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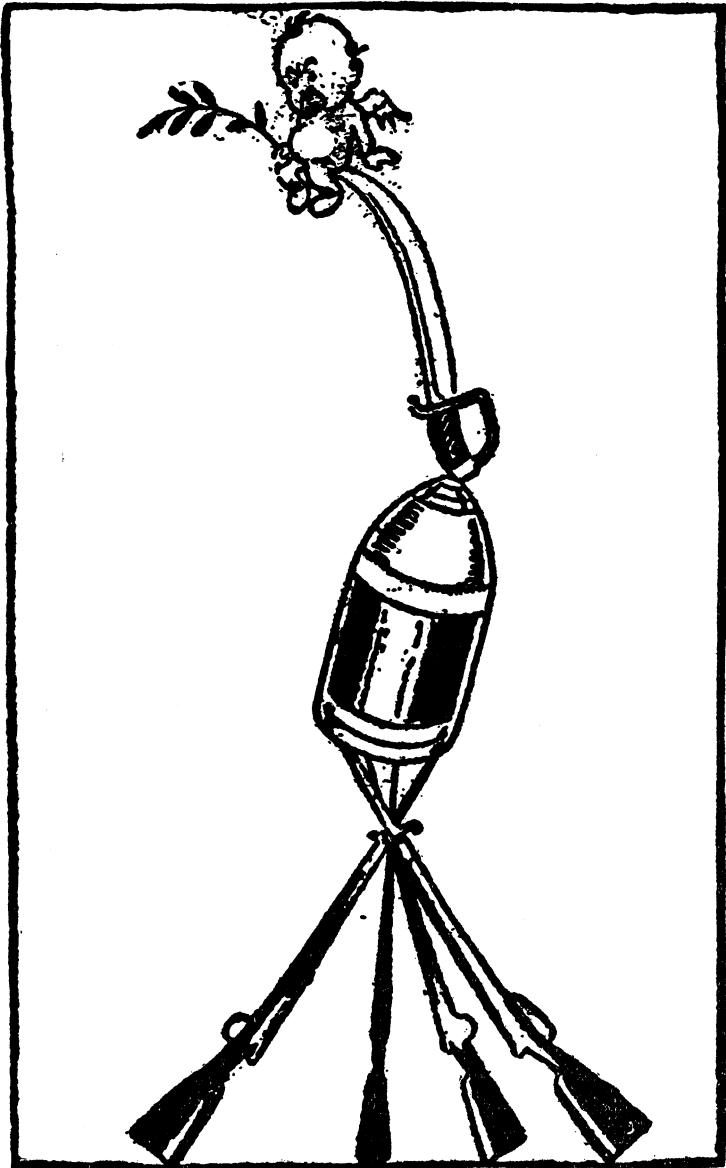
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"The Secure Foundation of World Peace."

The Significance of the Comintern Address

1. The Theses and Decisions of the Sixth World Congress determine all the work of every section of the Comintern. The line was crystallized most in the paragraphs which dealt with the entrance of capitalism into "the third period." In this "third period" of post-war imperialism capitalist economy goes beyond its pre-war level; but thereby, so far from reaching permanent stabilization, gives rise to more acute internal contradictions, which in turn sharpen the external contradictions, between the imperialist powers, between capitalism and the colonial movements, between world capitalism and the growing Socialist system of the U. S. S. R. Rationalization drives forward, the masses move to the left, the intensive exploitation of the colonies stimulates the colonial revolt, the struggle for the possession of colonies, and on the world market leads to a fresh series of imperialist wars. In this period Social Democracy becomes increasingly important for imperialism. Therefore, the tasks of the parties, laid down by the Sixth World Congress, were not only to fight against the war danger, with which is linked up the colonial struggle and the economic struggles of the workers in the "home" countries of imperialism, but to intensify the struggle against Social Democracy, to cleanse the parties of Social Democratic influences, so that in the coming struggles they may be unhampered and completely united in their fight, and, especially in this connection, to fight against the Right Danger. In terms the thesis gives this task as follows: "The establishment of the independent role of the Party in the struggles, which could be accomplished only by the concentration of the full forces of the Party against the **RIGHT DANGER AS THE MAIN DANGER** and against any conciliatory attitude towards the Right." Such a task requires from the parties the **ELIMINATION OF FACTIONAL STRIFE**, freest self-criticism, and broad internal democracy, combined with firm proletarian discipline. It is very clear that the contradiction between the historic tasks of the working-class movement and the actual situation of the proletariat objectively brings with it the danger of Right deviations: and, hence, the need of struggle against the Right.

2. The Sixth World Congress having this general line dealt also with the American Party; and, after stating both achievements

and faults of the Party and criticizing them, laid it down that the chief obstacle to the development of the Party from the position of being a sect to that of a mass Communist Party was the long-standing existence of factionalism inside the American Party. Nevertheless, the Comintern at the Sixth World Congress gave extended credit to the leadership of the American Party, in order that it should carry out the line of the Sixth World Congress and put an end to factionalism. This decision showed that the Comintern, despite all errors of the Party, had still a great deal of confidence in its leadership, and believed that finally the Party would apply the line of the Sixth World Congress.

3. The development of events in the Communist Party of America after the Sixth World Congress showed the correctness of the line of the Sixth World Congress. The radicalization of the working class, for example, was clearly in process; and the Communist Party was able to attain a measure of success on the basis of that radicalization in the economic struggle and elsewhere. But at the same time the contradiction between the tasks of the Party and the actual situation in the Party still existed and continued to exist, and many Right errors were committed: Right errors both on the part of the previous Majority and Minority factions. These errors might appear in some cases to be "Left" errors, but all the time they were opportunist errors. Factions without a difference of principle to divide them still continued, and this factionalism itself was a manifestation of opportunism. Indeed what else is opportunism but an essential lack of principle? The lack of principle was also shown in the failure *within each faction* to criticize errors. All this led to a very serious retardation of the American Party in the application of the line of the Sixth World Congress. By the time of the Convention the Party was seriously behindhand.

4. The Sixth Party convention witnessed the last effort of the Comintern to put the Party on the right line. The Open Letter showed that still the Communist International had a deal of confidence in the leaders—confidence in the Majority of the Party that they would still carry out the line. It also had a deal of confidence in the Minority that they, too, would carry out the line of the Sixth World Congress, that Comrade Foster, as a chief of the Minority, would abandon all factionalism, and would be one of the figures in bringing about the unity of the Party. But it became clear at and after the convention that the hopes of the Communist International in the Majority and in the Minority had not been fulfilled. We can say now that the Sixth Convention of the American Party was the highest point that factionalism had reached in the Party. In general, this Convention, which falsified the confidence reposed

in both Majority and Minority by the Comintern, represents so far the very acme of factionalism.

5. When the delegates of the American Party went to Moscow, and factionalism was still continued. This was true of each of these factions. The Minority showed itself lacking in any capacity of self-criticism. The Majority developed the factional attitude of the Convention. Even at the very beginning of the American Commission, in their Declaration of Ten Points, it was clear that the Majority was very factionally carrying out a factional line.

PROCEEDINGS OF AMERICAN COMMISSION

6. The American question was taken up immediately after the return of the Comintern delegation from the Sixth Convention. The comrade presented to the full meeting of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International a detailed and full report. Thereafter it was decided to set up a Commission on the American question. The Commission, as authoritative as the Comintern has ever appointed on the affairs of any Party in a similar situation, consisted of Comrades Kuusinen (Chairman), Bell, Gusev, Kitarov (of the Young Communist International), Kolarov, Bela Kun, Losovsky, Manuilsky, Moireva, Molotov, Stalin, Ulbricht. The Commission discussed the American question for a month, and during all that month the whole attention of the Comintern was being devoted to the American Commission. No possibility to think that the American affairs were being rapidly and superficially dwelt with. On the contrary, every member of the American delegation made a statement, several members made several statements, and, in addition, questions were asked individually from most of the delegation by members of the Commission. Further, every member of the Commission made a statement at one point or another in the proceedings, and these statements, one can say, were as carefully considered and worked out (many of them written) as in any of the Commissions of the Comintern. It was a thorough and fundamental examination of the American question and one which came at the end of six years (in certain matters, of ten years) of consideration of the difficult situation of the American Party.

7. Towards the end of the Commission it became clear that the opinion of the members of the Commission was in favor of the organizational proposals by maintaining them almost intact, and that the majority of the American Delegation prepared a statement. The statement was handed in on the 9th of May after almost all the Commission had spoken and made quite clear what the line of the

Address would be. This statement of May 9th indicated that the Majority delegation were not prepared to accept the line that was being worked out by the Comintern, and some of the wording was in the nature of a veiled threat of the consequences, if the Comintern should proceed. When the Address was prepared and the text put before the Commission, it contained reference to the declaration of May 9th and of the danger of any party following that path. Then came the meeting of May 12th, when the Commission finally discussed the draft address and decided at the end of the meeting to adopt the draft and present it to the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. At this meeting, the representatives of the Party were asked to state their attitude. One should note that the Address had been presented by Comrade Kuusinen, chairman of the Commission, in a speech of extraordinary clearness and vigor, at the end of which he said that the factionalism of six years, various promises made and not carried out, made it necessary to ask the comrades of the American delegation, if they would accept the decisions of the Comintern:—"Yes or No?" The comrades of the previous Minority, who had received most severe criticism by the Chairman, and Comrade Weinstone, said they would accept. The other comrades said they would not make any statement until a day later. The matter was put in the clearest possible way by Stalin, but all the members of the Majority delegation refused to give a definite answer. The matter then came before the Presidium on May 14th. The draft address was presented, and Comrade Gitlow, on behalf of the American delegation, read a prepared declaration. Speakers spoke indicating their attitude to the address, which they all accepted, and then proceeded to deal with the declaration. The declaration contained one operative clause, determining the whole contents, which stated that they were "unable to accept this new draft letter, to assume responsibility before the Party membership for the execution of this letter, to endorse the inevitable irreparable damage that the line of this new draft is bound to bring to our Party."

8. Speaker after speaker, from every Party of the Comintern present at that Presidium meeting, spoke on the question and argued with the representatives of the Majority on this matter: in fact, there was not a single member of the Presidium present who did not speak. At the end of the meeting, the Address was put to the Presidium and carried by all the members of the Presidium against one vote, that of Comrade Gitlow. The American delegation was then requested to give their opinion, when there voted for the Address: Comrades Weinstone, Foster, and Bittelman; and against it; all comrades of the Majority of the delegation. Comrade Stalin then

took the floor again and pointed out that up to that point it had been possible to argue, but now the decision had definitely been taken, the Address had been adopted: What was the attitude of the American delegation? As to the responsibility of every Communist in matters of this kind, he took a very simple and oft-used illustration of what happens in strikes when once a decision has been made to strike, and what would be the position of those who refused to carry out that decision. Comrades of the Majority were asked, one by one, whether they would accept the decision. Comrade Noral and Bedacht gave their answer, that while they had up to the last moment been against it, they were, as disciplined Communists, ready to accept and also to carry it out, execute it and to fight for it. The other members of the Majority of the American delegation, with the exception of Comrade Welsh, who stated that he would not fight the Comintern but said he could not agree with it entirely—said they would not accept. Comrade Gitlow said further that he would actively oppose carrying out all the decisions in America. Comrade Lovestone did not say so in so many words, but the whole of his speech made it clear that he took the same line as Comrade Gitlow. Then the matter was left to the Polsecretariat to take the necessary organization steps in view of the declaration. The meeting closed with declarations by a series of Lenin Students, who up to that moment had been supporting the Majority, that they would accept and carry out the decision.

CONTENTS OF ADDRESS

9. This address, adopted on May 14th by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, is the application of the Sixth World Congress decisions to the American situation. In these last eight months it is quite clear that the line of the Sixth World Congress has been fully shown to be correct throughout the International. We have seen a sharpening of internal contradictions and acuteness of class struggles in country after country—the May 1st battles in the German cities, for example—while of the external contradictions arising therefrom the most glaring is the growth of Anglo-American rivalry, already seen then and now reaching a higher stage, wherein the posturing of Hoover and MacDonald are played on for the deception of the masses. The contradiction between imperialism and the colonial revolt (Chinese situation in the last few months) has shown that imperialism has by no means been solving its contradictions; while India has become a main focus of the world revolution in these last five months. Lastly, the contradiction between the growth of the Soviet Union and the capitalist world has been particularly clear in

just this recent period. The five-year plan, now being adopted and worked out by the workers and peasants, is something that confirms the line of the Sixth World Congress.

10. What of the Right Danger? This danger becomes especially clear in many parties immediately after the Sixth World Congress: In the German Party in the tense and hard struggle carried out against the Right Danger, the break-way of Thalheimer and Brandler, the formation of a new anti-Comintern party, the launching of attacks against the Communist International. At the same time there was the growth of the German Party of the conciliators and those who endeavored to cover up the line of the Sixth World Congress and to support the Brandler-Thalheimer group. In Czechoslovakia the position was equally serious. In France also you had this same Right Danger developing steadily from the time of the Ninth Plenum, not liquidated at the Sixth World Congress, and reaching a point where it was very serious for the French Party. The French Party was able, without losing membership, to rectify the line and get comrades, such as Doriot, to step back into the correct Communist line. In England also there was hesitation in carrying out the line of the Ninth Plenum, a hesitation that has to be regarded as definite Right Danger showing itself in the Party. It showed itself also in the Communist Party of Italy and very definitely indeed in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there has arisen a Right opposition, showing petty-bourgeois and peasant tendencies. This opposition was against the tempo of Socialist industrialization of the country adopted by the Communist Party; it was for concessions to the well-to-do elements of the peasantry; and, in effect, it was sabotaging the development of proletarian self-criticism and inner-party democracy. The opposition was blind to the necessity of continuing the class struggle in the agricultural districts; a class struggle which, as Comrade Lenin said, does not come to an end with the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, but takes on new forms, a struggle between the petty-bourgeois form and the Socialist form of economy. Instead of mobilizing the proletariat for this class struggle against the elements of capitalism, this opposition put forward the theory of permanent concessions with regard to the capitalist petty-bourgeois elements of the country (kulaks), and, in the last analysis, was an expression of the pressure of these elements upon the working class and upon the Communist Party.

11. This Address not only persuades, as previous decisions have done, but this time in the most definite manner binds and obliges the Communist Party of America to apply the line of the Sixth World Congress to the conditions in the United States. What are

the cardinal points of the Address? First—struggle against factionalism, indissolubly linked up with the struggle against the Right Danger. And why? Because in America—in the peculiar conditions of the development of the American Party, the little groups out of which it grew, mostly small groups of immigrant nationalities, the enormous pressure of the bourgeoisie and in particular their extremely refined methods of corruption of the working class, the social composition of the Party—the Right Danger expresses itself not only in the open opportunist errors or supposed Left, but actually opportunist errors, but chiefly in factionalism in the form of a division of the Party into struggling groups, and, therefore, in the weakening of the power of the working class. Factions are the main obstacle to the transformation of the Communist Party of the United States from a sect into a mass party of the American working class. Why? Because factionalism puts the group above the Party; puts the interests of the group above the interests of the working class; puts the interests of the group above the interests of the international movement of the whole working class represented by the Communist International. This is what factionalism does. More than that, this is precisely the characteristic trait of petty-bourgeois opportunists. Let us recall that Comrade Lenin once asked why there should be excitement over the use of the word *petit-bourgeois*, which was a definite historic category. The use of the word ought to cause not excitement and resentment, but a keen desire to probe what has happened and why it is said. The placing of group interests above the interests of the Party is essentially a trait of the petty-bourgeoisie, who always have a group attitude or an individualistic attitude, which in turn arises from the conditions of the petty-bourgeoisie within the capitalist system of production.

12. A very characteristic example of the poisonous effect of long-continued factionalism is that comrades become unable to conceive of the Party except as dominated by one or the other faction. Thus it was said in the Majority Declaration of May 14th (and also it was being whispered by members of the Minority) that the line of the Address was to hand over the power in the Party to the previous Minority. This, it is clear, was a stupid argument born of factional demagogy and one that cannot bear any close examination. To hand over power to the Minority is absolutely against the obvious intention of the Comintern and the whole of the Open Letter and the Address in their carrying out of the line of the Sixth World Congress to smash factions. The Comintern would thus defeat its own line. But even in point of fact, it was an extremely stupid as well as calumnious argument. The Comintern rejected categorically the proposal of hold immediately a new convention: Instead the

Comintern accepts the Sixth Convention of the Party, recognizes it and consequently recognizes the direction of the Party that was chosen and elected at the Sixth Convention. In doing so the Comintern shows that it has, even yet, after six years, great confidence in the recuperative powers of the Party. To the extent that the present leadership, the Political Bureau in the name of the Central Executive Committee, at once accepted and endorsed the Address and made ready to defend it against opposition, it is clear that the confidence of the Comintern was justified. So let us hear no more of this factional slander that the Address hands over power to the Minority.

13. Here it is not out of place to recall something said nine years ago. The Moscow committee of the Russian Communist Party, as it then was, had arranged a great celebration in Moscow of the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Lenin. It was a magnificent celebration, and, of course, the jubilee of Lenin was bound up with a recital of the achievements of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin did not attend the celebration until the very end, and then made a very brief speech, a few score sentences, and said: "It is the greatest danger for any party when that party begins to boast and to have an overwhelming opinion of itself." Thus it is a very good thing; a great merit, that the Party adopted instantaneously the Address of the Communist International. But we must not be blinded to the fact that we are eight months late in carrying out the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. It means that the whole party must work with the greatest energy and speed to make up the time that has been lost.

14. What is the positive side of the letter? It compels the Party to apply most energetically the line of the Sixth World Congress, to take up the tasks of the Party, to take up the fight against rationalization, to mobilize the working class for the coming economic struggles, to try to transform them into an offensive, to organize the unorganized, to carry on the Negro work, to fight against the Social Democracy and against Reformism to fight against the war danger. With this last must be taken up the pushing forward of the campaign for Red Day at the beginning of August. These general practical tasks the Sixth World Congress laid down, and they must be carried out with utmost speed by the Party.

INNER PARTY LINE

15. Our first business undoubtedly is to get the Party out of the factional harness in which it has been so long, and to do this by the full development of inner Party democracy. From this present moment onward this must be our task. Full enlightenment of the

Party, through the working of Party democracy, must be accompanied by the deepest self-criticism. Self-criticism could not exist alongside of factionalism. Of course, the bogus self-criticism which consisted only in picking out the errors of the opposite faction does not count, and was merely a prostitution of self-criticism to factional purposes. Only desperate faction fighters, only those for whom group loyalty stands above the Party will fear self-criticism. Why, if the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is a Party which has come to power, has tasks on its shoulders greater than any other party, if such a party, at the moments of sharpest economic difficulty last year, could at that time carry out and deepen self-criticism in its own ranks, then it should not be difficult for parties which have much lesser tasks.

16. Upon all of us lies the responsibility to make this self-criticism effective: most of all upon the leaders of the Party, and of the former groupings. Minority leaders must (much more and better than they did at Moscow) give an example of really deep and searching self-criticism, and the Majority leaders must also set an example. The acid test, the hardest tasks for the leaders of the former Majority grouping, will be to know how to struggle for the Address of the Communist International even against those who were the leaders only yesterday, those who had in this Party a certain authority, Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow.

17. After self-criticism the next thing in the inner life is the complete revival of the Party as a whole, of the nuclei, of the factory groups, of meetings, throughout the whole Party, an animation of all its ranks. Next comes the bringing forward as quickly and as fully as possible of the proletarian, non-factional elements—an essential task. This is not to be misunderstood as any supplanting of present leadership, sending the direction to the devil, or “wholesale removals,” as busy rumor says. NO: it means simply that we must recognize the necessity for the Party to bring in as many as possible of the actual proletarian elements into the leading committees of the Party. This was one of the solutions which had the best healing effect in the German Party, and it will do the same in the American Party.

THE ANTI-COMINTERN OPPOSITION

18. It is quite clear that this carrying through of the line will not be accomplished without struggle. There is already a new opposition in the Party. It is not surprising, perhaps, that this new opposition up to now has been directed by those previously leaders of the Party, *i.e.*, by Comrade Lovestone and Gitlow. Many of the leaders of parties have been unable to grasp the meaning of

the new development of imperialism and all that it implies for the parties. This was so in the Communist Party of Germany, with the conciliators, Comrade Ewert and others; in the Communist Party of France, where even comrades such as Doriot—who had previously played and in the future, one hopes, will still play a very great part—took for a time a very difficult position. It should hardly be hoped that the Communist Party of America, in which the right danger was deep-rooted, should avoid this.

19. What are the characteristics of the new opposition? First, it is a factional opposition, but the faction this time is one against the Communist International; secondly, it is a right opposition; and, thirdly, it seems to link up with the whole of the international right danger. In Moscow, during the proceedings a declaration was made to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, then meeting, by Comrade Gitlow, in which he made unmistakably clear that objectively he was supporting the international rights in their attacks on the leadership of the Communist International and Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The same applies to the Declarations of May 9th and May 14th. It is not any accident that they do this. Because whoever in the past has begun to struggle against the decisions of the Communist International, stands upon a slippery slope and down and down they go rolling into the swamp. They use the same arguments, and sooner or later they come into line with the bourgeoisie in its attack. This seems almost to be a law, to judge from the ten years' history of the Comintern, the Law of Renegades. Every opposition against the Comintern, from Paul Levy to Trotsky, however it began, has gone rolling down into the morass of the bourgeoisie.

20. This struggle that must be carried out against such opposition must be a sharp one to be effective. It is necessary for the Party to fight hard for the line of the Comintern. This must be our tactical line against Comrades Lovestone and Gitlow. Because the harder we fight against any opposition to the line of the Comintern, the easier will it be for the whole Party membership to understand the situation. More than that. It is not good to hide from the Party a situation like his. Too much has been hidden in the past. It is necessary to tell the Party everything very strongly, clearly, and simply. The struggle waged, the blows put in, the harder and sharper we fight for the Communist International, the more chance is there that the comrades who have been hesitating will begin to realize the road they are beginning to take, and whither it will lead them.

21. The Party is wholehearted in this struggle, has been

from the beginning. It is a Comintern Party. But to deepen acceptance and endorsement into the fullest possible Communist understanding is necessary. Therefore, clearly our chief task for the moment will be an enlightenment campaign throughout the whole of the Party. But we must not simply have an enlightenment campaign, but must also treat this as the moment for beginning to build up the Party, getting new members, recruiting, taking up all our practical tasks, fighting against reformism, etc. At the same time we can perhaps concentrate on building the membership among the Negroes, one of the tasks the Party has still to make effective. We can also strengthen our trade union work, and do this in conjunction with the preparations for the Trade Union Educational League Convention in the early fall. We must carry on as fiercely and energetically as we can a struggle against the war danger, linking it up with the preparations for International Red Day on August First.

22. On the question of building up discipline within the Party, first of all within the Central Executive Committee and Political Bureau all understand and know only too well that one of the effects of the six years of factionalism has been that Party discipline did not have any great validity; factional discipline had greater and greater validity. Throughout these years, in both the factions there was a super-sensitized condition of the nervous system, an abnormally quick communication of all factional news and all rumors, especially rumors. It is very difficult to restore the normal condition of a Communist Party, which is that, if in the leading body of the Party a decision is taken and it is agreed that this should not be made public, then it remains within the leading body. This has not been the condition for many years in the American Party. To stop this, it is not enough to have resolutions. We must bit by bit build up the Communist Party discipline.

23. But the membership should not have any illusions. It is no use to imagine our work will be easy. We cannot wipe out six years of factionalism simply by the fact that now we accept the Address. Clearly we are bound to admit that we may and probably shall find recrudescences of factionalism turning up even inside shall find recrudescences of factionalism. The American Party is not composed of angels, and the "old Adam" is still there, strong in everybody. But each fresh recrudescence that takes place in our ranks will require the aid of all the comrades towards any comrade showing it, to combat it and enable him to overcome it. Only by having no illusions in the struggle, and thereby being able to help all comrades to overcome any revival of the old factionalism, shall we be able to go forward, united, to apply the line laid down by the

Sixth World Congress, and, above all, to transform the Communist Party of America from what it has been into a mass party of the working class.

Since the above was written, a new stage has been reached in the situation of the Party. From the very beginning it was so abundantly clear that the Party membership as a whole, especially the proletarian elements, would not tolerate open opposition to the decisions of the Communist International, no matter from what quarter it came, that in the United States those who were opposed did not dare to proceed to acts of open opposition or breaches of Communist discipline but maintained their disagreement nevertheless. This is the Concealed Opposition. This Concealed Opposition follows the tactic of a formal profession of disciplined acceptance and accompanies it with an underground campaign against the Address, a campaign which expresses itself by the maintenance of the old factional groupings, factional circulation of documents, including distortions of the plain and open meaning of the Address. Along with this attempt to sow distrust of the Communist International and of the present leadership of the Party, there goes a campaign of whispering and of subtle sabotage of the work of the Party, of the enormous tasks that confront it. With this Concealed Opposition Comrade Lovestone has now formally aligned himself, thus receding from his previous position to what is considered a stronger tactical line, exactly as the German armies retreated from their previous position to the famous Hindenburg line. This Concealed Opposition—really more sinister than an open fight against the Address will not be tolerated by the Party or by the working class. The Enlightenment Campaign—carried on fully and freely with the utmost self-criticism and full inner-party democracy, throughout all the basic units—combined with the devotion of the Party to its tremendous practical tasks, too long neglected amid the factional strife, will liquidate this and every other form of opposition to the Address of the Communist International.

International Red Day Against Imperialist War

By H. M. WICKS

THE FIFTEENTH anniversary of the opening of the last imperialist war occurs at a time when the question of the inevitability of another world war is the central problem of the day. Far from overcoming the danger of war the intrigues of statesmen and bankers around conference tables only indicates the sharpening of all the antagonisms leading to another world war.

Even while proclaiming their desire to liquidate the international difficulties arising out of the last war, the imperialist agents are laying the basis for the next war. The recently concluded Young pact is a classic example of this. Concessions were made to the German bourgeoisie, only in order to swing Germany farther toward a "western orientation," to align the bourgeoisie of Germany and their social-democratic henchmen against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The pressure on reparations payments is softened, only in order to pave the way for more private loans from the Wall Street bankers, thereby placing a greater burden upon the masses of Germany. The Young pact also is designed to swing Germany into the orbit of Yankee imperialism in its world-wide struggle against its formidable rival, Great Britain.

The Young pact is the latest of a series of events since the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International that confirms the judgment of that Congress that the central task facing the Communist Parties of the world is the struggle against the war danger.

The antagonisms between the great powers, particularly the antagonisms between the two imperialist giants, the United States of America and Great Britain, have been tremendously accentuated. But, in spite of all these antagonisms, in spite of the world wide struggle for markets, for colonies, there is one conspiracy in which all the powers unite—that is the relentless drive against the Soviet Union, which is carrying through the construction of socialism.

The imperialist war-mongers are supporting the building of ever greater armed forces in the countries bordering on the Soviet Union. These mercenary white-guard and fascist governments are being equipped with all the latest instruments of death and destruction in preparation for a struggle against the workers' and peasants' government in the land of the former Czars. A whole series of military

agreements have been concluded between France, Poland, Roumania. British imperialism intrigues to create an anti-Soviet base in Afghanistan, concentrates its armed forces in India. In the Balkans there proceeds the consolidation of a base of operations against the Soviet Union. In China, the imperialist mercenary government and blood-streaked murderer of the masses of Chinese workers and peasants, resumes its outrageous provocation against the Soviet Union by staging a raid upon the embassy at Harbin. All this is accompanied by the frantic construction of warships, the frenzied striving to perfect bombing planes, the search for new and more deadly chemical formulae for use in warfare.

In these preparations for imperialist war, the social-democrats who, in the last war, exposed themselves as murderers of the working class, are playing an increasingly important role. The difference between their tactics in the last war and in the preparation for the next one is that in 1914 they only exposed themselves before the masses as agents of imperialism after the opening of hostilities, while today they are openly aiding the imperialists prepare the next world slaughter.

The role of the social-democrats in aiding the Tory government defeat the British general strike, the suppression of the masses in the Vienna rising are consistent parts of the policy that appeared in an openly fascist form in the shooting down of the workers in the streets of Berlin on May Day of this year. There, the social-democracy, a constituent part of the police apparatus of the capitalist government, following the precedent of Schiedemann, Ebert and Noske, launched open civil war against the workers of Berlin. They again proved to their masters, the bourgeoisie, that they can be depended upon to serve as the hangmen of the working class.

The social-democracy of France aids in preparation for the next imperialist war by helping to create an air ministry. MacDonald, again premier in His Majesty's government, tries to lull the masses of Britain into a false sense of security against war by his proposed visit to Hoover to discuss Anglo-American relations so that the workers may again be herded into the slaughter house. In the United States, the leader of the socialist party, Morris Hillquit, praises the imperialist agent, Owen D. Young, the strike-breaking, scab-herding head of the General Electric, for his work in behalf of the House of Morgan on the reparations question. Without exception, throughout the whole capitalist world, the social-democrats play a leading role as agents of the bourgeoisie in preparation for the next war.

The present menacing situation emphasizes the fact that the Sixth Congress of the Communist International was fulfilling its

duty to the working class as the leader of the world revolution when it declared:

“The Congress instructs the Central Committees of all the Communist Parties immediately to commence political, organizational, agitational and propagandist work in preparation for an International Day for the fight against imperialist war and the defense of the Soviet Union. On this day the toilers must demonstrate against the capitalist offensive under the slogans: ‘War Against Imperialist War,’ ‘United workers’ front against the capitalist offensive’; ‘Defend the Soviet Union’; ‘To the aid of the Revolutionary Peoples in the Colonies’; ‘Expose the Lies of the Social Patriots’; ‘Establish Proletarian Defense Organizations.’”

August 1st, the fifteenth anniversary of the outbreak of the last world war, was set aside as International Red Day and throughout the entire world there will be tremendous mass demonstrations and strikes against the war danger.

Every indication points to the possibility of mobilizing masses on an unprecedented scale for a struggle against the war danger. While the war-mongers have been busy preparing for the next world slaughter the masses of workers have displayed an increasing resistance to the tyranny of the master class. Only the social-democrats and the right-wingers and the conciliators in the Communist parties, will venture to say that the defeat of the British general strike, the crushing of the Vienna uprising and the May Day events in Berlin are indications of the triumphant stabilization of capitalism. The very fact that these things could occur is evidence of the precariousness of capitalist stabilization, and of the determination of the masses to develop the struggle against capitalism along more aggressive lines, in many places turning the struggle against the capitalist offensive into a counter-offensive. The great struggles in Poland and Germany (Lodz and the Ruhr), the strikes in France and Czecho-Slovakia, the bitter struggles in the textile centers in the South of this country all point unerringly to the radicalization of large strata of the working masses and insure the possibility of the carrying out of the tasks of mobilizing for International Red Day against imperialist war.

The proletariat of Berlin, unarmed and facing the well-equipped ranks of the social-democratic police, wrote a glorious page in the history of the international revolutionary movement. The barricades of Wedding and Neukolln are a warning to the bourgeoisie and a promise to the international proletariat that the masses of Germany, steeled in years of revolutionary struggle will in the near future be able to respond to an immediately revolutionary situation. Already, in the recent factory elections, the Communists of Germany have shown that they are rapidly gaining influence over the

masses of workers, and will soon realize the pre-condition for revolution, the winning of the working masses to the banner of Communism.

In this connection the words contained in the "Appeal of the West European Bureau of the Communist International in Connection with the Berlin Events" are prophetic:

"On the barricades at Wedding and Neukolln there was raised the banner of revolutionary internationalism, which shall be the signal for the fight of the working class and the toilers of other countries for International Red Day against war on the 1st of August. The Berlin proletariat has given the signal for such action for international Red Day. It will be the turning point in the international labor movement for the going over of the proletariat to the counter-attack on the international front against world capital. This day of fight against war must coordinate the separate skirmishes of the working class into a counter-offensive."

Here in America, the citadel of imperialist despotism, the Communist Party must utilize to the fullest possible measure the opportunities for the greatest nation-wide demonstration that has taken place since the last war. Let no one on this occasion be guilty of the opportunist subterfuge of talking about American exceptionalism, by proclaiming that, while such demonstrations can take place elsewhere, there is no base for them here. Most important for the successful carrying out of the task of mobilizing for International Red Day is the merciless extermination of all right-wing and conciliatory tendencies; a relentless fight against any form of passivity.

There are but a few remaining weeks to perfect the plans for the carrying out of demonstrations and strikes in this country. Less than five weeks remain for the fulfillment of this important task. Although there has been certain delay in getting our campaign under way, we still have sufficient time to mobilize tremendous forces for the fight against war.

This campaign must be closely bound up with the everyday struggles of the workers, with the strikes that are raging and others that will be in effect between now and August 1st. For instance the outburst of strikes in the South, and the campaign of frightfulness they have evoked from the state powers must be shown to be a part of the struggle against war. This is more clearly seen inasmuch as the rayon (artificial silk) industry is in reality more a part of the chemical industry than the textile industry, and is so considered in many countries. Such industries are a part of the war equipment of the imperialist powers and it is in such industries that we will face the most bitter struggles, because organization of these industries means a blow against the war preparations.

Our first task in this campaign, is, of course, the mobilization of

the whole Party membership from top to bottom for carrying it out. Every district and every section of the party must make this campaign its main task from now until the 1st of August. Particularly essential is the work of the shop nuclei in this campaign, whose task it is to initiate drives to mobilize the workers behind the campaign to make August 1st a day of strikes and mass demonstrations against imperialist war.

Special agitation and careful organizational preparation must be carried on in the war industries and in the ranks of the armed forces of the nation. Every available force must be mobilized and special conferences of factory committees, youth and women workers must be held in preparation for International Red Day.

By plunging the Party completely into this campaign, we will do much to overcome the apathy that exists in some sections, we will be able to infuse our forces with new energy and take up our fundamental task which is the implacable struggle against the imperialist war-mongers of this country. Only in such struggles will we become a mass Communist Party. Only in that manner will we be able to fulfill our historic mission and lead the final struggle against capitalism.

Down with the war-mongers and their debased lackeys, the social-democratic assassins of the workers!

Beat back the attacks against the Soviet Union!

Forward to the International Red Day Against Imperialist War!

The Preparedness Policy of American Imperialism

By NEMO

CONSTITUTING as it does a single language and economic unit the United States of America does not have to fear a serious enemy on its own continent. The extension of the Monroe Doctrine, the Pan-American Union, and the financial power of Wall Street have chained the Latin-American states firmly to the chariot of American imperialism. The tremendous extent of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans makes the idea of an attack by any foreign power visionary. True, between Canada and the U. S. A. there is the longest frontier in the world. But America has very little to fear from Canada itself. Not only is Canada's strict neutrality in case of a war between the U. S. A. and Great Britain regarded as certain in England but it is even believed that this neutrality constitutes a last resort to prevent Canada's separation from the "home country." The situation being such, a large military establishment would be an unjustifiable luxury for the United States. Of course the U. S. A. is always in the position to mobilize a tremendous army; this the World War has well shown. More than any other military power the U. S. A. places great emphasis upon technical equipment, the most modern armament and highly perfected military education and training rather than upon the permanent maintenance of a mass army.

The gigantic yet strictly limited geographic extent of the U. S. A. allows it to remain satisfied with the maintenance of a relatively small army; for this very reason, however, it must devote very great attention to its naval power. American commerce is world commerce. There is no corner of the globe in which American ships do not come upon the well-established strategic system of British naval bases. Everywhere in the world market, but especially in the Far East, there is a constant crossing and overlapping of the lines of force and the spheres of interest of British and American imperialism. Thanks to its huge navy and to its perfected naval-strategic system British imperialism is in a position to make a sea or air attack upon important and sensitive strategic points on the American continent. Nor must Great Britain's great preponderance in merchant marine—an essential factor in sea power—be forgotten. America's energetic demand for "freedom of the seas" ex-

poses the weak point of its own sea power. As long as England determines the "freedom of the seas" with its fleet, its network of naval bases and strategic points, and its reserves, it is absurd to talk of the freedom of the seas for the U. S. A. as well. At the Washington Conference and particularly during the last period, the American government had recognized that England could never be gotten to give up this freedom (read: domination) of the seas, through any treaties or conferences. It became quite obvious that this "freedom" could only be won through a bitter armament race, through the building of a mighty fleet and through the establishment of numerous naval bases. The acceptance of the Cruiser Bill by the Senate in February of this year is only one link of a chain whose essential elements have not yet appeared on the surface.

As we have already mentioned, the U. S. A. has a small army. The American forces consist of three distinct elements: the regular army, the National Guard and the Organized Reserves. The National Guard is established along the lines of the regular army and provides the basis for 18 infantry and 4 cavalry divisions. It is primarily intended for major disturbances, strikes and struggles inside the country. In time of war it becomes a factor on the same plane as the regular army. In times of peace the regular army reaches 12,000 officers and 125,000 men. In June, 1926, the National Guard consisted of 11,435 officers and 165,000 men. Its strength can be raised to about 435,000 men. In the same month the Organized Reserves amounted to about 100,000 officers and men. Upon the outbreak of war and with the institution of universal compulsory service it is planned to establish six armies amounting to about three million men. Already today the official military expenses amount to about three times what they were in the pre-war period and are even larger than the appropriations for the fleet. The hundreds of millions of dollars consumed in maintaining the armed forces in the post-war years are given in the following table:

Year	
1921	\$348,600,000
1922	356,294,000
1923	335,763,000
1924	386,610,000
1925	375,375,000
1926	364,560,000
1927	385,035,000

In the course of seven years, therefore, over two and a half billions of dollars were consumed in military expenditures. For the current year 1929 an expenditure of \$467,000,000 is foreseen.

According to the presidential message the 1930 budget will include as follows: navy—\$349,125,482 (in 1929—\$364,233,362), defense—\$31,000,000 (in 1929—\$31,500,000), army—\$444,835,222 (in 1929—\$408,605,351), army air force—\$33,447,429 (in 1929—\$24,630,268). The figure for the item "national defense" should be much greater since officially only the military training of the youth is listed under this head while the economic war preparations which consume untold sums go entirely unmentioned. The armament and equipment of the American army is quite modern and its motorization is almost complete. Also the preparations for chemical warfare have gone far. In addition the army has at its disposal over 100 heavy and 1,200 light tanks.

The U. S. A. has made extraordinary advances in military aviation. At the end of 1927 the army had about 1,100 planes and the marines about 690. According to the five-year program approved by Congress in 1926 the army will have over 2,000 planes in 1931 and the marines over 1,000. The navy has about 700 planes attached to cruisers and to aircraft carriers. Today there are over one hundred factories working full blast to make the U. S. A. into the strongest air power in the world.

Considerably greater sums are spent by the United States for economic war preparation. The money spent for theoretical work, for preparing for war-time transformation, for the study of the replacement of those raw materials in which the U. S. A. is deficient, all this reaches to over half a billion yearly. At the end of 1927 there were already about 20,000 factories included in the military-economic preparedness plans. In 1924 a special academy for military-economic questions to train active officers in economic mobilization was established.

It was none other than Kellogg who declared that the U. S. A. is indifferent to land disarmament, since it stands in no danger of attack by land, but that it must therefore turn all the more energetically in the direction of naval preparedness. The recent debate on the Cruiser Bill showed that the U. S. A. has given a clear and definite answer to the Anglo-French Naval Treaty. The Senate approved the building of 15 new cruisers of the 10,000-ton class as well as of one aircraft carrier. The cost will go beyond \$274,000,000. Eight more 10,000-ton cruisers are being built. Yet the relation of the American battle fleet to the British is still unfavorable. To the 22 battle ships and 41 cruisers of Great Britain (total tonnage, 884,000 tons) the U. S. A. can only oppose 18 battle ships and 21 cruisers (total tonnage, 704,000 tons). In 1931 things are expected to be a little better: the 59 cruisers of Great Britain (tonnage 380,000) will be opposed by the 33 American

cruisers (tonnage 305,000). But of course the U. S. A. will not remain satisfied; on the contrary the aim has always been, as Senator Borah puts it, to build a navy not simply greater than the British navy, but greater than any combination of foreign navies.

The building of the fifteen cruisers is, as a matter of fact, no more than a part of a great navy program adopted in the beginning of 1928. According to this program the period of five years—that is, until the expiration of the Washington Treaties—will see the construction of 25 cruisers of the 10,000-ton class, one aircraft carrier, seven submarines and 18 destroyers—totalling to about \$740,000,000. At the end of 1927 the strength of the American navy was: 18 battle ships, 3 aircraft carriers, 43 cruisers of various types (including second line cruisers), 295 destroyers, and 120 submarines. The personnel amounted in total to 108,567 men. Naval expenditures since the Washington Conference are given in the following table:

<i>Year</i>	<i>U. S. A.</i>	<i>Great Britain</i>
1921	\$420,000,000	
1922	349,379,000	
1923	358,968,000	
1924	361,833,000	
1925	384,420,000	306,024,000
1926	350,375,000	296,310,000
1927	339,623,000	295,800,000

Within the last seven years the total naval expenditures reach about the same figures as the military expenditures—about two and a half billions.

It is not enough for the U. S. A. to create a fighting force equal to the British; it is also necessary to match the British in the system of naval bases in order to provide favorable bases of operations for its fleet, protection for its commerce, and support for its strategic points. Only a year ago a new program of permanent coast defences was decided upon that provides for some of the heaviest modern artillery. On the basis of this program ten of the most up-to-date 16-inch guns were sent to New York and Boston and eight to the Panama Canal, while ten more were determined for the defence of the Chesapeake and the San Francisco bays. Great attention is being devoted to the fortification of the Panama Canal which is at once of life-and-death importance to the United States and very obviously exposed to foreign attack. In order to avoid the full catastrophic results that would be sure to follow any sort of disturbance of the Panama Canal, two thirds of the American fighting fleet is regularly stationed in the Pacific Ocean. But of course this is insufficient—

and so the construction of a Nicaragua Canal is of maor importance. Moreover, the Panama Canal is already too narrow for the most modern battle ships (width of the Canal—about 36 yards; width of a battleship—44 yards). And so the construction of the Nicaragua Canal has become a pressing question. The American naval authorities have already assured themselves of the right to build a naval station at the proposed terminus of the canal, Fonseca.

Of course the attention of the naval authorities is not limited to the American coast. All the American possessions in the Caribbean, in the Pacific, in the Far East, those especially that are in dangerous proximity to the British points of support are now being strengthened by a well thought-out and strongly fortified system of naval bases. It is significant to remember here the reply of the U. S. A. to the development of Singapore; it was announced that it was the intention of the American government to establish in Hawaii the "greatest naval base in the world."

It is clear that the gigantic program of preparedness of American imperialism is directed in the first place against Great Britain.



Capitalism and Agriculture in America

By V. I. LENIN

EDITOR'S NOTE: *In this issue we begin the publication, for the first time in this country, of Lenin's "NEW DATA ON THE LAWS OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN AGRICULTURE—CAPITALISM AND AGRICULTURE IN AMERICA." This work was written in October, 1913. The problems dealt with in this article are of world-historical importance but are naturally of especial interest to American readers.*

A MODERN advanced capitalist country is of special interest in the study of the social-economic forms and the development of present-day agriculture. The United States of America is without equal in the rate of its development (especially towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries) nor in the level of development already attained. It is without equal in the vastness of the territory on which the most modern scientific technique is applied, technique especially adapted to the natural and historical conditions of the soil. It is without equal in its political freedom and in the cultural level of its population. This country is in fact in many respects the model—the ideal—of bourgeois civilization.

The investigation of the forms and laws of the development of agriculture in the U. S. A. is greatly facilitated by the regular censuses, taken every decade, and recording in the minutest detail all important data regarding industry and agriculture. These censuses provide us with a wealth of exact information on America such as cannot be found anywhere else in the world. Thanks to this information we are enabled to test the soundness of many accepted notions which are usually based on bourgeois views and prejudices and which are formulated without any serious regard to theory or criticism.

In an article written by Mr. Himmer in the June (1913) issue of the "Zaviety," the author presents some data from the thirteenth (1910) American census. On the basis of these data he reiterates again and again the thoroughly bourgeois contention—bourgeois both from the point of view of its theoretical basis and its political significance—that "the great majority of the farmers in America are *working* farmers," that "in the more developed sections capitalism in agriculture is dying out," that "in a large majority of the local-

ities of this country small-scale farming is becoming ever more dominant," that "it is precisely in the districts of an older and higher cultural-economic development" that "capitalist agriculture is on the decline and farms are being broken up into small plots," that "there is not a single district with colonization completed in which large scale capitalist agriculture is not deteriorating and being pushed aside by small scale production," and so on and so on.

All of these assertions are strikingly untrue. They are the direct opposites of reality; they are a mockery of the truth. To expose their error becomes so much the more necessary in view of the fact that Himmer is not just a mere nobody who happened to write a magazine article. He is one of the best known economists and represents the most democratic and extreme left-bourgeois tendencies in Russian and European thought. For this reason his ideas have the possibility of winning wide acceptance, as they have already obtained among certain non-proletarian sections of the population. They are not merely personal views or individual errors. They are a striking democratic expression of the *general* bourgeois viewpoint, beautifully embellished with pseudo-socialist phrases, and for this reason they are readily accepted by the professors and by the representatives of the millions of small agrarians.

The theory of the non-capitalist development of agriculture in capitalist society, as defended by Himmer, is in essence the theory of the great majority of bourgeois professors, bourgeois democrats and labor opportunists who constitute the latest type of bourgeois democrats all over the world. It is no exaggeration to say that this theory is an illusion, a dream, a piece of self-deception on the part of bourgeois society. When I examine this theory I shall try to picture capitalism in American agriculture as a whole, because one of the main mistakes made by bourgeois economists is their isolation of separate facts, figures and numbers from the general complex of political and economic relations. All of the facts I shall give are taken from official statistics published by the U. S. government: "Census Reports, XII Census, 1900, vol. v," "Census Reports, XIII Census, 1910, vol. v," and the "Statistical Abstract of the United States (1911)." In mentioning these sources I shall not indicate the page and table numbers quoted since this would burden the reader and the text. The reader who is interested will have no difficulty in locating the material in the publications mentioned.

1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE GREAT GROUPS OF STATES. THE NEWLY COLONIZED WEST AND THE HOMESTEADS

The vast territory of the United States, not much smaller than the whole of Europe, and the tremendous differences that exist in

the economic conditions of the different parts of the country, make it absolutely imperative that the main districts—differing among themselves economically—be studied separately. American statistics of 1910 divided the country into nine geographical divisions: (1) New England states, embracing six northeastern states along the Atlantic coast (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut); (2) Middle Atlantic states (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania)—in the 1900 statistics these two divisions are taken together and called the North Central states; (3) East North Central states (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin); (4) West North Central states (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas)—in 1900 the last two divisions were grouped together as the North Central states; (5) South Atlantic states (Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida)—this division remains the same as in 1900; (6) East South Central states (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi); (7) West South Central states (Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas)—these two divisions were classified as the South Central States in 1900; (8) Mountain states (Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada); and (9) Pacific states (Washington, Oregon, and California)—the last two divisions being grouped under Western states in 1900.

The extraordinary heterogeneity of this division led American statisticians in 1910 to reduce it further to three sections: the North (divisions 1-4), South (5-7), and West (8 and 9). We shall see that this division into three sections is really significant and essential although here too, as in all other things, there are transition types and the New England as well as the North Atlantic states will have to be studied separately on some vital points.

To make clear the distinguishing features of these three main sections they may be characterized thus: the *industrial* North, the *formerly slave-owning* South, and the West, *now in the process of colonization*.

Here are some data concerning territory percentage of improved land, and population.

Section	Land (million acres)	% land tilled	1910 pop. millions
North	588	49	56
South	562	27	29
West	753	5	7
U.S.A. as whole	1903	25	92

In territory the North and South are almost equal to each other and the West is about 50% larger than either. But the population of the North is about eight times as large as that of the West. In fact it may be said that the West has practically no population. The rapidity of the present settlement may be seen from the following: in the decade 1900-10 the population in the North increased 18%, in the South 20% and in the West 67%. The number of farms in the North has remained almost stationary; 2,874,000 in 1900 and 2,891,000 in 1910, an increase of 0.6%; in the South there has been an increase of 18%, from 2.6 to 3 millions; and in the West there has been an increase of 54%, from 243,000 to 373,000.

What form the colonization of land in the West is taking can be seen from the data on homesteads—parcels of land, most of them about 160 acres each, distributed by the government gratis or at a nominal fee. In the decade 1900-10 the homesteads occupied: in the North 55.3 million acres (54.3 million acres of which, i. e., more than 98% of the total, are included in the West North Central division); in the South 20 million (out of which 17.3 million acres are in the West South Central division) and in the West 55.3 million acres for both western divisions. This means that the West is entirely a district of homesteads where all land has been distributed gratis. The situation is similar to what we have in the distant border lands of Russia, with this difference, that it is not regulated by a feudal state but democratically (I had almost said: "by the populists," because the American republic realized in a capitalist manner the populist scheme of the distribution of land to those who desire it). However, the North and South have each only one section with homesteads, which may be considered as transition types between the unpopulated West and the densely populated North and South. It should be noted that there are only two sections in the North in which there have been no homestead grants in the last ten years: New England and the Middle Atlantic. In these two most industrialized sections the process of colonization has already stopped; we shall deal with them later.

The figures on homesteads which we have given refer to applications made to secure homesteads and not to those that have actually been occupied. There are no figures at our disposal as to the latter. Yet, even if the absolute figures are exaggerations, they nevertheless give a true picture of the relative differences existing among the various districts. In the North there were, in 1910, 414 million acres farmed so that the applications for new homesteads there in the course of the last decade affected about $\frac{1}{8}$ of this area; in the South about $\frac{1}{7}$ (20 to 354); and in the West about $\frac{1}{2}$

(50 to 111). It is obvious that to mix figures relating to districts where there is hardly any land property with those relating to districts where all the land has already been occupied would be a mockery of every method of scientific investigation.

America is a striking proof of what Marx said in "Capital" (vol. iii) to the effect that capitalism in agriculture does not depend on the *forms* of land property nor on the methods of its use. Capital inherits medieval and patriarchal land property in all its forms: feudal, dependent peasant holdings, clan communal, state and other forms of property, in different ways, with different methods. If statistics on agriculture were to be organized properly and rationally, the methods of investigation would have to be changed and the groupings would have to be based on the *forms* of penetration of capitalism in agriculture. Thus, for instance, the homesteads would be grouped separately and their economic fate traced. It is to be regretted, however, that the spirit of routine, the absurd conventional repetition of uniform tautologies prevail in the sphere of statistics.

The extensiveness of agriculture in the West as compared with the other sections may be seen from the expenditures on artificial fertilizers. The expenditures per acre of cultivated land in 1909 were: North—13%, South—50%, and West—6%. The South occupies first place owing to the fact that cotton culture requires intensive improvement and the South is primarily a cotton growing district: cotton and tobacco form 48.6% of the value of all its agricultural products, grain only 29.3%, hay and grass only 3%. In the North on the other hand, grain forms 62.6%, hay and grass (most of which is cultivated) 18.9%. In the West grain forms 33% of the value of all agricultural products, hay and grass (most of which grows wild in the meadows) 31.7%. Fruit, a very special branch of commercial farming now rapidly developing on the Pacific coast, provides 15.5% of the total value.

2. THE INDUSTRIAL NORTH

In 1910 the urban population of the North was 58.6% as against 22.5% in the South and 48.5% in the West. The role of industry can be seen from the following:

VALUE OF PRODUCTS (*in billions of dollars*)

Section	land	products	cattle	total	industry (including value raw materials.)	
					workers in	dustry (in millions)
North	..	3.1	2.1	5.2	6.9	5.2
South	...	1.9	0.7	2.6	1.1	1.1
West	...	0.5	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.6
Total	...	5.5	3.1	8.6	8.5	6.9

The total sum of the value of land products is here somewhat exaggerated because some of these values are also embodied in the cattle, such as, for instance, fodder. But the fact that 5/6 of the whole of American industry is concentrated in the North where industry has the hegemony over agriculture becomes clear. The South and West are still primarily agricultural sections.

The above tables show that the North differs from the South and West by its highly developed industry which creates a market for agriculture and stimulates its intensification. Nevertheless, the industrial North still continues to be the largest producer of agricultural products. More than one-half—or about three-fifths—of all agricultural production is concentrated in the North. To what extent farming is more extensive in the North than in other geographical divisions may be seen from the figures given on the value of all agricultural property, such as land, buildings, implements, machines and cattle, per acre of land: in 1910—North, \$66, South \$25, West \$41. The value of implements and machines per acre of land was in the North \$2.07, in the South \$0.83, in the West \$1.04.

This development is even more conspicuous in such divisions as New England and the Middle Atlantic. Here, as we have already seen, there is no longer any colonization in process. The number of farms, the area of improved land and of all farm land, has absolutely decreased in the decade 1900-10. According to the statistics only 10% of the population of these sections occupy themselves with agriculture while in the other Northern divisions 25% and 41% of the population, as compared with a 33% average for the population as a whole; in the South it is 51% and 63%. In these sections again only 6% and 25% of all land is cultivated under corn as compared with an average for the U. S. A. of 40% and for the North of 46%; under grass (mostly seeded) 52% and 69% against 15% (U. S. A. as a whole) and 18% (the North); under vegetables 4.6% and 3.8% as against 1.5% and 1.5% respectively. This is the geographical division showing the greatest intensive farming. The average expenditure for the improvement per acre of cultivated land was, in 1909, \$1.30 (New England and \$0.62 (Middle Atlantic); the first was a high-water mark, the second was excelled only by one division in the South. The average value of implements and machines per acre of cultivated land equals \$2.58 and \$2.88; these are record figures for the United States. We shall see further that the most industrialized division of the industrial North which are distinguished by their most intensive cultivation of land are also distinguished by their most capitalistic form of agriculture.

(Continued in the next issue)

Passaic—New Bedford—North Carolina

By ALBERT WEISBORD

THREE important steps forward have been taken by the left wing forces in the textile industry since first we took upon ourselves the task of organizing the unorganized textile workers. These three steps have been marked by three struggles: Passaic, 1926-27, New Bedford, 1928, and North Carolina, 1929.

PASSAIC AND NEW BEDFORD

Let us compare these three steps forward each with the other. In what respect did the New Bedford strike advance us beyond Passaic?

1. In Passaic we had 12,000 strikers. In New Bedford we had 25,000.

2. In Passaic we were tackling the silk, dye and wool and worsted section of the industry. In New Bedford we were tackling the cotton, the basic section of the textile industry.

3. Passaic was near the center of militant unionism, New York City. In New Bedford we were much further away and isolated.

4. In Passaic we had nationalities—Poles, Slavs, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Italians, who in other industries and in other places had already experience in strike struggles. In New Bedford we had mainly Portuguese and French Canadians, entirely unused to strike struggle, being on the whole new and fresh forces.

5. In Passaic we had some militant traditions, rather fresh; in New Bedford we had very few and faint militant traditions.

6. In Passaic, in the strike field, we had not come into violent conflict with the American Federation of Labor as such; in New Bedford from the beginning our task was to wrest the leadership from the faker officialdom of the old reactionary unions. In Passaic the fight against the liberals, the Muste group, the Socialist Party, was not so sharp. In New Bedford our main struggle was against these groups who in every possible way tried to surround us and to throttle us.

7. In Passaic we had a United Front Committee, rather hazy in aim and in name. In New Bedford we had already advanced to the formation of clear independent local unions.

8. In Passaic after the strike we joined the American Federation

of Labor with disastrous results. In New Bedford we stood on our own feet.

9. In Passaic our union has rapidly dwindled down to a shell of its former self. In New Bedford, although the strike has been broken by the A. F. of L., our union has grown tremendously in numbers and in influence. So that for the first time in the history of the textile industry, after a lost strike, thousands of poorly paid, unskilled workers are flocking to a militant, left wing textile union.

From this cursory comparison we can see how much our left wing, union-building forces developed and grew from Passaic to New Bedford. New Bedford marked a new plane of struggle; new and more serious tasks were placed before us and were solved.

THE NEW TEXTILE UNION

Following the New Bedford strike a national convention was held, and the National Textile Workers Union formally created. At this convention we seriously placed before ourselves the most important problems that had to be solved in our job of mobilizing the 1,100,000 textile workers in the United States, for struggle against the textile employers. We were still a weak organization. We still consisted of independent local groups in different cities, made up of individual workers, in isolated locals. We were still almost entirely composed of foreign born workers. We were still only in the north. We could not as yet really be called a National Textile Workers Union. We still had not touched the great mass of workers in the South in the basic section of the textile industry, coarse cotton goods, where in the stronghold of capitalist reaction these 100 per cent American workers were being exploited in the most ruthless manner.

THE STRIKE IN THE SOUTH

Immediately after the national convention we began concretely to carry out the tasks which we had assigned to ourselves. Organizers were sent into the South and work begun. As a direct result of the terrible system of exploitation in the Southern mills, and stimulated by our agitational and organizational work, the textile workers began to move in a wave of strikes. Four thousand workers in North Carolina came out on strike under our leadership. Four thousand to five thousand more struck sporadically in South Carolina. Five thousand struck of their own accord in two successive strikes in Elizabethton, Tennessee. Among all the southern textile workers great unrest became manifest and the struggles of these 13,000 or so southern strikers, particularly the struggles of the strikers under the leadership of the Communist and left wing groups in North

Carolina, became the direct and immediate expression of at least 150,000 cotton workers in the immediate region of the open strikes.

It is not my purpose now, in this article, to analyze this wave of strikes, to break it up into its component parts, to get all the necessary lessons which we must learn from this movement. It is my purpose here merely to show our development since New Bedford, and the new plane of problems which we have reached.

NEW BEDFORD AND NORTH CAROLINA

What are the differences between New Bedford and North Carolina?

1. In New Bedford we had a general strike in one city; in North Carolina we had a strike wave affecting the entire region, including Gastonia, South Gastonia, Pineville, Charlotte and Lexington, covering an extent of at least 100 miles. If we consider the entire strike wave including South Carolina and Tennessee, then the area is far greater.

2. New Bedford, it is true, was a cotton center, but a fine cotton center; the national center for fine cotton goods, having approximately 40 percent-50 percent of all the fine cotton goods looms in the United States. North Carolina is the center of coarse cotton goods, the basic commodities produced in the textile industry of this country.

3. New Bedford was 200 miles from the labor center of New York; North Carolina is 700 miles away.

4. New Bedford was made up of foreign born workers; in North Carolina all the strikers are Americans who could trace their ancestors at least to the Revolutionary War, if not beyond.

5. New Bedford had at least some faint tradition of struggle. Most of the strikers in Gastonia have had absolutely none, having come fresh from the farms and mountains near the mills.

6. In New Bedford we could unite all of the workers together. In North Carolina there is the Negro question, which has been kept alive and rendered acute by the employers. The solution of the Negro question in the South becomes the most difficult and at the same time the most vital and fundamental problem we have to solve. It presents us with an entirely new plane of tasks and difficulties.*

7. In New Bedford the employers played with the A. F. of L. In the South open fascism rules, with no tolerance of any unionism whatever.

*See the article on this question by Cyril Briggs in this issue of THE COMMUNIST.

8. In New Bedford the workers had some property and material reserve power. In North Carolina they have practically none.

In New Bedford the problem of labor defense was more often a legal one than a physical one. In North Carolina labor defense means an armed workers' defense corps ready to defend at any cost the lives and union property of the strikers against the open fascist attacks of the armed thugs of the company.

10. At the time of New Bedford, we had a local union. At the time of North Carolina, we have a national union. We have grown from a "Committee," and from an "independent local union" to a national union. We have reached beyond the traditional spheres of activity. We have gone further than the centers of New England and the North. We have become known both North and South. We have now a national reputation. We have begun to solve problems of gigantic national proportions, embracing one-eighth of all the factory workers in the United States. In short, we have begun to become, in every respect, a truly national organization.

THE LEFT WING MOVEMENT

There is absolutely no basis whatever for any degree or shade of pessimism. But we must have no illusions as to the strength of the left wing movement in the textile industry. The many strikes which have taken place within the textile industry in the last few weeks, unled by any union, sporadic and spontaneous outbursts of the masses, themselves, on the one hand, prove the degree of capitalist rationalization and its serious effects upon the working class, and the readiness of the textile workers to struggle. On the other hand, these non-union strikes also show the great weakness of our left wing forces, when in spite of our watchfulness and alertness to take advantage of these movements, we have not been able to do so.

Further, we have not been able to connect North Carolina with South Carolina and both with Tennessee. Nor have we been able to connect the strike wave among the cotton workers in the South, adequately and effectively, with a movement among the cotton workers in the North.

This is the next step which our union must take in the course of its evolution towards a really powerful National Textile Workers Union. This next step is to bring a comprehensive plan and strategy into the textile combats, so that when the next battle of a large and serious character opens up, it will be the left wing forces which will have had something of importance to say as to when and where the battle shall begin, and what direction and extension it shall take. In our plans for the mobilization of the textile masses

against the employers, our next step must be to have a strike not merely in one mill, or a general strike in one city, or even haphazardly in one region, but to tackle a specified section of the industry in all its ramifications and all points possible at the same time. If we cannot do this with the cotton section immediately, as it is the biggest and hardest section, we might do it with the knit goods section, or the silk section or dye section, or some other section of the textile industry where the task of synchronizing and coordinating our workers in all of the important centers of that particular branch of the industry, so as to start a simultaneous broad action among the masses, can most easily be effected. It will be in such coordinated actions that our national union will be put to its greatest test and will best prepare for the largest possible struggles that are to come.



The Negro Question in the Southern Textile Strikes

By CYRIL BRIGGS

ITS leadership of the struggles of the Southern textile workers brought our Party for the first time in its history squarely up against the Negro question in its most acute form.

To understand just what this means it is necessary to realize that it is in the South that the imperialist ideology of white superiority and racial separation, which even in the North plays such havoc in the ranks of the American working-class, finds its sharpest expression and most fertile breeding ground. The imperialist ideology is utilized by the white master class to "keep the Negro in his place," to prevent the "freed" Negro from rising, to keep him as a slave caste at the bottom of American society, now of that capitalist society which, with the close of the Civil War and the victory of the northern industrialists, had supplanted the old chattel slave system.

The slave system had given rise to a class of "poor whites." During the period of chattel slavery this class was held by the master class in greater contempt than even the slaves, even though they were of the same racial stock. In theory this class was free, white and superior to the slave. In actual fact, their status was indeterminate. They lived on the fringe of the economic and social life of the South, unable to lift themselves because of the great mass of slave labor which condemned them to almost certain degradation. In order to facilitate exploitation of the "freed" Negro, the white master class sought, and with eminent success, to prevent any fraternization between the "freed" Negro and the "poor whites." Toward accomplishing this end the social, if not the economic, status of the "poor whites" was elevated. The "poor whites" were invited to share the superiority traditions of the white master class. They were, in effect, admitted to the slopes, if not to the summit, of Mount Olympus. They became respected, albeit minor and exploited, members of the "great white race" of Madison Grant, Lotthrop Stoddard and other imperialist bunk-sputters. White supremacy became the battle-cry of the emerging "poor white" class, which only today is dimly beginning to realize that white supremacy means the supremacy only of the white imperialists and the degradation of both black and white toilers. The cry of Negro domination was worked overtime as an ever serviceable

bogey in the hands of the white ruling class, serving to whip the "poor whites" into frequent acts of savage terrorism against the Negro. And with these crimes of terrorism came the fear of Negro retaliation and a real hatred of the object feared. That fear today permeates the life of the South.

It was into this atmosphere of reeking race hatreds and antagonisms, of brutal repressions and rising resentment, of fears and suspicions, that the National Textile Union went in its campaign to organize the unorganized Southern workers and to lead them against capitalist rationalization.

That the situation with which the organizers of the N. T. U. were faced was most difficult is readily seen. What then was the duty of these organizers? Was it to prepare the way for retreat on the policy of the Union of organizing the black and white workers in the same locals on a basis of absolute equality? Was it to pretend unfamiliarity with the program of the R. I. L. U. on the Negro, that in organizing the new unions under our control the Negro must be organized on a basis of full equality? Unfamiliarity with the attitude of the Communist International on the Negro question and with the Party's program on the Negro, based on the decisions of the C. I. and the R. I. L. U.? Emphatically no! Was it to make one or two speeches advocating equality in the Union for the Negro and let it go at that? And to qualify such advocacy with the statement that this need not mean the establishment of any bonds of friendship between Negro and white workers in the Union? And to throw up their hands at the specter of intermarriage, shouting we don't advocate that! Again No!

The first duty of the Union and its organizers in the task of overcoming the racial antagonisms so successfully cultivated by the capitalist class in its policy of dividing the working-class, was to start a wide and determined ideological campaign against white chauvinism, which is the expression of the ideological influence of American imperialism and is at its greatest strength in the South. Failure to wage such a campaign resulted in the development of a powerful opposition on the part of the white strikers to the policy of the Union on the Negro workers. This and the sneaking feeling on the part of our comrades in the field that perhaps we would have to have a different Negro policy for the South gave rise to a dangerous situation in which we witness a most shameful retreat before white chauvinism on the part of these comrades. This retreat went so far that in Bessemer City, where a number of Negro workers had come out on strike with the white workers, the organizers permitted a jim-crow wire to be drawn across the hall, separating the Negro strikers from the whites. This was a shameful

capitulation before white chauvinism and was so branded by the Party. While Bessemer City was the worst example it was unfortunately not the only example of white chauvinism being permitted to come out in the open simply because our comrades had not taken the C. I. and the R. I. L. U. decisions on the Negro seriously to heart and had not set about energetically to combat the influences of the imperialist ideology.

Nor are the Negro comrades without responsibility in this shameful retreat before white chauvinism. In the early weeks of the strike, John Owens had been sent to Gastonia to help in seeing that the Party's policy on the Negro was carried out, but misunderstanding his instructions and without waiting for permission to return, Comrade Owens left Gastonia. Upon the news of the Bessemer incident reaching the center, another Negro comrade, Otto Hall, was despatched to Gastonia as a Central Committee representative, sharing this responsibility with two other comrades. Upon Hall's arrival in the strike area most of the organizers showed a most uncommendable zeal to shift to Comrade Hall's shoulders the entire burden of making the fight against white chauvinism. An impermissible hounding of the Central Committee representative occurred in the fraction, where Hall was requested to tell what *he* would have done about the "Jim-Crow" wire had he been present at Bessemer City. These comrades had to be sharply reminded by the Central Committee that the fight against white chauvinism in the ranks of the working class must be waged mainly by the white comrades. Comrade Hall found himself in an atmosphere of defeatism. He found the fraction in collapse on the Negro program of the Union, the R. I. L. U., the Party and the C. I. He permitted himself to be stampeded into himself making a retreat on that program, offering a motion in the fraction that the Negro workers should be organized into the A. N. L. C. Again the Central Committee laid down the line that there could be no retreat on the Party's program on the Negro, that the Negro workers were to be organized side by side with the whites in the locals of the new union.

In the meantime, however, considerable injury had been done. The Negro workers, militantly suspicious of the white workers, well remembering the role of tools of white ruling class terrorism played by the white working class in the South, but showing a favorable disposition toward the new Union as they came to understand its attitude on the Negro—these Negro workers were ripe for organization into the new Union—some even complaining that no effort had been made to organize them—when these incidents occurred to shatter their faith in the new Union and, what is worse, in its Communist leadership.

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This shameful retreat before white chauvinism the very first time we come up against the Southern race question cannot go uncensured by our Party. Our comrades now in the Southern strike area, and others who may be sent there, must be made to realize that there can be no Social-Democratic attitude of soft-pedaling on our Negro problem in the South, or of having one program for the North and another for the South. The new left wing unions under our leadership cannot so betray the Negro masses. On the contrary, the new left wing unions must champion the cause of the Negro workers, and must

“bring the white workers into the struggle on behalf of the Negro demands. It must be borne in mind that the Negro masses will not be won for the revolutionary struggles until such time as the most conscious section of the white workers show, by action, that they are fighting with the Negroes against all racial discrimination and persecution. Every member of the Party must bear in mind that the age long oppression of the colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers, has given rise to a feeling of bitterness among the masses of the enslaved countries as well as a feeling of distrust toward the oppressing nation in general and toward the proletariat of those nations.”—(C. I. Resolution on Negro Question in U. S. A.)

It is very clearly pointed out in the Resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the Negro Question in the U. S. A. that the Communists must wage a relentless fight against racial bars in the reactionary trade unions. It is also clearly pointed out that the new Unions organized by the left wing must embrace all nationalities and all colors. Separate unions for Negro workers are to be organized only in those trades where the reactionary unions bar Negro membership and where we have no left wing unions:

“The proletarianization of the Negro masses makes the trade unions the principal form of mass organization. It is the primary task of the Party to play an active part and lead in the work of organizing the Negro workers and agricultural laborers in trade unions. Owing to the refusal of the majority of the white unions in the U. S. A., led by the reactionary leaders to admit Negroes to membership, steps must be immediately taken to set up special unions for those Negro workers who are not allowed to join the white unions. At the same time, however, the struggles for the inclusion of Negro workers in the existing unions must be intensified and concentrated upon, special attention must be given to those unions in which the statutes and rules set up special limitations against the admission of Negro workers. Primary duty of the Communist Party in this connection is to wage a merciless struggle against the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, which prevents the Negro workers from joining the white workers' unions. The organization of special trade unions for the Negro masses must be carried out as part and parcel of the struggle against the restrictions imposed upon the Negro workers and for their admission to the white

workers' unions. The creation of separate Negro unions should in no way weaken the struggle in the old unions for the admission of Negroes on equal terms. Every effort must be made to see that all the new unions organized by the left wing and by the Communist Party should embrace the workers of all nationalities and of all races. The principle of one union for all workers in each industry, white and black, should cease to be a mere slogan of propaganda, and must become a slogan of action."—(C. I. Resolution on Negro Question in the U. S. A.)

Every Communist will carry out the decisions of the Communist International. The decisions of the Communist International on the Negro question leave no ground for compromise with white chauvinism and no basis for any idea that the new left wing unions under our leadership can be organized in any other manner but on the basis of organizing the Negro as well as the white worker, and of absolute equality in the union for the Negroes with full participation in the leadership of the Union and equal opportunity for advancement on the job. It is not only necessary to fight the chauvinism of the white workers but the segregation tendencies of the Negro workers themselves. Again the C. I. Resolution speaks on this phase:

"The fight—by propaganda and by deeds—should be directed first and foremost against the chauvinism of the workers of the oppressing nationality as well as against bourgeois segregation tendencies of the oppressed nationality. The propaganda of international class solidarity is the necessary prerequisite for the unity of the working class in the struggle."



The Civil War in Mexico

By ALBERT MOREAU

THE significance of the recent civil war in Mexico, brought about as a result of the uprising of such militarists as Generals Escobar, Munzo, Aguirre and others, can only be grasped through an understanding of the role of American imperialism in that country as well as in the whole of Latin-America, of the Anglo-American antagonism and of the class forces definitely coming into clash in this period of complete domination of the Mexican Federal Government by Wall Street bankers.

MEXICO A RICH COUNTRY

The imperialists of the United States and Great Britain, through grasping a monopoly of the natural resources, and through the influx of finance capital, have found in Mexico a fertile soil for their rapacious designs.

In the period of 1521 to 1921 Mexico was robbed of 150,000 tons of sterling silver constituting 2/3 of the world production of that precious metal. Today, Mexicans contribute 1/3 of the world output in which the United States investment amounts to \$500,-000,000.

In gold, Mexico supplies the world with 5% of the world output. Other metals in which the American magnates have the monopoly are: iron, copper, zinc, arsenic.

American interests in the coal mines are vast. Coal in that country is extracted in abundance. In 1926, in the state of Coahuila alone more than 800,000 tons were produced.

The revolutions, counter-revolutions and uprisings were always fomented by the English and American interests for the specific purpose of furthering the control of the rich oil fields, principally the important centers such as Tampico and Vera Cruz. For the American oil interests, Mexico has always been a world asset. Until recently it was the second country in the world production of oil. At present, due to the opening of new wells in Venezuela and the ever increasing production in the Soviet Union, Mexico has become the fourth on the list. In 1928 it produced 47 million barrels. It is interesting to note here, that while American oil interests hold over \$480,000,000, the British magnates come next with their \$250,000,000 investments. The present oil crisis as evidenced in Mexico with the closing down of the oil fields has an international

significance. Concerned with the "stabilization" of the world production of oil and in its endeavor to dictate its prices in the international oil market, the imperialists of both England and the United States are confronted with the "enigma" of the oil production in the Soviet Union. Let us quote an American authority on the matter. Jodson C. Welliver says:

"Russia is indeed the hopeless enigma of the world's oil game. Controlling enormous resources in the Black Sea and Caspian Sea regions, the Soviets have steadfastly refused to return or settle for confiscated properties. Greatly needing money and having in oil their most promising cash crop, they have CUT PRICES AND DEMORALIZED MARKETS. If Russia were once TAMED, the outlook for stabilizing world conditions would be vastly better." (Emphasis mine).

This quotation smells of gun powder and this is one of the reasons why when we discuss Mexico we must not overlook the fact that in the world turmoil of monopoly and imperialist antagonisms, attacks are aimed and planned against the Soviet Union.

United States bankers in Mexico control the railroads as well as the production of cotton, tobacco, sugar, coffee, beans, wheat, etc. During and after the revolution of 1910, the masses of Mexico were promised, by the present government leaders, the assurance of resistance to further penetration and domination of finance capital by the U. S. bankers as well as by British bankers. But the promises were not and could not be carried out. In 1912 American investments in Mexico amounted to \$500,000,000 and in 1928 to \$1,190,000,000, almost 1/3 of American investments in Latin-America.

ONCE ENEMY OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

By its geographical position, Mexico is the leader of the twenty-one Latin-American countries to oppose Yankee penetration and aggression. If the present leaders of the Federal Government: Calles, Saenz, Portes Gil and others came into power, it was greatly due to their opposition to American imperialism. Mexico was until recently the center for anti-imperialist movements. These movements were led by bourgeois liberals whose historical role is first to resist the advance of the colossus and finally yield to it by sharing in a meagre quantity the huge profits derived through the expropriation and exploitation of the masses.

COLLAPSE OF THE "REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT"

The Obregons, Calles, Saenz, Perez Trevinos, who promised land to the Mexican peasants and without whom they could not get into power, are at present found among the rich landowners and

industrialists. Over 90% of the leaders of the "revolutionary movement" have enriched themselves. They could only do it by betraying the workers and peasants, by a complete surrender to Yankee imperialism, by bringing the country into a state of deep-going crisis such as the one we are witnessing now.

THE TRAITORS OF THE CROM

More dastardly has been the betrayal of the leaders of the CROM who are serving American imperialism and helping the Mexican government smash the militant worker and peasant organizations. The resistance of the proletariat in class war against the native bourgeoisie and their imperialist masters, is being crushed thanks to the constant betrayal of Morones and his gang. The strike-breaking role of the CROM in the railroad strike of 1927 and in the miners strike of Jalisco are vivid examples of their treachery and complete surrender to American imperialism. Their policy of class collaboration, their endeavor to tie up the interests of the Mexican proletariat with the aristocracy of Labor of the A. F. of L., their alliance with the capitalists to get rid of the revolutionary workers and peasants, are the main causes of the present disintegration of the CROM.

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS

The deep-going economic depression that Mexico is now undergoing is bringing forth class forces in a very sharp form. The suspension of work in all the mines and the reduction of salaries, the partial suspension and closing of textile factories, the wholesale cutting of workers in the oil fields, are increasing the misery of the already starved masses. Unemployment is steadfastly rising and has reached 500,000.

In the general attack upon the living conditions of the workers, the agents of the government, obeying the dictates of American imperialism, are openly terrorizing the peasants. Assassinations, cold blooded murder of agricultural workers by white guards are taking place every day. These murders are also the result of the attempt of the government officials to disarm the peasants who have kept the weapons with which Calles and Portes Gil and their kind won their "revolution." Nullification of the rights obtained through bitter struggles by the railroad workers is the order of the day. The passive attitude of the labor fakers and the direct help given by Morones, former Minister of Labor in the Calles Government, is giving way to the active and open hostile attitude of the rising revolutionary movements of the proletariat and peasantry.

EVOLUTION OF THE NATIVE BOURGEOISIE

The agents of the present government who for years vacillated before the pressure exercised upon them by the imperialists, summed up their treachery with a conscious sabotage of the demands of the exploited. Since 1926, with the entrance of the sinister Ambassador Morrow on Mexican territory, the present Federal Government has been taking orders directly from the White House in Washington. Portes Gil, the provisional president who succeeded Calles after the assassination of Obregon, is out to crush the workers and peasant organizations. The "New Labor Code" is the attempt of the American capitalists to establish fascist trade unions and any resistance to this attempt is met with ruthless persecution, jailing and murder in the most militant centers of the country.

BACKGROUND OF THE UPRISING

After the assassination of Obregon, the Calles-Obregon block split, apparently on the Catholic issue. The division between the feudal landowners and the Catholic Church and the industrialist class which is identified with American imperialism was the real cause of the split. Manrique Soto y Gama, Valenzuela and the generals who headed the uprising came from the group that, under the cloak of "religious freedom," have sought to establish an open dictatorship solely directed against the proletariat and peasantry. Generals Escobar, Urbalejo, Munzo and the others, backed by the reactionary landowners and the Catholic Church, came forward to grant further concessions to American imperialism.

The policy of the Washington government in sending Morrow, the partner of J. P. Morgan, and the "flying fool" Lindbergh bringing the message of "good will" to the lackeys of Wall Street in Mexico, is the policy of "stabilization" of the present government. The reasons are obvious. Having all the assurance it needs for further exploitation of the Mexican masses, the capitalist class of the United States resented the uprising. It looked upon the civil war as a hindrance to its program of "stabilization." Hence Washington's military aid to Portes Gil.

The final break between the leaders who represent distinct class interests took place at Queretaro, where the "Mexican Revolutionary Party" held its first and probably its last convention. Calles' manoeuvres at that convention brought Aaron Saenz' withdrawal as nominee for the Presidential candidate in favor of Ortiz Rubio who is an open enemy of the working class. Rubio has a record as a strike-breaker. Opposing the candidate of Queretaro stands Vasconcelos, the candidate of the "distinguished ladies." The latter

is known to have negotiated, together with Valenzuela, now in the camp of the militarists, with the reactionary Catholic Church and the big landowners. The uprising, by eliminating Valenzuela, seems to have favored Vasconcelos who is the outstanding leader of the anti-Callist, anti-reelectionist forces in Mexico.

ANGLO-AMERICAN ANTAGONISM

British diplomacy is notorious for its underground, secret work. Whether British imperialism was openly behind the reactionary militarist forces is not the question. We know that its powerful competitor—American imperialism—was openly fighting for the complete domination of Mexico. Rumors were circulated to the effect that English war ships were a short distance from Mexico. The silence and absence of comment of the British capitalist press at the outbreak of the rebellion was conspicuous. One thing, however, is certain. A victory of American policy in Mexico means a defeat for Great Britain and an attack upon its interests in South America.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS TO THE FOREFRONT

The sharpening of the class struggle, the open hostility of the government and the treachery of the leaders of the CROM, the deep economic and industrial crisis the consequences of which only the workers and peasants suffer, are moving the masses leftward. For the first time in the history of the working class in Mexico, the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry are coming forth on the industrial and political arena, as a class; the class of the exploited. The two historical events which took place in Mexico City during the last week of January of this year, mark a new epoch, the epoch of independent revolutionary action by the workers and peasants of Mexico against American imperialism and its lackeys, the native bourgeoisie and the leaders of the CROM.

1. The UNITARIAN FEDERATION OF LABOR was organized at a convention with over 392 delegates representing over 100,000 industrial workers and 300,000 agricultural workers. Wholesale transference of workers from the CROM to the new militant, evolutionary Federation of Labor followed. The presence of Albert Weisbord, representing the Trade Union Educational League of the U. S. A. and the subsequent signing of a pact between the two revolutionary trade union centers, is highly significant not only for the Mexican masses but also for the oppressed masses of Latin America and the revolutionary workers of this country. This pact of working class solidarity is a sign of the

determination with which American and Mexican workers are to fight American imperialism and its imperialist wars.

2. The formation of the **WORKERS AND PEASANTS BLOCK** is the political weapon of the oppressed and exploited in Mexico who definitely broke away from the Calles and all other enemies. This political organization, a united front organization in which the Communist Party of Mexico is a leading element, stands for an independent political action of the workers and peasants of Mexico against all other parties that stand for capitalism, bourgeois and social reformism.

BOTH ENEMIES OF THE EXPLOITED

The reactionary militarists and the big landowners with the Catholic Church in spite of their defeat remain open enemies of the workers and peasants in Mexico. They strove to establish a fascist dictatorship and unconditionally given in to all demands of American imperialism. As such, the workers and peasants, up in arms, fought these deadly class foes. In Vera Cruz, the defeat of General Aguirre's army was only possible through the independent guerilla warfare of the agrarian toilers. Contrary to the false reports of the capitalist press, the Mexican Federal army did not participate in bringing about this defeat. In fact, no federal battalions were seen before the annihilation of Aguirre's forces. The Vera Cruz section of the Communist Party of Mexico took active part in the organization of the independent forces of workers and peasants. The attitude of the Communist forces in Mexico, was open, armed struggle against the reactionary forces—no hesitation whatsoever for their complete annihilation.

The Communist Party of Mexico pointed out, however, that the present agents of American imperialism, Portes Gil and his state machinery were and are open enemies of the workers and peasants. The growing reaction of the present government is becoming an actual menace to the existence of working class organizations. The revoking of the parliamentary rights of Comrade Hernan Laborde, the Communist deputy, the threat of persecution, the expulsion of the Communist municipal deputy from the state of Jalisco, Comrade Roberto Reyes Perez, together with other militant leaders of the Unitarian Federation of Labor, and their subsequent jailing, are indications of the class war between American imperialism and its lackeys, and the workers and peasants. In Mexico City and in the state of Jalisco, the CROM traitors appealed to the Government to "stop the agitation" of the "autonomous groups" (meaning the Unitary Trade Union Confederation) and the "Communist groups."

The white terror carried on by the Government initiated in the midst of the civil strife, is becoming more accentuated.

The workers must resist the attacks of the Government in a vigorous manner. Considering that the bourgeoisie at the services of foreign capital, will never defend their interests but on the contrary will fight them in an open fascist way, the workers and peasants carried on the struggle against the militarists and the feudal landowner-Catholic Church with their independent forces. With equal determination, they raised and defended the slogans for definite action against American imperialism, land to the peasants, the establishment of their own militia, the confiscation and workers control of the mines, mills and factories, for a **WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT**.

The class forces are bringing forth the hegemony of the Mexican proletariat, which, in alliance with the peasantry and under the leadership of the Communist Party of Mexico which will in future struggles deal a death blow to American imperialism and its home bourgeois government. In these struggles, the revolutionary workers of this country, led by the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist International, will fight shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed masses of Mexico and wipe out our common enemy.



Some Aspects of Chemical Warfare

By F. E.

A FEW days ago a monument was unveiled at Steensrat in Flanders "to commemorate those who fell in the first German gas attack on April 22, 1915."* It is perhaps hard to believe that almost fifteen years have already passed since the first chlorine gas clouds were loosed by the Germans and carried over the British and French trenches near Boesinghe on the Ypres salient. Yet the developments since then have been so tremendous and their implications so broad and far-reaching that we must recognize that a great deal has been compressed in these short years, a great deal of the utmost consequence to the entire world.

Chemical warfare is essentially a development of the World War and the period after it. It is of course true that chemical agents of one sort or another were known and were even used in actual warfare many years before. But to mention the pitch, charcoal and sulphur of the ancient Greeks, the Greek fire, alkali missiles, stink bombs, etc. of the Middle Ages, or even the occasional use of smokes to hide troop movements in the seventeenth century in the same breath with the chemical warfare of today (itself only in its first stages) is not merely pedantic; it is losing sight of the very essence of modern chemical warfare, of its significance from a military-technical and social viewpoint. It is losing sight of the intimate connection between chemical industry and chemical warfare; it is losing sight of the fact that chemical warfare properly so-called arose and could only have arisen in connection with the first developments of the modern chemical industry.

We shall consider this fundamental inter-relation later on; it is

*Of course the story that the Germans sprang the use of poison gas upon an astonished world which had no intimation whatever of what was coming cannot be taken seriously by anyone who knows the facts. As a matter of fact the practical beginnings of chemical warfare seem to have been a simultaneous development although, of course, Germany had the lead because of its lead in chemical science and chemical industry. It is claimed that the use of gas weapons was begun in France as early as September, 1914, but without much success. A French War Ministry order of May 21, 1915, contains instructions on chemical warfare. On the Lusitania, sunk in May, 1915, there were many tons of chemicals intended for the production of poison gas. The Germans merely seized the initiative.

important to note now that beginning with the 80's of the last century a whole series of important investigations and studies were undertaken by chemists (and particularly by German chemists because in Germany the chemical industry was in an advanced state) as to the action of various chemical agents upon the human organism and as to methods of protection and defense. Of course the military significance of these investigations was hardly made explicit; but the obvious implications were there and it soon became clear that a new weapon of unplumbed possibilities was being developed. The bourgeois diplomats met this development in the usual manner—by attempting to cover up the emergence of a new instrument of death and destruction with soft phrases of pacifist assurance believed in by no one less than by the phrase-mongers themselves. At the first Hague Conference (1899) a "Declaration" was entered into according to which "the contracting powers agree to abstain from the use of projectiles the sole object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases." It is interesting that the United States refused to sign this declaration. Captain (afterwards Admiral) Mahan made a noteworthy statement, inserted in a report of the proceedings:

"The reproach of perfidy or cruelty addressed against those supposed shells (poison gas shells) was equally uttered formerly against firearms and torpedoes although each are now employed without scruple. . . . It is illogical and not demonstrably humane to be tender about asphyxiating men with gas, when all are prepared to admit that it is allowable to blow the bottom out of an ironclad at midnight throwing four or five hundred men into the sea to be choked up by water with scarcely the remotest chance of escape. . . ."

The disgusting hypocrisy of the endless prating about "humanity" on the part of the war mongers is very well if altogether unintentionally exposed in these dry words. But of course the diplomats went on with their game and in 1907 several new "conventions" were entered into at the second Hague Conference, extending the prohibition of chemical warfare, even touching upon the question of avio-chemistry. When the war broke out in 1914 these "declarations" made it possible for each of the combatants to brand the other as "barbarous," as "contravening the laws of nations," as "violating the laws of civilized warfare," etc., which was precisely one of the chief reasons for having made these "declarations" in the first place. It is hardly necessary to waste any time on the post-war "attempts" to "outlaw" chemical warfare which are even more insipid and empty. Chemical warfare is here

to stay and its significance from every viewpoint is growing day to day.

For the intelligent worker chemical warfare has a number of points of great interest. The effect of chemical warfare upon the development of militarism, the close relations between "peacetime" chemical industry and chemical warfare, the tremendous significance of chemical warfare for the civilian population, the part it plays in colonial wars and its role in the next imperialist war and in an offensive against the Soviet Union—all these are phases of the question that merit close consideration. But the best attention of the revolutionary Communist should surely be concentrated upon the role of chemical warfare in "the maintenance of internal security," in other words, in armed uprisings and insurrections. For those who regard the proletarian revolution as a concrete reality and not simply as a sentimental dream or an automatic millenium this last question must be of absorbing interest.

It is my purpose in the following paragraphs to sketch very briefly and in an untechnical manner some of the main phases of chemical warfare from the point of view indicated above. For the sake of clarity the presentation had best be divided under four heads: (I) the general nature of chemical warfare, (II) chemical industry and chemical warfare, (III) chemical warfare and the civilian population, and (IV) chemical warfare and proletarian revolution.

I. THE GENERAL NATURE OF CHEMICAL WARFARE

It would certainly be very helpful if the misleading term "poison gas" gave way before the more precise "chemical warfare." In the first place, poison "gas," although easily the most important, is not the only form of chemical warfare; there are, for example, the "smokes" of different sorts, "liquid fire," etc. In the second place, the materials used in chemical warfare, although generally appearing on the battlefield as gases, are not really ordinarily gases at all, but are transported and projected as liquids or solids. We may best define chemical warfare as that type of warfare in which the physiological effects (the casualties) are the result rather of chemical processes than of mere mechanical action as is the case with the older weapons. *

* It is interesting to note that there exists an analagous form of warfare hitherto undeveloped but perhaps possessing some possibilities—bacteriological or biological warfare. The dispersal of disease germs among the enemy armed forces or the civilian population, the pollution of the water and food supply, the destruction of crops through parasites, are some possibilities. But so far this arm has been undeveloped and the general opinion seems to

TYPICAL AGENTS IN CHEMICAL WARFARE

What are the most typical agents used in chemical warfare? It should be remembered that already over 1,000 chemical agents are known as compared with about thirty in the early part of the war. Yet, in spite of this multiplicity, it is possible to get a general idea of the nature of these chemical agents by examining them from the point of view of both the physiological and tactical classification.

Let us take the French (physiological) classification first. Chemical agents are here divided into five main categories: toxic, asphyxiating, vesicant, lachrymatory, and sternutatory. The *toxic* compounds are so called because of their specific effects upon particular parts of the organism (nervous system, etc.). Prussic (hydrocyanic) acid is perhaps the best example. But this class has been found to be of very questionable military value, for a number of reasons, chief among them being its ineffectiveness in any but the highest concentrations. The *asphyxiating* compounds, on the other hand, produce their effects by the congestion of the pulmonary system, by suffocation in fact. Chlorine gas is the best known substance of this kind, while phosgene is perhaps the most formidable. The *lachrymators* or tear gases are well known and their use at the front proved quite effective. The *vesicant* or blistering compounds are those that seem to hold out the greatest possibilities of development in chemical warfare. The chief of these is mustard gas (*dichlorethylsulfide*). The remarkable properties of this chemical agent and its great military value will be touched upon in greater detail below. The *sternutatory* or sneezing agents, are generally arsenic compounds of some sort, and are also toxic in their action. It should of course be noted that in actual battle the various types of agents are very frequently used to gether to accomplish definite tactical ends.

TACTICAL

From the military viewpoint the tactical classification now generally employed is more significant. From this viewpoint two main classes exist: persistent and non-persistent substances. *Persistent substances* such as mustard gas remain for a long time (even days) on the soil or vegetation or objects on which they have been spread, all the time maintaining their dangerous effect. Some of the lachrymators are just as persistent as mustard gas. On the other

be that it holds forth small potentialities. But this should not be taken as final as the same opinion was held not so long ago about chemical warfare. We shall see. . . .

hand, the *non-persistent substances*, such as chlorine, phosgene, diphenylchlorarsine (a sternutatory compound), etc. soon disappear after dispersal. During the World War the Germans introduced a third tactical class, the penetrants, consisting of pulverized substances that could penetrate masks because of their state of minute subdivision.

It is obvious that the above properties of the chemical agents determine their tactical application. For example, non-persistent substances are used immediately before attack so as to allow the occupation of the inundated territory by "our" troops. On the other hand, the persistent substances are used in retreat, for obvious reasons, and so on. For particular tactical ends combinations of the various agents are made. Indeed the whole matter has been developed into a complicated technique.

MUSTARD GAS

Considered from every viewpoint mustard gas is probably the most effective of all chemical agents so far developed. It is neither difficult nor expensive to prepare and its production interlocks very effectively with peace-time chemical industry (dye industry, especially indigo production). Mustard gas (dichlorethylsulfide ($\text{ClCH}_2\text{CH}_2)_2\text{S}$) was discovered as a result of pure scientific investigations as far back as 1860. Already in 1884 the famous German chemist, Mayer, described its specific effects upon the organism. In its pure state it is a colorless, slightly oily liquid with a boiling point of 220°C and a freezing point of 14°C . Its great military value arises from a number of factors of which we can only list some. In the first place, in high concentrations it has a powerful lethal effect while in such concentrations as one part in 3 to 4 million it causes blisters and skin burns that take months to heal. Secondly, its effectiveness is not seriously diminished by gas masks or such contrivances. In its liquid form as well as vapor it penetrates all clothing, leather and even rubber, and effects burns and blisters on every part of the body, especially the moist parts (such as the armpits, etc.). If inhaled the gas causes severe burns in the respiratory tract. It is impossible to protect fully against mustard gas unless we protect the whole body and this is obviously impossible during war. Food and drink contaminated with mustard gas vapor or liquid and this takes place very easily, produces severe effects on the gastric tract. Then again the delay action (latent action) of this chemical agent is very great so that a person exposed to mustard gas sometimes begins to feel its effects hours later. In connection with this it should be remembered that it is to be recognized only by a slight garlic odor so that high concentrations and

big doses may be attained before adequate protection measures are taken. The persistency of mustard gas is very great; indeed with proper weather conditions its effectiveness remains for days and weeks. An area inundated with this chemical retains it for a long time since it is much heavier than air and sinks into all manner of holes, crevices, depressions, etc. where it may remain for a surprising period. Finally, unlike most other chemical agents, mustard gas has a deleterious effect on the horse (blistering) and even upon vegetation. It is surely no wonder that the supply of mustard gas was never equal to the demand during the war, that its production kept mounting to gigantic proportions, and that in Germany and elsewhere, for example, its production exceeded that of many other chemical agents combined.

Mustard gas is a good example of what can be expected in chemical warfare but signs are not lacking that in the military and industrial laboratories substances are now being prepared that will put even mustard gas in the shade. Thus, for example, Dr. H. I. Jones, a well known chemist, announced towards the end of last year, the discovery of a substance called *cacodyl isocyanide*, which, he assures us, "is a deadly poison and would destroy armies as a man might snuff out a candle. . . . It may be manufactured at the rate of thousands of tons a day and it costs less than powder and cannon, yet it will destroy armies more thoroughly, more effectively, more quickly." Of course, this account is probably exaggerated but there is enough truth in it to be significant.

METHODS OF DISPERSAL

In the first gas attack in 1915 the gas (chlorine) was dispersed from cylinders which were painfully lugged to the first line trenches. The gas emerged through clumsy rubber nozzles and formed thick clouds which a favorable wind carried over the Allied trenches. But the crudeness and inadequacy of such methods soon became obvious and a number of special weapons were developed specifically adapted for gas. Thus, the Livens projector was soon contrived by the Allies which made it possible to produce a gas cloud a long distance from the point of discharge, while the Stokes mortar and other short range guns were used for rapid fire of large numbers of gas shell. * It did not take long before gas shells began

*The Livens projector is very simple and effective. It is simply a tube mortar closed at one end and fitted with a charge box on which rests the projectile. By an ingenious electrical arrangement large numbers, even hundreds, of these projectiles can be discharged simultaneously and huge quantities of gas caused to originate in the form of cloud more than a mile from the point of discharge.

to be devised for use with all forms of long range artillery so that by 1918 the orders for the Seventh German Army in artillery preparation for the attack on the Aisne (May 27) provided for a proportion of chemical shell reaching 70-80 per cent! There are numerous other ways in which poison gas can be dispersed—bombs, grenades, spraying or bombing from the air, the German flammenwerfer. . . . In fact, although special methods of projection and dispersal are both necessary and useful, not the least of the military virtues of chemical warfare is the way in which its practise fits in with the utilization of the usual weapons in modern warfare.

FACTORS INFLUENCING EFFECTIVENESS

The factors generally influencing the effectiveness of the chemical substances may be distributed under three main heads: the specific characteristics of the chemical agent itself, its concentration, and its persistency. As to concentration, each substance has its definite minimum level for effectiveness, the higher the concentration the more prompt the effect. We have already touched upon the question of persistency above. The degree of effectiveness and persistency of chemical substances, and therefore also their application, depends to a large extent upon weather conditions. The wind is especially important. For most forms of gas dispersal the strength and direction of the wind must be taken into careful consideration. A strong wind diminishes both concentration and persistency, a rising wind carries the gas on high and renders it ineffective, and so on. Sunshine produces upward current of air and so exercises a negative effect on gas dispersal. During the day cloudy weather seems to be most favorable; the night, early morning and the late evening hours are in general the best suited for gas attack. Light precipitations have hardly any effect on gas effectiveness but heavy rain beats the gas to earth and along with it sinks into the soil where it slowly decomposes. Snow in general has little effect; in particular, it does not seem to destroy the potency of the substances it covers. Another important factor is the nature of the terrain (the surface characteristics of the territory). It is obvious that an uneven stretch of land that is overgrown with brushwood, full of ditches, clefts, swamps, ravines, etc. is much more favorable for the use of poison gas than a flat, even bare plain. We mention all these points to illustrate the complexity of the technique of chemical warfare and to show the great importance of the trained chemical warfare officer.

CASUALTY EFFECTS

The object of all weapons in warfare is primarily to put the enemy forces hors de combat—out of action—either temporarily or

permanently. The physiological effects of the agents used in chemical warfare are varied as we have indicated in the physiological classification above but they all center about this main object. It is impossible here to examine in any detail the profound pathological effects of the various types of gases, some of which cause widespread death while others bring with them less serious disturbances of the organism; nor can we study the important after-effects of gassing which sometimes persist for years. We should note that many of the chemical agents have more than one type of physiological effect (multiple effects) and that the same substance may have different effects depending upon its concentration.

There is still great uncertainty as to the casualty effects of the various agents and of chemical warfare in general; there is even greater uncertainty as to death percentages in casualties—indeed, about this question a bitter controversy is now raging. There can be little question that the total casualties produced by poison gas are relatively enormous. Take, for example, the following instance of three German cloud gas attacks upon the Russians, immediately to the west of Warsaw, in May and June, 1915. All these attacks totalled to one hour and extended on a front of six miles. The Russians lost not less than 5,000 men on the field and the total casualties amounted to 25,000 officers and men. A Siberian regiment had before the attack 40 officers and 4,000 men. After twenty minutes of gas attack it was reduced to 4 officers and 400 men. It is also said that from its introduction in 1917 mustard gas casualties were greater than the combined casualties of the previous year's shelling. The American figures are especially significant. On the basis of the total strength of the A. E. F. the number of gas casualties constituted about 6 per cent, wounded by rifle or machine gun fire about 1 per cent, wounded by high explosives $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, shrapnel wounds 3 per cent, bayonet wounds less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Unquestionably, measured by the casualties produced, gas has proved by far the most effective weapon.

The matter is not so simple if we consider death percentages. It is widely claimed by the advocates of chemical warfare that although gas is by far the most effective it is by far the least deadly weapon. In support of this claim are produced the figures of the percentage of deaths to casualties for the chief powers during the World War. In the American forces 2 per cent of all gas casualties were fatal; in the British forces, 3.3 per cent; in the French forces, 4.2 per cent; in the German, 2.9 per cent. Compare these figures with the total percentage of death in all types of casualties—28-30 per cent! In other words, to quote Captain Liddel Hart,

"poison gas is from ten to twelve times as humane a weapon as bullets or high explosive"! Indeed, many of the writers of this type give the impression that chemical warfare is the long sought after solution of the problem of how to carry on war without killing anybody; it is a sort of scientific picnic. Hardly so! Nor do the figures prove any such thing. In the first place the figures are far too unreliable to be the basis for any far-reaching conclusions. In the second place, it must be remembered that thousands of gassed men became casualties and fatal casualties of another kind. Many of those who died on the battlefield from "other causes" were first gassed and became victims of "other causes" *because* they were gassed. When we discuss the question of chemical warfare and the civilian population we will touch upon another aspect of "humane" poison gas. It is sufficient to concede the great military effectiveness of poison gas as a weapon but to be a bit chary about adjectives such as "humane" when applied to chemical warfare, or indeed to any form of warfare.

PROTECTION—GAS MASKS

With the first gas clouds loosed over the Western front began the race for protection and defense, and from that time the gas mask has had a swift and continuous development. The first respirators were simply pads of cotton waste soaked in chemicals wrapped around the head in a sort of veiling. Every month saw some new improvement in gas protection until finally the box (or canister) respirator was contrived which remains the basic form today. This respirator consists of a well-fitting rubberized head piece which communicates by a sort of snout or nozzle with a box (canister) attached to the chest or the back. This box contains the filter and all breathing takes place through it. There is a special arrangement for the expulsion of used breath. Each of the combatants (America, Great Britain, France, Germany) developed its own types of gas masks but the principles of their construction all followed more or less the same lines.

The gas mask is the best protection against poison gas so far developed but it is not at all satisfactory from a military viewpoint. In the first place, any slight imperfection (leakage, loose stitching, bad fit, defective chemicals) practically destroys its usefulness altogether. Secondly, all gas masks protect only against chemical agents already well known. There is no protection against a new gas or even against a hitherto unknown combination of familiar gases. In the third place, gas masks have a very uncertain period of life. Some maintain that the American gas mask is good for at least fifty hours of use while others think this figure greatly

exaggerated. A good deal depends on the poison gas itself. In the fourth place, the value of the gas mask even under the best conditions depends to a large extent upon who is called "gas discipline," the behavior of the troops. If the troops become worn down through constant gas attacks and so lose their "gas discipline" the gas mask is merely an impediment. Fifthly, the continuous wearing of the gas mask for many hours (made necessary by persistent gases) has a profound physiological effect upon the soldier. It has been estimated that it reduces the efficiency of the soldier by at least 25 per cent. Even therefore if a poison gas attack does not produce a single casualty the fact that it compels the wearing of masks is already equivalent to placing from the outset about one-quarter of the troops out of action. Finally, it should be remembered that against mustard gas even the best gas masks are hardly a protection since mustard gas attacks the whole body. And there are probably many other chemical agents that can evade the gas mask in the same or a similar way. Yet, in spite of all this, the gas mask is the only serious protection so far developed and the race between chemical agent and protective apparatus continues at full speed in every chemical warfare laboratory and a good deal of the industrial laboratories of the world.

NAVAL WARFARE AND AVIO-CHEMISTRY

Before concluding this section of the discussion, a few words should be said about poison gas in naval warfare and about avio-chemistry. In his book, "The War God Walks Again," F. Britten Austin paints a vivid picture of chemical warfare on the high seas. And indeed this phase seems to have great possibilities although as yet largely undeveloped. The effectiveness of poison gas on the seas is easily as great—and perhaps even greater—than on land; the methods of dispersal as numerous and efficient (boxes and cylinders, floating smoke boxes, torpedoes, mines, shells, aircraft, the spraying of harbors, etc.); the results obtainable stupendous. In naval warfare smokes are especially important and in the future all smokes will probably contain toxic elements, whether toxic smokes or other chemical substances. Great developments in this field are sure to appear within the next few years.

The combination of chemical warfare and aircraft avio-chemistry holds the greatest strategic possibilities. The value of aircraft in the dispersal of poison gas is obvious and towards the end of the war it appears that such developments did take place. But surely the most striking phase of avio-chemistry is the possibilities it offers for the use of chemical warfare against the civilian population (the bombing of metropolitan centers and industrial sections with poison

gas, etc.). This question we will touch upon in more detail below. In general we can safely say that avio-chemistry will come more and more to the fore as one of the most characteristic and valuable forms of modern warfare.

STRATEGY

Chemical warfare has exercised a tremendous influence upon conduct of war, upon military science, and this influence continues to grow greater as more far-reaching implications are uncovered. General Fries declares: "No other invention since that of gunpowder has made so profound a change in warfare as gas is making and will continue to make in the future!" From the point of view of warfare as a whole chemical warfare has a double aspect. In the first place it is really a distinct arm of service, on a level with the infantry, the artillery, the air forces, etc. On the other hand, gas has its uses for every branch of the army and navy and becomes more and more essential to these branches. *In fact as the use of chemical warfare becomes an organic part of operations these operations become correspondingly dependent upon the conditions imposed by chemical warfare.* It has been estimated that the World War was 55 per cent chemical; for the wars of the future it will prove impossible to define any percentage because chemical warfare in one form or another will penetrate them entirely without any possibility of isolation.

Chemical warfare brought into great prominence a new type of strategic surprise, the technical surprise, the sudden introduction on a large scale of some entirely new war weapon capable of achieving its objective in a hitherto unsuspected manner. Of course, technical surprise was generally recognized before the World War but it never reached the level that it achieved in chemical warfare. Chemical warfare is the weapon par excellence of technical surprise and in this lies its chief military significance. In the World War it injected the element of surprise into a situation that had begun to stagnate into a test of endurance rather than of generalship.

Technical surprise emerges from the military, industrial and scientific laboratories. Continual research is the first phase of the struggle for initiative. The second phase is rapid and large scale production which is absolutely vital to surprise. It all becomes a matter of strategy in production and the laboratory and chemical industrial plant become military centers of first rate importance.

This brings us to the second phase of our subject "Chemical Industry and Chemical Warfare," which we will now proceed to examine.

(Continued in next issue)

The Latest Data on Bourgeois Militarism

THE imperialists, preparing for another world war, are continuing to arm themselves with feverish haste. We give here the latest data on the state of bourgeois militarism today.

I.—The Land Armies

Numerical Strength of Peace Time Armies (in thousands)

States	1913-14	1923	1928-29	Proportion to 1,000 inhabitants
France	546	732	725	17.2
Gt. Britain	516	329	385	8.5
Italy	264	248	390	9.6
U. S. A.	226	372	439	3.7
Japan	275	236	206	3.5
Total	1,827	1,917	2,115	—

The official figures of the strength of the peace-time armed forces of the five great powers show that land armies have increased by about 300,000 since 1913-14. If we remember that in general the military service period has been reduced, we can see that the capacity of these armies to produce trained reserves is even greater than the bare figures would indicate.

In 1929 the reserves (organized and unorganized) in the above five countries constitutes about 20 million in contrast to about 7 or 8 million in 1914. The reserves have been increased by more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times.

In 1914 the above five powers were able to put in the field a total numerical strength of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ million; but in 1929 these same powers are in a position and are prepared to put into the field over 9 million, or nearly twice as much as in 1914.

The strengthening of the core of professional soldiers within the huge armies of today is a very significant characteristic of contemporary imperialist military policy. The bourgeoisie is endeavoring to fix its hold upon the masses of the workers and peasants in the tremendous conscript armies and to win influence over them by cadres of professional soldiers drawn from the oppressed classes themselves, as well as from declassed elements. In Great Britain,

U. S. A., Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria the forces are entirely made up of volunteers with a long period of military service. Those countries whose armies are based on compulsory service have been strengthening the core of professional elements.

Thus, in 1913, professionals (officers and long term non-coms and rank and file soldiers) constituted about 35 per cent of the total strength of the army. In 1929 his figure reached about 46 per cent and by 1931 it is expected to reach over 50 per cent. In Poland and other countries the direction of change is the same.

The military training of the population and the various types of fascist and semi-fascist military organizations play a big role. In France there are a million and a quarter members in the military sports organizations, half of which are subsidized by the government. The subsidies of the War Ministry for such organizations have tripled in the last three years.

In Great Britain there are the Officers Training Corps (OTC) attached to the secondary and higher educational organizations which trains over 40,000 young men and the Cadet Corps attached to elementary, some secondary schools, and some enterprises, which trains annually about 100,000 people. Both organizations are of course maintained by state funds. In addition there are numerous fascist, semi-fascist and military organizations.

In Italy there is of course the excellently trained fascist militia with a strength of over 300,000.

It is interesting to examine the situation in the so-called "border states," the group of small states that are most obviously active in preparing an attack on the Soviet Union.

Numerical Strength of Peace Time Armies (in thousands)

State	1923	1928-29	Proportion to 1,000 inhabitants
Finland	30	33	10
Esthonia	12	13	12
Latvia	20	20	11
Lithuania	20	20	9
Poland	265	300	10
Rumania	153	198	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	500	584	10.5
	compare this with the		
U. S. S. R.	703	562	3.8

The fully trained reserves of the Western border states reaches nearly five million. This makes it possible to mobilize a war time

army against the Soviet Union of about 3-4 million men, allowing for its replenishment for a period of from two to three years.

In the Western border states the military-fascist leagues play a very prominent part. The table below gives their numerical strength (in thousands):

State	1923	1925	1928-29
Finland	120	100	105
Esthonia	10	20	27
Latvia	15	25	40
Poland	150	300	1000 (about)
Total	395	450	1200

In connection with the actual size of the peace-time armies, reserves, auxiliaries, etc., it is necessary to take into account the development of the modern means of destruction of every sort. In 1914 the belligerent entered the war with about 24 machine guns per division; in 1929 divisions have in France 172 such machine guns, in Great Britain 192, in Poland 128, in the U. S. A. 155. In 1914 not one of the armies had automatic rifles. At present the war time division has at its disposal in France about 340 such guns, in Great Britain about 350, in the U. S. A. about 790. More figures could be given but in general it may be declared that the shooting capacity of contemporary armies has increased, over 1914, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 times.

Tanks have developed tremendously. There has been great technical development—for example, the speed is now 5-6 times greater than at the end of the war. Tanks are becoming more and more an absolute necessity for modern armies. Throughout the entire war French industry produced only 3,200 tanks while in 1929 alone the peace-time army is already provided for with 1,928 tanks.

Chemical warfare, in spite of the hypocritical “renunciations” of the bourgeois governments, is being developed at a feverish pace. Avio-chemistry is especially well developed.

Artillery has reached a considerable state of perfection in the post-war period. The range of field artillery has increased on the average by 30 per cent—field artillery even more. The effectiveness of the shell has grown. Moreover, contemporary armies are far better provided with artillery than ever before. For instance, in France, an infantry division had in 1914, 60 field guns; in 1929, 84. For Great Britain the corresponding figures are 76 and 84. In the U. S. A. there are 120 field guns to a division.

Thus we see that in regard to numerical forces, to technique, to weapons the armies of today are far superior to the great armies of the world war. The intensity of the destructive effect of these armies can only be guessed at.

II.—*The Air Forces*

In view of the great importance of the air force in modern warfare it is significant to note that aviation technique has been rapidly improving from year to year:

	1918	1928-29
Average speed of scout, miles per hour	80	110-120
Average radius of action (in miles)		
of a light bomber	180	270-360
of a scout	180	210-240
of a destroyer	105	150-180
Carrying capacity of a light bomber (in lbs.)	330	990
Maximum weight of a bomb (in tons)	1.1	2.2
Maximum shooting capacity of an		
aero-machine gun (shots per minute)	1000	1600
Percentage of hits in bombing from a height		
of 1500 yards	14-15	50-60
Percentage of hits when shooting at ground		
target with machine gun	10	75

Means for spraying poisonous chemicals from an airplane were not yet discovered at the end of the World War. At the present time, however, an airplane can infect considerable areas at the front as well as at the rear (political and industrial centers, etc.).

It is obvious that there is a very feverish race going on in regard to air force.

Number of Army and Navy Airplanes in Service

State	1914	1923	1928-29	1930-32 (estimated)
France	139	1350	1650	2000-2500
Gr. Britain (about)	150	385	850	1000-1200
U. S. A. (about)	20	420	950	1200-1300
Italy (about)	40	250	600	1000-1200
Japan	—	250	475	600- 800
	—	—	—	—
Total	350	2655	4525	5800-7000
Western border states	—	260	640	—

The growth of the air fleets (ten or twelve times as compared with 1914) is absolutely stupendous.

III.—*The Navy*

Classes of ships	Great Britain		U.S.A.		Japan		France		Italy	
	'23	'28	'23	'28	'23	'28	'23	'28	'23	'28
Battle Ships	18	16	20	18	6	6	9	9	9	5
Battle Cruisers . . .	4	4	—	—	4	4	—	—	—	—
Cruisers	48	55	33	32	25	35	14	16	15	12
Air craft carriers	4	8	—	3	—	4	—	1	—	—
Flotilla Leaders . .	16	17								
Torpedo boats . . .	186	150	316	309	71	114	101	52	119	111
Submarines	61	55	100	121	40	65	47	44	43	45

It is clear that numerical increase takes place in regard to cruisers, air craft carriers and submarines. But in regard to those classes of ships that do not show any numerical increase there is nevertheless a continuous process of the replacement of old obsolete ships by the most modern naval vessels. Take battle ships as an example:

BATTLE SHIPS

	1890-1900	1906-10	1916-20	1921-25
Displacement (tons) . . .	13,000	18,000	29,000	35,000
Power (horse-power) . . .	12,000	24,000	58,000	45,000
Speed (knots per hour) . .	17	21	25	23
Guns (inches)	12	12	15	16
Weight broadside (tons)	1.1	4	7	9
Cost (million dollars) . . .	5	15	—	35
Crew	700	800	1,100	1,400

BATTLE CRUISERS

	1907-10	1911-15	1916-20
Power (horse power)	44,800	75,700	157,000
Displacement (tons)	18,000	27,000	45,000
Speed (knots per hour) . . .	26	28.5	32
Guns (inches)	12	13.5	15
Crew	780	1,020	1,480
Cost (million dollars)	4.5	10	30

In the other classes of ships, of course, similar improvement has taken place. In the recent period the rivalry between the U. S. A. and Great Britain in the matter of 10,000 ton cruisers (so-called Washington Conference cruisers) has been especially sharp.

CONSTRUCTION OF CRUISERS

Date of Completion	Gt. Britain	U. S. A.	Japan
1929	4	2	2
1930	3	6	2
1931	3	5	2
1932	3	5	?
1933	3	5	?
	16	23	?

IV. *Military Expenditures*

MILITARY BUDGETS

(in million dollars)

States	1923-24	1927	Total	%	1928	
					Total exp.	\$ per capita
France	300	300	346	21.1	8.7	
Gt. Britain ..	690	578	561	15.0	11.5	
U. S. A.	580	685	653	18.4	5.7	
Italy	136	203	254	23.8	6.3	
Japan	187	229	235	27.8	3.9	
Germany ..	109	169	168	8.3	2.7	
Total	2,002	2,164	2,216	—	6.1	
Western states	168	—	190	12-41	6.8	

Of course this table contains only the "official" military budget and not military expenditures applied in other departments (ways of communication, etc.)

These few figures are "merely" indications—indications of preparations for a war that staggers the imagination in its magnitude and brutality and destructiveness. The very fate of mankind is at stake. "All that is created now in human society—in the fields of economics, politics, science and art—recedes before the tremendous task of preventing at any cost another war and thereby saving mankind from degeneration and collapse. This can only be accomplished by the toilers under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. . . ."

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