753
Sugar farm laborers	38,791	37,890	76,600
Sugar farm foremen and managers	1,059	300	1,359
Semi-skilled operators in sugar factories	151	80	231
Laborers in sugar factories	1,679	1,581	3,260
			<hr/>
Grand total			87,643

Here we see that not only the partially proletarianized peasants but even sugar farmers are included among those employed in the sugar industry. Incidentally the table shows: (a) that the proportion of semi-skilled laborers in the sugar industry is negligible and (b) that the Negro workers form quite a substantial part, in fact, nearly half of all the sugar workers. This example shows how careful one has to be with estimates of the numerical strength of the working class in the Caribbean countries.

Yet another characteristic of the agricultural proletariat of these countries is necessary to note. The employment of agricultural workers is generally seasonal and a part of them remains unemployed at one time of the year or another, so to say, as a matter of course. Let us, however, have a glance at the following table which is based on figures given in the *Survey*, and represents the indexes of employment on a few sugar, tobacco and coffee plantations in Porto Rico.⁸²

<i>Index</i>	<i>No. of Weeks in the Year</i>
Less than 50	1
50 to 60	10
60 to 70	20
70 to 80	13
80 to 90	3
90 to 100	4
100	1
	<hr/>
	52

⁸² In the absence of better data we had to use this table which computes the average weighted index of employment in the years 1924, 1925, and 1926, basing it on the number of laborers in 1920. The indexes are, therefore, clearly too high. We took the index representing the maximum of employment (in the original table 145.1) for 100 (thus, supposing that this index represented the absorption of *all* laborers, which of course is not the case) and adjusted the other indexes (given for each week of the year), grouping them according to their height. In spite of all these reservations which tend to *underestimate* the extent of unemployment, the results are sufficiently instructive.

The index of employment rises above 80 only eight weeks in the year. In other words at least 20% of the workers are unemployed for 10 months. And these figures are averages for three years preceding the present crisis. Now the question is: can these workers be regarded as constituting a part of the proletariat or of the pauperized peasantry; in other words, is the agrarian problem at least as vital to them as the question of wages? It seems that the answer is clear: these workers would return to land at the first opportunity. Thus there not only exists an agrarian problem in the Caribbean, as we have shown in the previous article, but a considerably larger proportion of the toiling population is vitally interested in its solution than may appear at the first glance.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN THE CARIBBEAN AREA

The bourgeois democratic revolution in the Caribbean area presents us with a number of specific problems. Here we want to touch only on one of them, on national independence.

Lenin during the war resolutely fought against the "left" Marxists who denied the possibility of national liberation in the framework of finance capitalism. Lenin maintained that formal independence, in the bourgeois democratic sense, is achievable even in the present epoch of imperialism, tho the backward country may remain a field for economic exploitation by monopolistic capitalism.

"Finance Capital," says Lenin, "is such a tremendous, one can say, decisive force in all economic and international relations that it is able to subdue and is actually subduing even states enjoying the fullest political independence."

Post war developments, particularly the example of Turkey, have completely vindicated Lenin's point of view. The Turkish revolution brought Turkey independence, but, carried out under the hegemony of the Turkish bourgeoisie, did not liberate Turkey from the economic clutches of international capitalism. The Turkish bourgeoisie, being a bourgeoisie, could not and did not abolish the Ottoman debt, did not destroy the economic strongholds of foreign capital in the port cities, and these form now the levers which imperialism uses in order to hinder the independent economic development of Turkey. Nevertheless even formal independence constitutes a great step forward for Turkey and other great colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

How does this problem present itself in the Caribbean area? The semi-colonial status of Cuba is formally expressed in the Platt

amendment. Would the abolition of the Platt amendment bring national independence to Cuba in the bourgeois-democratic sense? Would the withdrawal of the marines from Haiti bring it independence? It is sufficient to pose this question to give the answer: It would not. Why? Because with small nations which have fallen completely under the economic domination of imperialism the case is different from that of big countries.

In spite of all Stimson's promises and declarations American imperialism will continue to use naked force in subject countries. But it is not excluded that, in *particular* instances, under *certain* conditions, American imperialism may give up a part of its political privileges in the Caribbean, relying on its tremendous economic power, bribes, underhand machinations, etc., for the exploitation of the Caribbean peoples. Such cases were clearly foreseen by Lenin:

"It is *sometimes* directly *profitable* for the trusts, for *their* imperialist policy, for *their* imperialist war, to give as much as possible democratic freedom, including even state independence to some *particular* small nations, in order not to risk the spoilation of *their* military operations. To forget the peculiarity of political and strategic relations and keep on parroting in and out of season only one memorized word 'imperialism'—this is not Marxism at all."

The present international situation—the economic crisis—and, particularly, the ulterior aims of American imperialism in Latin America coupled with the sharpening rivalry with British imperialism for the domination of this continent may take the place of the military operations in Lenin's argument. We have seen how these aims affected American policy in Porto Rico. A quotation from the report of the Porto Rican governor is highly illuminating:²³

"We have in addition a very important role that we may play in so far as the United States is concerned. Probably the most important foreign relations that the United States has are those with the Latin American countries. These relationships will grow in significance as those countries begin to develop their great material resources. Primarily they will be agricultural. We will need their agricultural produce and they will need our manufactured products.

"The people of Porto Rico are of Spanish blood and tradition, but are loyal American citizens. They are therefore in an ideal position to interpret our aims and ambitions to the nations lying to the South, and in turn to interpret and explain those nations' thoughts and ideas to us."

Still more interesting are the motives underlying the recent maneuvers of American imperialism in Central America. Says the

²³ P. 13.

quasi-liberal, "super-objective" R. L. Buell, defending Stimson's "new" policy:

"In attempting to carry out this policy (of direct intervention—D. R. D.), the United States has been obliged to consider not only the nine republics of this area, but the twenty countries of Latin America as a whole. Except for Haiti and Brazil, these countries have a common cultural heritage and history, which to an extent has created a bond of sympathy among them. From the material standpoint, the United States cannot afford to ignore opinion in Latin America, since these countries have borrowed from us a total of \$5,587,000,000 and purchased about 20 per cent of our exports. . . .

"During the last few months our trade with South America, for economic reasons, has greatly declined. As the recent mission of Lord d'Abernon and the tour of the Prince of Wales show, the British Government is making a determined effort to capture South American trade. An American intervention in Central America at this time would, it is believed, play directly into British hands."

In view of all these circumstances, the problem of national independence in the Caribbean can hardly be treated in the same way as in other big colonial countries. Without the destruction of the economic positions of American imperialism in the Caribbean countries, national independence and self-determination becomes a meaningless phrase as far as they are concerned. The confiscation of the imperialist enterprises—one of the basic slogans of the Communist International in the colonial revolution which is everywhere advanced in *addition* to the demand for national independence, assumes quite another significance in the Caribbean area: here it is the very *essence* of national independence, without it the latter remains a myth.

The peculiarities of the problem are reflected in the revolutionary struggle in the Caribbean. To deny the existence of a native land-owning class and a native bourgeoisie who are the allies of imperialism in these countries, means to give up Leninism and to take up the standpoint of the bourgeois nationalist. The working class and the peasantry must direct their fight against these native exploiters. But, to an extent unheard of in other colonial countries, the class struggle of the working class here coincides with the anti-imperialist struggle. A strike in a power house is a strike against the American capitalist, a strike on the railway is a strike against the foreign imperialist, a strike of agricultural laborers on the plantation is a strike against the Yankee bosses. And moreover, as we have seen, even the agrarian problem in part coincides with the anti-imperialist struggle. The fight of the peasantry for land is directed to a large ex-

tent against imperialist landlords personified in the plantation companies.

This close interlocking of all the major strategic actions of the workers' and peasants' revolution in the Caribbean gives it such a concentration of force, such a singleness of purpose, that they far outweigh its weakness in numerical strength. The open alliance of the native bourgeoisie with imperialism and the incapacity of the petty-bourgeoisie to organize a mass anti-imperialist movement, facilitates the historical role of the Communist Parties of these countries as the leaders of the national revolution, provided they take cognizance of these facts and translate them into the living language of working class actions and anti-imperialist struggles.

Canada's Starvation Budget

By SAM CARR (Toronto)

THE deepening economic crisis in capitalist Canada resulted in a 75,000,000 dollar deficit for the year 1930. The Tory government of the millionaire R. B. Bennett, after careful consideration, last week announced its budget for the new fiscal year, which became a topic of national interest and is being discussed now by all sections of the Canadian population.

Bennett's budget was already christened by the Canadian workers and farmers as the "Hunger Budget." The methods through which Bennett and his government propose to cover the deficit in the Canadian treasury is so openly ruthless in shifting the entire burden of the crisis to the toilers whilst increasing the profits of the bourgeoisie that even the bourgeois liberal opposition nicknamed Bennett's latest child "The Rich Man's Budget."

It will only be necessary to bring here some of the provisions of this national plan to force down the standards of living of the Canadian workers to see what the budget means.

It calls for an increase in all sales tax from 1 to 4 per cent; higher import duties on more than 200 articles, many of them of daily consumption; an increase in the postage rates from 2c to 3c per letter; a special tax on magazines from the U. S. A. of 15c per pound, and boots, biscuits, salt, commodities of daily consumption, which were previously subject to a ½% sales tax, will come under the general 4% sales tax meaning an eightfold increase of taxation. Previously the sales tax was paid by the manufacturer to the government. Now the burden is shifted to the retailer, signifying that the actual increase in the sales tax will run higher than 4%, because the retailer will have to pay not only on the manufacturer's value but also on the wholesaler's profits, costs of transportation and handling which all go to swell the amount taxable by the time the commodity reaches the retailer for distribution.

The above figures show clearly that the workers and poor farmers will be the ones to feel the burden of the new budget the heaviest. From the mailing of a letter to the purchasing of a box of matches, the Bennett starvation budget will squeeze out of the workers and poor farmers the hard earned pennies, forcing further down the already miserable standard of living, even of the still employed workers. When one knows that the organ of finance capital, *The Financial Post*, is carrying on now a systematic cam-

paign for a national wage-cut, and that workers' wages are being cut daily directly and indirectly, it becomes clear that the Bennett Budget is a part of the general offensive against the conditions of the working class.

The bourgeoisie of Canada is not only determined to preserve its profits, notwithstanding the deepening crisis, but furthermore, it is out to steadily increase them. The Bennett Budget is a glaring example of this. Whilst increasing through taxation the prices on commodities of daily need under the pretext that "we are to face a national emergency," the Bennett Budget cuts the income tax on all income above 25,000 per year. The more one can squeeze out of the workers and farmers the less he is to pay towards the national treasury. At the time that the workers receiving as low as \$6 and \$7 per week will have to pay more for their food, for their newspaper, and everything that goes to make up the already miserable existence, Mr. Bennett and millionaires of his kind will under the provision of the starvation budget pay \$117,628 *less* income tax than one year ago.

The cut in income tax is not the only present of the Bennett budget to the exploiters. The shifting of the sales tax bill from the manufacturer to the small retailer exempts the millionaire department stores of the Eaton and Simpson type swelling further their profits and making it easier for them to compete successfully with corner grocers and other commodity distributors.

One month ago, under the pressure of the militant demonstrations and struggles of the Canadian workers, R. B. Bennett was forced to withdraw his statement made to the representatives of the workers that there will be no insurance of any kind for unemployed as long as he is in the government. With the assistance of the social-fascist labor faker, Abe Heaps, Bennett tried to divert the masses of unemployed from militant struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party and Workers Unity League by promising "unemployment insurance some time before 1935." In making this promise, Bennett made the labor faker, Heaps, include the word "contributory" in the motion for insurance, making sure that the workers will pay a part of the crisis bill.

The budget exposes the Bennett lying promises. It proves the contentions of the Party that the capitalist government of Canada has for the workers only starvation. Notwithstanding the 500,000 army of unemployed, the predictions of a further increase in the winter and the fact that one after the other, local municipalities are forced to declare their bankruptcy and discontinue the little relief that was being dished out, the Bennett budget *does not provide a*

single cent for relief to the unemployed, proving further that it fully deserves the nickname of *Starvation and Hunger Budget*.

The horrible effects of the agrarian crisis on the masses of poor farmers, which resulted in virtual starvation of thousands of the world's greatest wheat producers, does not worry the millionaire prime minister of Canada. In one of his recent speeches he tried to pooh-pooh the idea of starvation on the Canadian farms, admitted openly by the most reactionary capitalist press, by telling the public that in a country that has so many radios and so many automobiles, in the country side, there cannot be starvation.

However, to spread illusions among the masses of farmers and to keep them away from the Farmers Unity League, the revolutionary organizations of the Canadian poor farmers, the Bennett budget provides a nickel subsidy for *each bushel of grain exported from Canada*. It will not take long for one to see that also in this section of the budget the capitalist government made it sure that it is the bourgeoisie that will profit from this 5c subsidy and not the farmer.

First of all, 47% of the Canadian farmers who are not members of the wheat pool, never know whether the grain they sell to the elevator will be consumed in Winnipeg, Montreal or London, England. The elevator companies (*i.-e.*, the banks), are the grain exporters and they will be the ones to get the celebrated "5c subsidy." In the case of the wheat pool the 5c per bushel will surely be used to pay the debts to the same banking corporations and not to increase the share that the farmer gets of each bushel of wheat he produces. It will not take long for the farmers with the assistance of the Farmers Unity League to understand that the "5c per bushel" means no "farm relief" but that it is another slice squeezed out of the toilers and given to the banks, mortgage companies and elevator sharks.

The Bennett budget does not only signify in the full sense of the word *the shifting of the burden of the economic crisis on the backs of the toilers*, but it also has some very important international consequences.

"Canada first, the Empire second," is the slogan under which the budget was framed. The increases in duties on many commodities imported from the U.S.A. marked a step further in the economic struggle between the imperialist interests of U.S.A. and Canada. The Bennett budget caused an uproar in the export circles of the U.S.A. It builds up a protection wall against foreign interest not only through increased tariffs but also through a 2% taxation on all dividends derived by foreign investments in Canada.

The budget strengthens the anti-Soviet embargo placed by the

imperialist Bennett government. It reiterates that "the Governor in Council may from time to time prohibit the importation into Canada of any goods originating in and exported directly or indirectly from any country not a contracting party to the Treaty of Versailles. Any goods imported in violation of the terms of this section shall be forfeited to the Crown."

This is the cloak that the imperialist cabinet of Bennett used for a cover under which the war move was smuggled through. The budget repeats the above not for the benefit of the U.S.A., which has not signed officially the Versailles Treaty, but as a further declaration of determination to continue the embargo against Soviet products in spite of the growing popular protest.

The 5c per bushel subsidy to the exporters of grain undoubtedly signalizes an increased struggle for the monopoly of world grain markets. The 5c are to make it easier for the millionaire grain exporters to compete with other grain exporting countries, especially the U.S.S.R.

The Communist Party of Canada is exposing before the masses of workers and farmers the full significance of the *hunger budget*.

Through the budget the capitalists of Canada issued a challenge to the toilers, which expresses the determination to make the worker and poor farmer pay for the effects of the crisis. The Communist Party of Canada, the Workers Unity League and Farmers Unity League accept this challenge. The budget will dispel illusions still prevalent among great sections of Canadian workers and farmers. It shows the true nature of the capitalist state and it will raise our struggle to a higher level.

Engels on Religion

NOTE: The present intensified interest on the part of many workers in the question of religion is due to the fact that the crisis has brought out sharply the inability of the capitalists to control social forces, and hence unenlightened workers tend to attribute the direction of these apparently uncontrollable forces to some mysterious external power. And the bourgeois agents of religion, of course, do everything possible to strengthen this tendency.

The Papal machine is an integral part of the capitalist system. The Pope's Encyclical on Labor is demagoguery developed to perfection, and is directed toward guiding the thoughts of the workers not toward a real understanding of the forces of capitalist society—which would inevitably lead to thoughts of overthrowing it—but to supernatural explanations. The awakening of huge masses of workers, the revolutionary upsurge throughout the entire world and the consequent narrowing of the social basis of religion, the failure of the Pope's offensive against the Soviet Union—all these factors make it imperative for the capitalists to consolidate the basis of religion by side-tracking the workers from revolutionary struggle. To win the confidence of the workers, the Pope must prate about such things as "reconstructing the economic system to provide a more equitable distribution of wealth among the laboring classes," etc.

This attempt to throw the workers off the scent is supported by the Socialists. They hasten to defend their party against papal aspersions. Heywood Brown, for example, denies the Pope's claim that "socialism and membership in the Catholic Church are incompatible." He agrees with the Pope's capitalist demagogic analysis of present-day distribution of wealth. The Socialists have clearly abandoned the Marxist class basis.

Engels gave an analysis of the class basis of religion in 1878, in his "*Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*," which was issued in English by Chas. H. Kerr under the title of "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism." The translation, however, is incomplete and faulty. The following is a new translation of pages 342-344 of the German edition by Dietz, 1923.

GERTRUDE HAESSLER.

* * *

NOW religion is nothing but the imaginative reflection in man's mind of those external forces which dominate his daily existence, a reflection in which earthly forces assume the form of supernatural forces. At the beginning of history it is the forces of nature which first give rise to this reflection, and which, in the course of the development of the various peoples, pass through the most variegated and colorful personifications. This first process can be traced back, at least for the Indo-European peoples, through comparative mythology to its origin in the Indian Vedas, and has been demonstrated in detail in its development among the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germanic peoples, and, as far as facts are ascertainable, also among the Celts, the Lithuanians, and the Slavs. But before long, social forces begin operating side by side with the

natural forces, and these social forces are just as strange and at first just as inexplicable, and dominate mankind with the same apparent inherent necessity, as the natural forces themselves. The fanciful forms in which at first only the mysterious forces of nature are reflected, thus assume social attributes, and become representatives of historical forces. At a still further stage of development, all the natural and social attributes of the many gods are concentrated into one all-powerful god, who in turn is himself merely the reflection of man in the abstract. Thus monotheism developed, and became historically the final product of the later vulgar philosophy of the Greeks, and finds its embodiment in Jahve, the exclusively national god of the Jews. In this convenient, handy and adaptable form, religion can continue as the direct, the emotional form of man's relations to the dominating external natural and social forces, as long as man is under their power. But we have seen again and again that under present bourgeois society, man is dominated by the very economic relations which he himself has produced, by the means of production which he himself has created, as though they were an external force holding him in its power. Thus the actual basis of the religious reflective action, and consequently the religious reflection itself, continues to exist. And though bourgeois economy may display a certain degree of insight into the causal relations of this external domination, that does not change the facts themselves. Bourgeois economy is incapable either of preventing crises in general, or of insuring the individual capitalists against losses, bad debts, and bankruptcy, nor can it protect the individual workers from unemployment and misery. The saying still holds good: *Man proposes and god* (that is, the external forces of the capitalist mode of production) *disposes*. Mere understanding, even though it were broader and deeper than that of bourgeois economy, could not suffice to subordinate social forces to the control of society. This requires, first of all, a social *act*. And when this act has been performed, when society, by seizing possession of and by planful administration of all the means of production, has freed itself and all its members from the thralldom in which they are held at present through these very means of production which they themselves have produced, but which confront them as a super-powerful external force,—when man, therefore, no longer merely proposes but also disposes,—then only will the last vestiges of the external forces which are still reflected at present in religion disappear, and with them the religious reflection itself will disappear, for the simple reason that there is nothing more to reflect.



BOOKS **BOOKS**

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT. By PAUL H. DOUGLAS and AARON DIRECTOR. The Macmillan Company—\$3.50.

Reviewed by JAY ELIOT

Paul H. Douglas, Professor of Economics and Vice-Chairman of the League for Independent Political Action has written a book on an absorbing problem.

In running across the statement that "the loss of the job is followed by tragic consequences" the reader would logically conclude that the author is of no common clay, that he will speak out unequivocally and brand unemployment as the blight upon the workers which it is.

But not so, for after a few brave words, in the fashion of a true liberal, the author hatches the very unoriginal proposal of unemployment insurance to "alleviate" the sufferings of the unemployed. And lest this be too untasty a morsel for American capitalism to swallow, even this proposal is sweetened so that both worker and employer contribute to the insurance fund, with the state paying the administration costs. Here, therefore, is not a proposal to eliminate unemployment or its burdens but only a palliative to relieve capitalism of much embarrassment. Indeed, he speaks of a planned economy to stabilize unemployment and points to the Soviet Union as one country where the maintenance of profit margins are not allowed to interfere with employment, but he is not sure that a planned economy has proved its superiority.

The question of technological unemployment is treated just as timidly, except that here the author has produced a "Wickersham" report, concluding that there is no technological unemployment, but qualifying his conclusions so that quite the reverse seems to be the truth.

To quote, "In the long run therefore, the improvement of machinery in a given industry and the greater efficiency of management do not throw workers permanently out of employment."

In other words, workers are thrown out of employment but not *permanently*. But Douglas cannot mean that either, for later on he says, "there is likely to be a considerable intervening period of unemployment before all the workers find employment" and "even if labor is ultimately transferred, it is frequently at a job which pays a lower wage and which is less satisfactory than the one which is left." Oh, Wickersham! has thou set the fashion for reports such as these?

Using the United States Census of Unemployment for April, 1930, as a basis, we find the author leaning backwards in an attempt to give a conservative estimate. He succeeds so well that he finds only 5,400,000 unem-

ployed in the early part of 1931, whereas the government figures published in March gave 6,300,000 or nearly a million more. What then, is the truth as regards to the number of unemployed?

Perhaps Douglas unwittingly gives us the answer in his table of Estimated Percentage of Unemployment in Manufacturing Transportation, Building Trades and Mining for 1897 to 1926.

Taking the 30 year period average, he gets an index of 10.2. However, an analysis shows that whereas the index reads 9.1 for the period of 1914 to 1920, it jumps sharply to 13 for the period of 1921 to 1926. For 1927 to 1931, the average will without doubt be higher. Professor Douglas hasn't deemed it necessary to point this out. But even this is only an average and not the peak figure. The peak of unemployment lasting for some time, is the period in which the severest distress occurs. Why has Professor Douglas, in view of his concern for the unemployed worker made only a minimum estimate and failed to emphasize the peaks in his own chart? Look at these peaks of unemployment.

Average	10.2
1897	18.
1908	16.4
1914	16.4
1921	23.1

Is there no value in knowing that the peak of unemployment finds 2 1-3 times as many workers without jobs as there is on the average? Furthermore there cannot be much doubt about the fact that the severity of the present crisis will cause new eruptions in our unemployment peaks and that 23.1 may bulge to 25 or even 30. But to be conservative (statistically) let us use the 23.1 of 1921 and we get 8,034,180 (based on 34,780,000 gainfully employed persons in the U. S. A. per 1930 census) exclusive of those partly employed.

If we take into consideration the number of farm workers coming to the city, the enormous drawing of women into industry, and the students leaving high schools and colleges, it would therefore seem that 10 million unemployed at the present time is not an improbable figure.

At this point it might be well to quote from the opening chapter of the book. "Those who intentionally underestimate the extent of unemployment as a means of applying mental healing to industry are guilty of a cruel wrong, the higher the position in political and economic life which is occupied by these mal-practitioners of statistics, the greater the resulting harm."

Prof. Douglas book on the unemployment problem is decidedly an attempt to apply mental healing to industry, and shows how useful a "progressive" can be to capitalism in a crisis.

FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM

Fundamentals of Communism, Workers Library Publishers. New York.

Reviewed by A. MARKOFF

Thousands of members of the Communist Party and numerous workers outside the Party have been anxiously waiting for the publication of the pamphlet on *Fundamentals of Communism*.

Since the A. B. C. of Communism by Bucharin and Preobrashensky and the Elements of Political Education by Berdnikoff and Svetlov are out of print, there is nothing in the English language to replace them. There is an urgent need for a textbook on Communism for the use in our schools,

study circles, and for those who want to get acquainted with the theory of the Communist movement.

The present pamphlet is not a textbook; it is a guide to the study of the theory of Communism. As such it is useful. The sections on Imperialism, the Class Struggle of the Proletariat, and Our Party, are informative though a bit too short. Greater elaboration of some parts would improve the pamphlet considerably.

The first section, however, suffers from serious defects. Here clarity was sacrificed for the sake of brevity. Some of the formulations are therefore inadequate and misleading. The introductory statement on page 5 reads:

"The contrast between capitalism and Communism is the outstanding contrast prevailing in the world today. All other contradictions and differences among human beings (differences of language, race, religion, nationality, etc.) are far subordinated."

Such formulation leaves room for many misconceptions, for the differences of nationality, race, etc., are due to geographic and historical conditions and only become a source of conflict in the capitalist society because the capitalist class is utilizing these differences (1) for the oppression and suppression of national minorities, and (2) to keep the working class forces divided by instigating the workers of one country against the workers of another and by spreading race hatred among the workers.

Further, paragraph 1, page 5 states:

"1. All the essential means of production (land, factories, machines, raw materials, etc.) are the private property (capital) of a small number of persons, the monopoly (being theirs alone to dispose of) of the capitalist class."

The word "essential" used in connection with "means of production" is misleading. In a capitalist society all the means of production are private property. The word essential implies that there are non-essential means of production and that those may not be the private property. Also the word capital used in parenthesis does not carry a clear idea as to what capital is, for not all means of production are capital even in an advanced capitalist country. "Things become capital not owing to their natural qualities, but owing to definite social relationships, namely the exploitation of wage labor by the capitalist." (Lapidus, page 74.)

And again Marx in *Wage-Labor and Capital*, says the following: "But though all capital is a sum of commodities, that is, of exchange values, not every sum of commodities, of exchange-values, is capital."

Then again, paragraph 3, page 6, is unclear. It says:

"3. Products are produced as commodities (commodity production), for the market and not as necessities to satisfy needs."

But, according to Marx; "A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside of us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, page 41.) Again Marx in his *Critique of Political Economy* says: "A commodity is first of all, in the language of English economists, 'any thing necessary, useful or pleasant to life,' an object of human wants, a means of existence in the broadest sense of the word."

A better formulation, therefore, would be: Things necessary to the satisfaction of human wants are produced as commodities, that is, for the market and not for the satisfaction of the individual needs of the producer.

Paragraph 1, page 6 says:

"1. All the essential means of production are the common property (Communist property) of society."

Here again the use of the word "essential" is misleading, for under Communism, all the means of production are the common property of society. Both here in this paragraph and in paragraph 1 of page 5, the means of distribution have been entirely left out of consideration.

Paragraph 2, page 6:

"2. All members of society divide among themselves and accomplish the work necessary for society with a view to the highest possible productivity (social, 'collective' labor.)"

The use of the word "divide" in this formulation carries with it a wrong understanding of the performance of work under Communism. It would have been more correct to say that under Communism all members of society cooperate in carrying on the process of production and distribution and accomplish the work necessary for society, etc.

Paragraph 2, page 8:

"2. The value of the labor power (wages) is in the last analysis determined by the cost of production—or rather the cost of reproduction—of the labor power used up during the labor process.

This amount which the worker needs to live, in its average, social, class limits, is an elastic quantity and is constantly being lowered by the growing misery of the masses."

This paragraph contains two outstanding errors. In the first place it confuses the conception—*value of labor power* with that of *wages*. It is important to make clear to the student the difference between the value of labor power and wages. Marx makes this distinction definite when he says: "Let us next see how value (and price) of labor-power, present themselves in this transformed condition as wages." (*Capital*, Vol. I, page 590.)

Again in *Wage-Labor and Capital*, we find the following: "Wages are the price of a certain commodity, labor-power."

In the second place it conveys the idea that the "growing misery of the masses" is the cause for the lowering of wages. It is necessary to show that it is the lowering of wages by the capitalists which reduces the standard of living for the workers and creates misery for the working class.

In paragraph 3, page 8, the expression "labor power" is used, where the word *labor* should have been used.

Paragraph 4, page 9 reads:

"For, if we disregard certain irregularities (modifications), the price ("value") of the commodity is composed of:

The word ("value") next to price gives the impression that price and value are synonymous terms. We must guard against such interpretations. These are two distinct categories.

On page 10, paragraph C we find the statement:

"Capitalist society has anchored and fortified itself in the capitalist State."

This is confusing to the beginner who does not understand the role of the State. Either this sentence should have been left out or a clear statement on the State made. Here we could recommend the sentence used by Lenin in the beginning of his lecture on the State delivered on July 11, 1919: "The state is a machine for the purpose of maintaining the dominance of one class over another."

Paragraph 2 of the chapter, *The Goal of Communism*, pages 11-12, is crippled by the attempt to condense the explanation of the transition period

between capitalism and Communism in a few lines. The result is utter confusion. A student reading this paragraph will be unable to understand the meaning of either "war communism" or "new economic policy" or, in fact, the very development of Communism.

In the chapter dealing with imperialism a very important feature was left out, namely the formation of international capitalist monopolies which share the world amongst themselves." (Imperialism—Lenin.)

On page 25 of the pamphlet we find the following statement:

"Therefore the goal of the labor movement must be: the '*abolition*' of the proletariat, that is, the liquidation of the capitalist system of wage-labor itself." It is better to say *the abolition of classes*.

On page 38, paragraph 4, while it correctly states that we must "mobilize the poor share cropper, tenant farmers and the strata of the exploited small farmers," it speaks of the petty bourgeoisie in general. We must make clear that certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie can be and should be mobilized.

On page 39, the definition as to meaning of membership in the Party, is inadequate. The definition for membership in the Party must be clear; such as it appears in the membership book. "A member of the Party can be every person from the age of eighteen up who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International and the Communist Party of the U. S. A., *who becomes a member of a basic organization of the Party, who is active in this organization*, who subordinates himself to all decisions of the Comintern and of the Party, and regularly pays his membership dues." This definition agrees entirely with the definition given by Lenin.

On page 42, paragraph 6, the reference made to the bourgeois family is not clear.

Another defect in this pamphlet is the reading references. If this pamphlet is to serve as a guide in the study of Fundamentals of Communism, then the reading references should have indicated the exact pages, chapters, or paragraphs to be read in connection with this or that particular subject. The reading references as they are incorporated in this pamphlet are almost useless.

It is clear that many of the formulations in the pamphlet are wrong, and others are inadequate; this makes it difficult to use the pamphlet as an aid in the study of Fundamentals of Communism. Experienced instructors, however, can make use of it by correcting the defects in the course of teaching.

Again it is necessary to emphasize the need of a good textbook on Fundamentals of Communism. The Party must consider this question seriously. We have been talking about it for a long time, but talking alone will not produce the book.

A LIBERAL PROTESTS AND A COMMUNIST REPLIES

The Communist,
Editor,
New York City.
Dear Sir:

Will you be as fair as several "capitalist" papers were in permitting a demurrer to your review of our "Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf and Symbol"?

Your review uses 52 lines and about 610 words. Instead of telling your readers what the book gives, it tells what your reviewer thinks about a thousand other books. If the reviewer spent an hour on the book certainly

the review does not indicate it. That is what a good communist would call a capitalistic method of treating your readers.

Your review twists and misrepresents the only parts of the book which it pretends to cite. For example, it says the book reaches three startling conclusions and summarizes those conclusions by citing three ways in which Rockefeller is said to be a symbol. But the review did not tell your readers that the book lists 67 ways in which Rockefeller plays symbol. . . .

Your readers are given a wrong impression by the statement that the basis of the Rockefeller fortune is not shown in the book. It is true that such talk as "wage slaves" isn't there, but the facts as to the way the fortune was built up are there. After all can't most communists furnish their own vituperation if given facts in a biography?

Please let me add that I know nothing Rockefeller or capitalism ever did worse fundamentally than misstating the contents of literature and standing between readers and truths painstakingly prepared for their use.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

Mr. William Allen:

You take issue with our review in the May number of the COMMUNIST of your book, "Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol."

First you demand that we "be as fair as several capitalist' newspapers."

(Incidentally, the quotes around the word capitalist are revealing. It is typical of the petty-bourgeois outlook which is unable or unwilling to admit the bald facts of the class character of the press, along with other institutions.

Communists leave it to the capitalists and their apologists to play with such abstract, meaningless terms as "fairness." We scorn to deceive ourselves or others in this manner. In present society, divided by classes and torn by the ever-sharpening conflict between them, there can be no quarter given or asked by either side. Revolutionary workers know this, and so does Wall Street, but it suits the latter's purpose to attempt to hide its ruthless dictatorship in its own narrow interests from the broad masses of the population by much talk of "justice," "fairness," and "democracy."

All ethics today are class class ethics. The capitalist code is based on the assumption of its divine right to rule, the sacredness of private property, and the whole system of exploitation. Working class ethics—the ethics by which Communists are governed—are based on and grow out of the work-class need for solidarity in its battle for its immediate necessities and its struggle to overthrow its oppressors and establish its own rule and a socialist society.

It was from this viewpoint, and this alone, that your book was read and reviewed. No doubt this is not acceptable to you. But we insist that the issue between us be clear, and not blurred by idle talk of fairness.

There has been no desire and no reason to misrepresent what your book contains. On the contrary, space in the *Communist* being very valuable, the purpose of reviews is to give in as concise and summary a form as possible the essence of a book, and its value, or lack of it, for our readers.

As for your last statement: "I know nothing Rockefeller or capitalism ever did worse fundamentally than misstating the contents of literature and standing between readers and truths painstakingly prepared for their use,"—for us it is too unspeakable to warrant a reply, except this—it is a classic example of an arch-reactionary statement by (we repeat) "one of those confused, 'well-meaning' liberals" who serve their masters (even if unwittingly) all too well.

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