

THE COMMUNIST

Vol. X

MARCH, 1931

No. 3



*Barbara
Harding*

FROM THE CONTENTS

Editorial

An Advanced Stage in the War Danger
On the Question of Trade Union Democracy
William Z. Foster

Coming Struggles and Lessons in Strike Strategy
Jack Stachel

Women in Mass Work *O. W. Kuusinen*

Growth of Fascist Dictatorship in Germany
Ernst Thaelmann

A Charter of Slavery for the Indian People
The Collapse of the Theory of Organized
Capitalism *Sam Don*

The Negro National Oppression and Social
Antagonisms *B. D. Amis*

Why the Peasant Revolts in the Philippines
Harry Gannes

25 Cents

THE COMMUNIST

Vol. X

MARCH, 1931

No. 3



FROM THE CONTENTS

Editorial

An Advanced Stage in the War Danger
On the Question of Trade Union Democracy
William Z. Foster

Coming Struggles and Lessons in Strike Strategy
Jack Stachel

Women in Mass Work . . . *O. W. Kuusinen*

Growth of Fascist Dictatorship in Germany
Ernst Thaelmann

A Charter of Slavery for the Indian People
The Collapse of the Theory of Organized
Capitalism *Sam Don*

The Negro National Oppression and Social
Antagonisms *B. D. Amis*

Why the Peasant Revolts in the Philippines
Harry Gannes

25 Cents

THE COMMUNIST

*A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of
Marxism-Leninism*

Published Monthly by the

Communist Party of the United States of America

MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

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

VOL. X

MARCH, 1931

No. 3

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

✓ AN ADVANCED STAGE IN THE WAR DANGER.....	195
✓ ON THE QUESTION OF TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY..... By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER	199
✓ COMING STRUGGLES AND LESSONS IN STRIKE STRATEGY... By JACK STACHEL	204
✓ WOMEN IN MASS WORK..... By O. W. KUUSINEN	214
✓ GROWTH OF THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP IN GERMANY... By ERNST THAELMANN	219
✓ A CHARTER OF SLAVERY FOR THE INDIAN PEOPLE.....	226
✓ THE COLLAPSE OF THE THEORY OF ORGANIZED CAPITALISM..... By SAM DON	231
✓ THE NEGRO NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND SOCIAL ANTAGONISMS..... By B. D. AMIS	241
✓ SOME RURAL ASPECTS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION..... By JIM ALLEN	249
✓ WHY THE PEASANT REVOLTS IN THE PHILIPPINES?..... By HARRY GANNES	256
✓ THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECEMBER UPRISING... By M. POKROVSKY	264
✓ OUTLINE FOR DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION	273
✓ THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN MEXICO.....	280
✓ BOOK REVIEW.....	286

Make all checks, money orders, and correspondence to: THE COMMUNIST, P. O. Box 143, Station D, (50 East 13th Street), New York. Subscription rates \$2.00 a year; \$1.25 for six months; foreign and Canada \$2.50 a year. Single copies 25 cents.

SOME *of the* PROSPECTIVE ARTICLES FOR THE APRIL ISSUE OF "THE COMMUNIST"

THE GROWTH OF SOCIAL FASCIST AND FASCIST DEMAGOGY AND HOW TO FIGHT IT.—By EARL BROWDER.

A REVIEW OF THE POLITICAL SCENE AT WASHINGTON.
—By HARRISON GEORGE.

MR. FISH ENDORSES THE SOCIALIST PARTY.—By I. AMTER.

SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVE INSURRECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.—By W. PATTERSON.

BOURGEOIS AND PETTY-BOURGEOIS CURRENTS IN THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT.—By HARRY HAYWOOD.

WHY THE RED ARMY WAS VICTORIOUS.
OUTLINE FOR DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION. LESSON II.

THREE SOURCES AND THREE ELEMENTS OF MARXISM.
—By N. LENIN.

THE I.W.W. ON THE WAY TO FASCISM.—By VERN SMITH.
BOOK REVIEW.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

\$2.00 a year—\$1.25 for 6 months.

Send subs to

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. B. 148, STATION D, NEW YORK CITY



An Advanced Stage in the War Danger

DURING the past few months, and more particularly during the early part of 1931, the war clouds have gathered with threatening speed. On every hand the antagonisms between the imperialist powers have intensified to a high pitch. A new and sharper turn in the war preparations against the Soviet Union is visible on all sides.

The recent "revolutions" in Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Panama, and Brazil showed unmistakably that the struggle for the Latin American markets, between Britain and the United States, had entered the preliminary stage of armed struggle. There is an open, violent battle for Latin-American markets going on between Britain and the United States. The Prince of Wales is in Argentina in an effort to stop the tide of American trade. When the Irigoyen government, friendly to British imperialism, was overthrown, the British lost a valuable ally.

In Brazil the struggle between the United States and Britain is bitter. The present Brazilian government makes alliances with Britain against Wall Street. Brazil looks to England for a loan. It has asked the British for a financial adviser. The *Journal of Commerce* (Jan. 29, 1931), commenting on this fact, says:

"Naturally the English, who have looked with increasing disquiet upon the growth of American influence in the countries of South America, are hoping that the British financial adviser will be able to strengthen the feeling of good will toward England and thus stimulate the expansion of trade between England and Brazil."

The markets over which this battle rages are narrowing sharply, due to the deepgoing crisis in all Latin American countries. At the same time, the need of the imperialist countries for markets to deplete their swollen mass of unsold commodities, grows greater as the economic crisis worsens.

It is precisely in this frame-work of sharpening strife over Latin America that Secretary of State Stimson on February 7th, 1931, makes what is clearly a threat of war against Britain. Speaking before the Council of Foreign Relations Stimson recounts a little history for the benefit of the competitors of American imperialism. He reminds them that the United States, under the Monroe Doc-

trine is ready "to fight for it against an aggressive Europe," and that "the Monroe Doctrine was a declaration of the United States versus Europe." Stimson is not a historian. He is the spokesman of the imperialists driving to war, threatening armed conflict against their foremost competitors.

In Europe, at the same time, the war front against the Soviet Union is being forged with heavy blows. While the imperialist powers find their differences growing sharply, their antagonism against the advance of the Soviet Union in the midst of a world crisis of capitalism, complicates the war danger—and brings it closer.

The cry of "convict labor" of the Fish Committee receives added stimulus in Britain and France. Ramsay MacDonald "invites" forged affidavits from self-appointed "escaped prisoners" from Soviet lumber camps.

But deeper than this we see the actual attempt to form an alliance of the imperialist powers for war against the Soviet Union. The Geneva Commission of Enquiry on European Union which concluded its first meeting on January 21st could not hide the fact that its main reason for existence was the desire to crush the Soviet Union—it was also, in a measure, directed against the United States. There was a closer rapprochement achieved between Britain and France. While the sharp opposition between the imperialist nations over the Versailles treaty prevented the completion of a united anti-Soviet front at that time, the Commission breathed hatred and war against the U.S.S.R. Premier Briand of France, whose role as war instigator against the Soviet Union was definitely proved at the trial of the wreckers in Moscow, was the chairman of the Commission and its guiding force.

After this meeting, new steps were taken strengthening the war front against the Soviet Union.

The French bankers, with the support of Briand, floated a loan to bolster up Poland, Jugoslavia, and Rumania, as well as to give them the means of carrying on the war against the Soviet Union.

"It is interesting to note," cables the Paris correspondent of the *New York Times*, Carlisle MacDonald, "that the three countries which the French financial institutions have chosen for the initiation of the new foreign credit policy are all military allies of France. . . ."

Besides, the French imperialists have been reinforcing the "weak points" in their anti-Soviet front, by attempting to lessen the antagonisms between the capitalist powers so that their united strength

could be thrown against the Soviet Union. When the report reached France that the Bruening government had been kept in power through the instrumentality of the Social Democrats, the French capitalist press expressed unconcealed delight. The plans for closer alliance between the French and German capitalists for war on the Soviet Union could now go ahead to greater lengths.

Reporting this sentiment in the French capitalist press, P. J. Philip, another of the New York *Times* correspondents in Paris, writes (Feb. 9, 1931):

“France must use her wealth to strengthen anti-Bolshevist forces in every country, Germany included.”

The French bourgeoisie felt, now that Bruening had been saved by the German Socialists, they could continue to broaden the anti-Bolshevist forces in Germany and drive forward to the war so ardently desired by French imperialism. P. J. Philip gives us a good insight into the process of strengthening the anti-Bolshevist forces. He writes:

“Under the Chancellor’s (Bruening) leadership and due to the excellent results obtained by Foreign Minister Curtius at Geneva in cooperation with Foreign Minister Briand of France and Foreign Secretary Henderson of Great Britain greater stability in the political situation has been obtained than was considered possible. . .

“In the first place, (in France) there has been in financial if not in political circles some modification of the attitude taken formerly about lending money to Germany and it has been very clearly shown recently that the Chamber is not unsusceptible to financial opinion.”

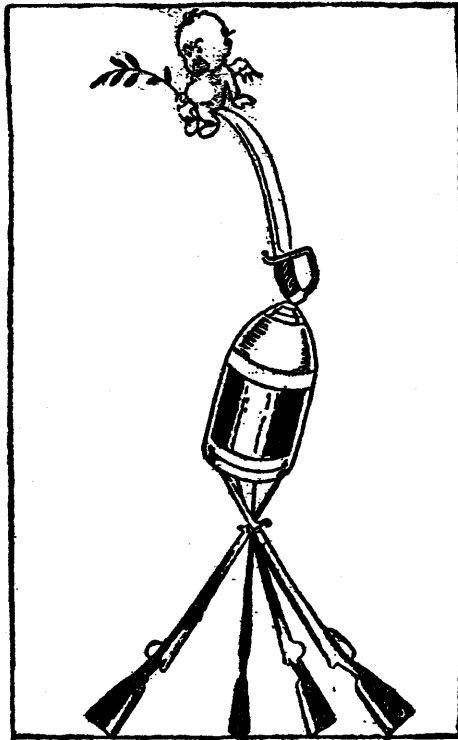
This rush to draw into the war alliance against the Soviet Union every imperialist power, despite their antagonisms, is based, as the *Paris Temps* says on the fact that “the fate of Europe will be decided in the next two years.” That is, precisely during the period when the Five-Year Plan is scheduled to go through to completion. They want the war to come before this takes place. In this light, the revived campaign against the Soviet Union is expressive of the tremendous, immediate danger of war. At the same time, there is a tussle going on between France and the United States for hegemony in the anti-Soviet war front.

The growth of a sharp economic crisis in France heightens this war danger. The New York *Tribune* Paris correspondent (Feb. 6, 1931) stated that France was “*facing one of the greatest crises in her economic history,*” and that the unemployed had already reached, counting part-time workers, the huge figure of 1,300,000.

The role of the Socialists in Germany and in England through the MacDonald government (the actions of Henderson at Geneva and MacDonald's services in the vicious "convict labor" campaign), is invaluable to the imperialists in their war preparations.

While the war danger against the Soviet Union grows apace it proceeds, at the same time, with the growing antagonisms between the imperialist powers, expressed most glaringly in the Anglo-U. S. rivalries and the French-Italian race for war armaments.

On all sides the war danger is growing. It thrives in the soil of increasing misery and starvation for the workers. Against it the workers and poor farmers in all countries must throw their combined might.



ETERNAL PEACE

—Izvestiya, Moscow

On the Question of Trade Union Democracy

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

IN the recent Plenum of the Central Committee a very important issue, together with the vital question of practical programs of partial demands for the everyday struggles of the workers, was the matter of trade union democracy, especially with regard to the TUUL unions. But the conception of trade union democracy does not cover the entire breadth of the question. Involved in it is the whole relationship of the Party to the broad masses of the working class.

The Plenum discussion showed conclusively that in the trade union work there have been decided tendencies to ignore the rank and file of the workers in the development of programs of demands and in carrying through various other basic activities of the unions. Thus, in some cases, union constitutions have been changed, leaders have been elected and removed, and even strike calls issued without the development of a real mass participation in the taking of such important actions. And, needless to add, similar bad tendencies have crept into other departments of the Party's mass work.

Such practices are bureaucratism in its worst form. They sever as with a knife the contacts of the Party with the broad masses. We cannot maintain our mass contacts with mere talk, however eloquent or revolutionary it may be. Trade unions and mass organizations generally—hence the Party's relations with the great masses—can prosper only if the body of the workers are actually drawn into the throbbing life of such organizations. The bureaucratic methods which have been so much in evidence in our mass work are the surest road to sectarianism and isolation.

The discussions at the Plenum did much to clarify this whole question. Especially in the case of the unions was there demonstrated the fundamental necessity of securing mass participation in the real life of these organizations—in the formulation of partial demands, the building of the leadership, the carrying through of organization campaigns, the preparation and conduct of strikes. Trade union democracy was shown to be one of the elementary necessities for building the revolutionary unions. All of which

is fully in line with the great importance attached to this whole matter by the Comintern and Profintern.

But evidently the full depth of the question was not made clear at the Plenum, despite the importance of the progress that was made. For one hears in the Party such arguments, in substance, as this: "Yes, in the past we have made serious mistakes in not more systematically consulting the rank and file on important questions, and this must be corrected. We must popularize our demands more skillfully and thus induce the workers really to consider them their own. For it is, after all, basically a question of popularization, because the Party, not the masses, actually decides what the policy shall be."

Such an argument is in serious error. While it makes a show of defending the correct principle that the Party is the vanguard and leader of the working class, it also contains the wrong assumption that the Party only teaches the masses and can learn nothing from them. Such a position assumes incorrectly that Communists have a sort of airtight monopoly on working class knowledge and wisdom. This goes counter to the whole principle of trade union democracy and falsifies the entire line of relations between the Party and the broad masses. It is a shortcut to isolation.

Lenin had no such ideas. Although no one ever lived who had a clearer appreciation of the fundamental necessity of revolutionary theory and of the leading role of the Party as the bearer and developer of that theory, yet he was ever ready to learn from even the simplest of workers. He realized that the revolutionary strategist, in order to work out successful programs of struggle, must know exactly how capitalist exploitation is affecting the workers at a given time, and just how and to what extent they are reacting against it—knowledge that can be gained only from the very closest contact with the workers. He also realized the tremendous fund of native intelligence among the broad masses of producers, an intelligence most helpful to the Party in every phase of its struggle and which now in the Soviet Union is enriching all sections of the social life.

Upon innumerable occasions Lenin emphasized the necessity of learning from the workers, and in his personal life he lived up to this conviction. On this matter Krupskaya, in her recent book, speaks much of Lenin's extensive personal correspondence with workers. Referring to the correspondence before 1905, she says: "These workers' letters told Ilyitch more plainly than anything else that the revolution was approaching."

Stalin, in his book on Leninism, also stresses this matter. He says:

“The Party must have a good ear for the voice of the masses, must pay ~~close~~ attention to their revolutionary instinct, must study the actualities of their struggle, must carefully inquire if their policy is sound—and must, therefore, be ready, not only to teach the masses, but to learn from them.”

In no phase of our Party work does the double role of the Party in at once teaching the non-Party masses and learning from them manifest itself more sharply than in the trade union work, in the elementary struggle at the point of production. Here, as in our work in general, we can succeed in developing a realistic policy and a broad mass movement only if we have in high degree what Stalin calls “a good ear for the voice of the masses.” In the trade union work even the first approach to effective struggle requires the most intimate and widespread contacts with the masses of workers.

Illustrating this fact was an incident reported by Comrade Mel-don to the recent Plenum. It had to do with the working out of demands for the Youngstown steel workers. Below are the demands. The first set, as they were developed by our top functionaries in their offices with little or no consultation with the workers, and the second set, as these same demands looked after they had been amplified and reshaped by a group of steel workers of the hot mill department:

I. ORIGINAL DEMANDS

1. Seven-hour day, five-day week.
2. Abolition of the speed-up system.
3. Full social, racial, and political equality for Negroes.
4. Social insurance.
5. 25 per cent general wage increase.
6. Equal pay for equal work for young workers.
7. Recognition of the Metal Workers Industrial League.

II. AMENDED DEMANDS

1. Four six-hour turns, five-day week.
2. Against the tonnage and bonus system.
3. Half day's wages when called to work and sent home due to no work.
4. No less than \$35 a week for the following jobs: meshers, cranemen, openers, doublers.
5. Equal pay for equal work for Negroes.
6. No doubling up.

7. No "voluntary contributions" weekly by the workers for the "unemployed and sick" who have been discarded by the company.

8. 10 per cent of the huge yearly profits of the company to go for the unemployed and sick relief, administered by a committee of workers from all departments and one representative from the company.

From even a glance at these amended demands, which in some respects supplement, rather than substitute the original demands, it is evident immediately that in this typical instance the Party very definitely learned something from consulting the workers on the job. For one thing, and this is the most important, the demands have been concretized. They have been brought down from the realm of broad generality to that of direct application. They have been translated into terms of the workers' life and experience. This means that they have been brought from the stage of propaganda to that of action. From issues in which the workers have only the most general interest, they have been built into demands which the workers understand and will fight for. All of which, of course, is of the greatest importance for the development of the struggle.

From this are we to conclude, therefore, that in such matters the Party has no role, that the formulation of partial demands might better be left altogether to the masses? Such a conclusion would be ridiculous. In this particular instance the trouble was not in the main line of the Party, which was correct, but in not sufficiently sharpening up that line by basing it in the very lives of the workers. The whole thing is a graphic illustration of the necessity of a genuine trade union democracy.

In these demands, even after their reformulation, there is exhibited an interesting example of the need for the leadership of the Party. This is for the correction of certain errors that have been allowed to creep into the demands. For example, as in demand number 7, where the proposal should be to cut off all contributions to the company and not simply those for "discarded" workers (a separation of the employed from the unemployed), and as in demand number 8, where it is incorrectly proposed to have a representative of the company included in the workers' committee. Here, typically, the Party, with its better revolutionary theory and understanding, must function to clarify the line.

This entire incident of the steel workers' demands may seem minor in character. But it is a practical illustration of how the Party must learn from the masses of workers while at the same time giving them political leadership. We must bear this in mind

constantly, on pain of making many very serious political mistakes. If, for example, our unemployment insurance bill had been formulated in more close consultation with the workers we would not be confronted with the necessity of making radical changes in it. Here was one case where we had a very dull "ear for the voice of the masses."

The problem is not that we have to develop broad consultation with the workers simply so that we can induce them to accept our line. It is a broader question than that. It is so that we may know what the actual situation is and what should be our line in the immediate struggle. Yes, and often after such mass discussion with the workers we will have to discard some of our pre-conceived ideas of the immediate tactics and adopt a more realistic line which the workers will support. The working class provides not only the organizational strength and revolutionary inspiration for our Party, but also its ideological strength. The development of a healthy trade union democracy is not only necessary for the building of the revolutionary unions but also for the growth of our Party into a mass Communist Party.



Coming Struggles and Lessons in Strike Strategy

By JACK STACHEL

THE wage cuts that have taken place during the last year and a half were only a beginning in the wage cutting program of the employers. With the realization of the depth of the crisis the employers are now hastening to put their full program into force with the greatest speed. What their real aims were was already clearly indicated in the speech of Owen D. Young more than a year and a half ago when he said that it was ridiculous to expect that the wages of the workers of the U. S. can long be maintained above the wages of the European workers. The full significance of this statement becomes clear when it is remembered that the aim of the European capitalists is to model wages for their workers after those of the toilers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

In the last few weeks the statements by such outstanding representatives of finance capital as Albert Wiggin of the Chase National Bank and Mr. Traylor of the National City Bank of Chicago, as to the necessity for a drastic wage reduction as a way out of the crisis indicate with what speed these wage cuts will be put into effect and how sweeping the employers aim to make them. Of course one still hears statements and speeches such as those made by Mr. Farrel, the chairman of the U. S. Steel Corporation "urging" that there be no wage reductions. But they merely denote a certain division of labor among the thieves. They belong to the same category of promises as those made by President Hoover in full agreement with Wm. Green. The fact of the matter is that while these gentlemen are "debating" the wisdom of wage reduction the workers' wages are being cut daily just as they have been cut during the last year and a half while the Hoover-Green "agreement" was in force. Already wages have been cut in many instances to half. Already the standard of living of even the employed workers has been reduced to the starvation level. But the bosses look upon this only as a beginning. The entire machinery has been prepared and set in motion to carry thru the most unprecedented attacks on the living standards of the workers. The activities of the Fish Committee, the attacks on the workers' genuine organizations everywhere, are part of this wage cutting campaign. But the workers will not accept these wage cuts without a struggle.

This is already clear not only from the mood of the workers at the present time but from the struggles that have taken place in the course of the last year and half. The workers have amply exposed the social democratic prophecies that the workers will not strike, will not fight back because of the terrific unemployment. These prophecies indulged in by all the renegades and finding their echoes even in the ranks of our Party have been definitely exposed as lying propaganda in the service of the enemy. Numerous strikes have taken place in which the workers fought militantly despite the treachery of the A. F. of L., the brutal force of the state machinery, the weakness and mistakes of the Trade Union Unity League. It is necessary to mention but a few of these struggles to indicate the spirit of the workers and their readiness to resist the wage cuts.

In the textile industry the strikes have been most numerous. And in these strikes the workers of the South played the leading role. In Gastonia, Elizabethton, Marion, Danville, Reading, Kensington, Lawrence, and numerous other cities the textile workers put up a brilliant struggle. The metal and auto workers in Flint, Pater-son, fought bitterly despite many odds. The marine workers in New Orleans and Galveston, the shoe workers in New York and Philadelphia, the miners in Illinois and Pennsylvania, the agricultural workers of Imperial Valley, the needle workers in New York, Rochester, Danbury and New Haven, the food workers in New York and Cleveland, were in the forefront of the struggle against wage cuts. The bulk of these workers were unorganized.

At the present time there are a number of struggles taking place and many more in the process of development. As the bosses' campaign of wage cuts unfolds itself these struggles will multiply and embrace huge masses of unorganized and organized workers. The miners, textile workers, building trades workers, needle workers, metal workers are organizing and preparing for the struggle. In this situation the Trade Union Unity League and its affiliated industrial unions and Leagues face a great responsibility. They must lead these struggles. Not only that. The T.U.U.L. must not merely wait for the struggles to develop so that it can lead them. The T.U.U.L. and its affiliated unions must be an active force organizing and preparing these struggles.

It is therefore urgent that the T. U. U. L. critically examine the outstanding mistakes made by it and its unions in the conduct of the strikes in the recent period. It is necessary that every error, every weakness, that led to the defeat of a strike, to the impediment of the struggle, to the failure of the strike struggles to materialize be unearthed, the root located, and steps taken for these

errors to be avoided in the future. We must learn from Lenin "to make small mistakes and to correct them quickly." Unfortunately the activity of the T.U.U.L. in the last year has shown that almost the same mistakes were made again and again, in almost all strikes, and they were big mistakes too.

There can be no question about the fact that in the present period the obstacles to be overcome in the development of strikes, and in leading them to success have been multiplied. But so have the favorable objective factors. So have the reasons for strikes. The masses are in a militant mood. They are willing to fight. They see their living standards lowered daily. They know that they must fight. They are willing to fight. But they are looking for leadership. They have learned much from bitter experience as to the treacherous role of the A. F. of L. The Musteites have amply exposed themselves. But the workers have also seen our weaknesses. They have seen our mistakes and our failures. They are looking to us for leadership. But they still lack the confidence in us that we can give them adequate leadership. Upon the correction of our errors, upon the strengthening of the T.U.U.L. organizationally, and upon its ability to master the art of strike strategy depends much as to the course of development of the strike movement at this time.

Fortunately we need not fall back merely upon our own experiences. We have the experiences of the Red International of Labor Unions as our guide. Beginning with the 4th R.I.L.U. Congress the R. I. L. U. has been pressing us for preparations for struggles that were developing, laying down a correct line for us to follow. We had been very slow in realizing the changed situation and the new methods that this necessitated. Sluggishly we went about things carrying through some of its decisions in a formal manner. But the beginnings of the realization of the actual meaning of the 4th Congress decisions came home to us only after the Comintern Address in May, 1929. Since then we have fully accepted the decisions of the R. I. L. U. but did not master them, did not study and apply them. This is particularly evident in relation to the very important conference held in Strassburg in January, 1929, at which time there was worked out the basis of our strike strategy in the present period. This resolution which contains a mine of world experience of the Red International and its sections in the principal countries remained a closed book for us. Except for a few comrades practically the entire Party and the membership of the T.U.U.L. remained ignorant of these decisions. And it is precisely the errors that we have made again and again in our strike leadership that could have been avoided if we had mastered this international experience. It was precisely the fact that we did not master it that

is responsible for the repeated mistakes of the same character. In other words, even after the Comintern Address, while we accepted the general line of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. we did not learn how to apply it concretely, but engaged in much phrase mongering about the "new line" without understanding the full significance of it to the every-day struggles. In Party resolutions we always indorsed the line of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. but in the practical every-day work we continued along the same old lines that had become outworn and obsolete. Nor must the mistake be made of thinking that we did retain that which was good in the old traditions of the American labor movement. Here, too, there is much left to be desired.

Here we will not attempt to list every mistake of every strike. Much has already been written in separate articles and resolutions on the various struggles. In the columns of the *Daily Worker* such critical reviews have been made of the strikes in Flint, Illinois miners, Eagle Pencil, New Haven needle, etc. Rather we will attempt here to generalize the repeated outstanding mistakes and contrast them with the policy as laid down by the R. I. L. U. and more specifically as embodied in the Strassburg resolution on "Strike Strategy."

STRIKE PREPARATIONS

"At the first appearance of symptoms of growing dissatisfaction on the part of the workers, or aggressive intentions on the part of the employers, in a given industry, the question of an approaching conflict must be brought sharply before the masses."—(Strassburg Resolution.)

Unfortunately we can record very few instances where this policy was followed. It is for this reason that the various unions of the T.U.U.L. find themselves jumping into struggles after the masses have spontaneously taken action, or at best on the very eve of the strike. Of course this is connected up with the weakness of the Party and the T.U.U.L. in the large factories in the basic industries. But even more important than this we suffer from inactivity in the factories on the part of the members of the Communist Party and the T.U.U.L. Very often important events take place in the factory and our members do not even bring these matters to the attention of the respective leading committees. In a very few cases have our factory nuclei or shop groups and committees developed sufficient initiative to react to the happenings in the shops as they occur. The result is that strikes develop without us knowing anything about them. The workers are left to themselves. And what is still worse they are left to the betrayal of the A. F. of L. and other agencies of the bosses. With the bulk of the workers in the basic industries

unorganized, it stands to reason that we cannot overcome this important shortcoming until we strengthen our contacts in these factories. It is therefore not sufficient merely to point out the passivity of some of the rank and file members of the Party and the T. U. U. L. What is necessary is to change the entire orientation on work in the large plants. And to do it systematically. Not merely jump as we do from factory to factory without any plan. It is necessary to change this. To learn how to select the most strategic positions and concentrate our best forces. At the present time we find ourselves running from spontaneous strike to spontaneous strike "offering" our leadership to the workers, who very often and to an extent very properly ask: "Where were you before the strike?" Here it is worth while mentioning that in the last five years our Party has been reorganized on the shop nucleus basis. But only in the last year can we record two strikes that have taken place in factories where we had or at the present time have shop nuclei. These are the Eagle Pencil Company in New York, and the Wright Aeroplane in Paterson, where the strike is led by the A. F. of L. How can we explain this? How does it happen that we have more than a hundred so-called shop nuclei and have had many more in the course of the last five years, and still in none of these were we successful in developing strikes?

If we trace the basic errors in the recent strikes of unorganized workers, we will find that many of the mistakes have their origin in the "original sin." There is no organization inside the shop prior to the strike. This was the case in Flint, Danville and numerous other struggles.

There is of course the other question relative to preparations. That is in the case where we have a union functioning in the industry with contacts among the workers. Here the question of preparations can be studied more basically. For here we can see to what extent our methods of mobilizing the masses are successful—can see where the errors lie. But here again we deal with the unions led by the reformists and with the T.U.U.L. unions. In Danville we did nothing because we had no connections. But a year prior to the strike the National Textile Workers Union organizer was in Danville. The workers pleaded for organization. But somehow he was withdrawn from that territory. Then came the U.T.W. and enrolled 4,000 workers after eight months of organization and every attempt to stifle the strike sentiment. But when this was no longer possible Mr. Gorman allowed the strike to come off after he had laid the basis for the complete defeat of the workers. Later on Comrade Murdock, the Secretary of the National Textile Workers Union, went to Danville. With no contacts, and no preparatory

work it was easy for the bosses to railroad him to jail, and not until the very end of the strike did a N.T.W. organizer again find his way to Danville.

In these strikes led by the A. F. of L. we faced the same problem of no contacts as we did among the unorganized workers. This was due to a wrong policy of completely abandoning work inside the A. F. of L. unions where these unions still contained large masses of workers. Our activity in these strikes therefore is mainly from the outside. And this by itself has of course its weaknesses. It was augmented by the wrong application of the united front policy. Instead of really proposing the united front of the workers, raising slogans tending to develop the initiative and control of the rank and file against the reformist leaders, our comrades thought that they carried through the united front by merely denouncing the leaders, the A. F. of L. union and asking the workers to join the T.U.U.L.

In the case of the strike preparations carried through by our T. U. U. L. unions, we have had some very sad experiences. Chief among these were the strike preparations in the Illinois miners' strike and the Philadelphia waterfront strike. Absolutely no preparations, completely a bureaucratic approach, no drawing in of the workers into making decisions, formulation of demands, deciding upon the strike, etc. No wonder therefore that the Illinois strike collapsed and the Philadelphia waterfront strike was called but there was no response whatever. In the Illinois strike the leaflet calling the strike was actually given to the miners after the strike had been called. In Philadelphia a small group of mostly non-marine workers decided upon the strike.

In our approach to the development of strikes we cannot be accused of having given attention to the following advice contained in the Strassburg resolution:

"It is most dangerous in the economic struggle to call a strike or improvise one, under the influence of a passing mood, and not after cold calculations. Leaders are required to possess complete information not only about the condition of a given branch of industry but also about what is going on among the masses. This task lies not in being tardy, nor dangling in the rear, but in the ability to grasp the readiness of the masses to fight. And even then the task is not to declare a strike as one would pronounce a decree without serious preliminary preparation of the masses for the struggle. (Our emphasis.)"

"Preparatory agitational and organizational work must be carried on under the slogans: 'Do not rely on the trade union bureaucrats,' 'Take the initiative into your own hands,' 'Set up your own organizational forms,' 'Prepare for the struggle otherwise you will be

defeated.' In this preparation all concrete cases of treachery by the trade union bureaucracy in recent struggles must be utilized."

In few cases did we take these necessary steps in the strike preparations. In the Kensington upholstery weavers' strike forced by the workers despite the opposition of the U.T.W. leadership, attempts were made to overcome these mistakes. This strike is now in progress. Though here again we did not have a single member of the N.T.W. prior to the strike, progress is being made in recruiting at this time. And the outcome of this struggle will have many important lessons for us. Here we are making an attempt to overcome the many mistakes made previously. We shall see the results.

Similarly in the New York dress strike preparations, we are bending every ounce of our energy really to lay a solid foundation for the strike through the preparations. Of course there have already been some mistakes made but they are quickly being corrected.

FORMULATING DEMANDS

"The economic demands must be clear and understandable to the masses, must come as a result of a concrete situation, must be discussed by all the workers involved, for only under such circumstances can these demands attract the majority of the workers and become the basis for a united front from below and united action."

And what has been the case with the strikes led by us? What, for example, were the demands put forward by the comrades during the Illinois miners' strike which were formulated without the participation of the miners? What were the demands of the many single strikes led by the National Miners Union in Pennsylvania? What were the demands put forward originally for the coming dress strike and to what extent did the masses participate in formulating these demands? In these cases and in numerous others the demands were put forward without consultation of the masses. They were put forward in the most bureaucratic manner imaginable. And they brought a bad harvest. In the case of the Illinois miners most of the demands were of the most general nature, and the immediate grievances that the miners were willing to fight for were mostly forgotten. In the single strikes called in the Pittsburgh region, we found that the miners were told to fight for the six-hour day and for a Workers' and Farmers' Government, while the grievances that led to the strike were either forgotten or put into the background. In the dress strike preparations the demands adopted were the program of our union for the industry, namely the seven-hour day and week work. But these were not the demands which the broad masses were ready to fight for at this time in the

light of the relation of forces in the industry. These demands were adopted without any consultation of the workers. And the workers felt that they could not win these demands at this time. But they are ready to fight for better conditions, regulation of prices, enforcement of the forty-hour week, etc. Fortunately the union changed these demands in time to make possible the maximum mobilization of the workers for the struggle of the immediate grievances of the workers. This does not mean of course that we have abandoned our program including week work and the seven-hour day which must be popularized in the course of the present strike.

INDEPENDENT LEADERSHIP

The struggle against the influence of the reformists on the course of the strike must be carried on no matter if the strike is carried on by the reformist leaders or if it is a strike of unorganized led by the T. U. U. L., or even in strikes of unions of the T. U. U. L. It is a serious mistake to think that just because the A. F. of L. bureaucrats are not actually leading the strike their disruptive work is of no danger. This was demonstrated again and again in the recent period. It is simple to realize the necessity to fight against the bureaucracy when they are actually leading the strike. This we have done in practically all cases where the A. F. of L. has been compelled to lead the strikes as was the case in Danville, Elizabethton, and Reading. The mistake here was that we did not build the left wing in these unions prior to the strike or that through our inactivity we permitted the A. F. of L. to come into the situation (Danville). Also that we did not put forward a concrete program to the workers on how to carry on the struggle against the bureaucrats, and how to build strike instruments that will be in the hands of the workers. *Our work was here purely agitational.*

In the case of the strikes of unorganized workers led by us the mistake made was first that we did not carry on the struggle against the A. F. of L. and expose it among the workers during the strike preparations. To an extent there existed among the lower functionaries a tendency (and we did not struggle against it) that there is no need of confusing the workers with the A. F. of L. since they do not know anything about it. This mistaken policy does not realize that in every strike the A. F. of L. is a factor and will be called in by the employers to defeat the strike if necessary. The masses being unprepared for this situation could easily become victims of such a policy on the part of the employers.

The second mistake was the failure to recognize reformism because it did not bear the A. F. of L. label. This was particularly

true in the case of the Imperial Valley strike (failure to expose the Mexican leaders) and in the Flint strike where the most skilled workers maintained leadership of the strike and in reality carried through the social fascist policy. In this case our comrades carried on a constant struggle against the A. F. of L. and at the same time allowed Comstock to do the same work that the A. F. of L. would do—to disrupt the strike and lead to its defeat.

In Flint the further typical mistake made was that the comrades did fight against the Comstock policies but after defeating him in the strike committee, did not bring these issues before the mass of the strikers but considered it merely as a “family” quarrel. The result was that when Comstock was ready for open betrayal, the masses were not prepared for the situation.

OTHER MISTAKES

There are many other typical mistakes made by us in the conduct of strikes. We can mention the following: insufficient attention to the building of defense corps and the militant leadership on the picket line; lack of attention to, and on the other hand over-emphasis on relief (New Haven); failure to organize the unemployed for the strike; failure to spread the strike to other shops and cities; failure to mobilize the rest of the workers for assistance to the strike (Eagle Pencil); failure to properly utilize the press; mistakes in failure to organize retreat; adoption of a no compromise position (New Orleans); failure to build the union during the strike; failure to follow up after the strike, etc.

While the article is already lengthy and it is not the aim of the article to list all shortcomings but rather center the attention on the question, the last two mistakes mentioned must be dealt with somewhat.

FAILURE TO BUILD THE UNION

Just as we do not build the union before the strike but find ourselves face to face with growing numbers of spontaneous strikes to which we rush at the last minute, so we fail to build the unions during the course of the strike. In almost every instance without exception, we have made this mistake. Beginning with the recent strike of the Eagle Pencil right down the line, we must record that one of the mistakes made during the strike was the failure to recruit the strikers into the union, issue membership cards, organize union locals, etc. Before we get to do this the strike is already in a bad way, when this very failure is one of the contributing factors

for the decline in the strike. The result is that when the strike is over we have taken no step organizationally to build the union.

FOLLOW UP

Just as we rush to the scene of the struggle after it has broken out so we often rush to some other struggle, forgetting completely about the first battle. This was repeated again and again in the South, North, in the textile, auto and every other industry. What is the result? The workers feel that we have abandoned them. And it is so. The bosses, seeing that no more organization work is carried on, take every measure to make the conditions of the workers miserable after the defeated strike. We fail to consolidate the influence gained during the strike. During the strike we usually have failed to help build up some local leadership, concentrating all the leading positions in the hands of the sent-in organizers, and then we leave and all is shot to pieces. This does more to discredit the T.U.U.L. than almost any other single thing that we can do.

STRUGGLES AHEAD; MISTAKES MUST BE CORRECTED

Big struggles are ahead. The strikes now in progress are a beginning. We are face to face with great responsibilities. It cannot be said that the Party and the T.U.U.L. are not alarmed at the situation pictured above. And steps are being taken to overcome this situation. Already there has been a tremendous increase in the desire to study the lessons of our own mistakes and learn from the experiences of the R.I.L.U. summarized in the Strassburg resolution. Recently there have been many articles and resolutions written on this question dealing with concrete struggles. The forums of the unions and workers' schools everywhere are taking up the question of strike strategy in earnest. Our journals are devoting whole columns to the questions *how to organize*, etc. The Strassburg resolution has finally been printed in pamphlet form and already many thousands have been sold. They are being read and studied by our most active workers. There is no doubt that much good will come out of this.

Women in Mass Work

From a Speech by Comrade KUUSINEN at the European Conference of Heads of Women's Departments.

IT is not difficult to understand the importance of our mass work among women for the guidance of strike struggles. I think that all Communists will agree with this without hesitation. But *how?* If we do not approach this question of how to do it, we are threatened with the danger of once more passing a resolution which will remain on paper. I wish here to touch on this question only in examples; because, in my opinion, in all spheres and particularly in the sphere of mass work we must beware of mechanical generalization.

Imagine that a strike is taking place in a factory in which women workers are the minority—for instance, a fairly large factory where there are 100 to 200 women workers. The factory may be not where the head of the Central Women's Department is located, but in some outlying district. Unfortunately in this place there is no good active woman Communist, or at least the head of the Women's Department does not know of one. What is to be done?

We must send a competent woman, without any question. If the head of the Central Women's Department learns about the strike only after it has commenced, this is a proof that our contacts with the masses are not in good order. Unfortunately in our practice there are even cases when we know about strikes only after they have finished. But suppose that in this case we know about the strike on the day following its outbreak. The head of the Women's Department seeks out a competent woman instructor to lead the strike. She finds such a person. It is one of the best workers, overloaded with her normal work; she edits the women's newspaper, and carries on other duties. How can she be sent? But the head of the Women's Department, a revolutionist, does not hesitate long. She says: "You will go there because there is a *strike!* You *must* go there." The head of the Women's Department would be right!

GETTING IN TOUCH

But that is not all. She must talk in detail with this comrade and give instructions. You have to know what is to be done there. This comrade is not a miracle worker. Maybe she will have to take an assistant. If she cannot find a strong worker, she must take a weaker one. If there is an extremely active woman Party

worker near the given place, who, however, is somewhat weak, she must also be taken for the whole time. And when arriving at the place, you must not immediately rush to a big mass meeting, but first of all you should converse with the women workers individually and in groups with any of them you may find. Maybe they will not seek you out. You will thus get a detailed knowledge of their situation. In addition you must as a preliminary come to the competent Party committee or Red trade union, or committee of struggle, informing them that you have come to mobilize the women, to carry on revolutionary work among them. Ask them to help you to carry on a mass meeting and to indicate in what direction to lead conversations.

PREPARING A MEETING

The preparations for the meeting must be very careful. Not only must the speech of the leader be carefully worked up, although this is also important. But the practical propositions must also be carefully considered, settling what their character must be, etc. When the meeting has been well prepared, maybe it will be possible to attract, say 75 women workers out of 150. This is not at all bad, but is sufficient for the first meeting. Enthusiasm is good. The speech is excellent. A lively exchange of opinions takes place. The concluding remarks are brilliant. The practical proposition is passed. But the most important thing is for the orator to say: "I have not come here to make speeches, but you must all help. You must appoint from among yourselves the most determined, the most active, the most revolutionary women workers, and give them to me for work as your representatives. In a few days we shall meet again and then we shall give a report on the work which has been done during the week, and in the process of the struggle: looking after strike-breakers, agitation among strike-breakers, chiefly women, work among wavering strikers, chiefly women, distribution of leaflets and other revolutionary literature."

Maybe, if the strike committee thinks it necessary, it will be required to agitate for a sympathy strike, and maybe comrades from headquarters, together with two of the newly elected representatives will come to converse with the workers in the neighboring districts where it is necessary to agitate for a sympathy strike. During the strike there is plenty of work and plenty of tasks. It is not difficult to find practical slogans and tasks. Propositions are made also at mass meetings. Decisions are made to call the next meeting in a few days' time. Five or six representatives are elected from the meeting and the mass meeting finishes. Tasks are given to the five or six delegates. Thus we have made women delegates.

"Aha!" exclaim our comrades, "we know this already. What

a deception not to say this at once. This is the system of mass organization which is practiced in the USSR. It is fine for the Soviet Union, but is no good for foreign countries where the conditions are not so good and there would be difficulties there. We have not the same forces or the same tasks as you in the USSR."

I admit, it is difficult. But it is not more difficult than Bolshevik mass work in general. It is difficult to commence such work, but can you say that it is impossible to carry out that which I gave you as an example? It is the elementary business of every woman Communist in every strike. This is only the beginning of Bolshevik mass work, and there is nothing impossible in it. These beginnings are necessary. Work among women delegates only commences here. On the same day or the next day they gather together punctually with the leader. How shall we commence work with these delegates? We must say to them: "You do this, and you do that." Of course it may turn out that these women workers are unskilled in this work, maybe they are even not organized, or are recently organized, and are taking part in their first mass struggle. But you can see at once that they are real proletarian revolutionary women who are anxious to fight, although they know nothing about "high politics."

CONCRETE WORK

How shall we commence? First of all we must register their names and addresses. We must know where these comrades live. Maybe, if one of them does not turn up the next time, she will have to be sent for. Then we commence with questions, and ask many questions. What do they think in reality, what kind of people are they? We must keep on questioning and explain everything they do not understand, for each one individually. When there are only five or six comrades, this is not difficult. Then we must consider how to commence work. Of course the leader understands this much better than the women workers, but she must collectively discuss it with them, because, during the discussion, the workers will state their opinion and the representative of the Women's Department will tell them her ideas. In this way, for the first meeting of the delegates we may note three points which demand close attention: (1) Get closer acquainted with the delegates; (2) Talk with them about the distribution of the work; (3) Distribute the work itself. It is immediately to be seen that if a woman worker must carry out a task independently, in most cases she will not be successful. Hence the head of the Women's Department says: "For the first time I will come with you, maybe I shall have to go a second time to show you and see if things will not go better in twos. The work must be distributed in this way, down to trifles, both on the first day

and on the second. The next day or the day after, you must gather together punctually at 10 o'clock and say what has been done, what difficulties have been met in the work, what work has been performed, and in general, how things are going."

CONSTANT GUIDANCE NEEDED

The practical work of the delegates commences as follows. First there must be constant guidance and control. But the strike is going on and the tempo must be strike tempo. In this way there must be gaps between the delegate meetings, especially if the group is small. The meetings must be every day or almost every day, even if very short. And then the broad mass meetings must be at least once a week. The general mass meeting must also be well prepared. This is also important. The elected delegates will help in this matter, so as to mobilize still more women for the second meeting. They will also help in preparing the meeting. Together with the leader, they will prepare short reports for the meeting. Together with the delegates the leaders will go over their speeches, as to what to say and what to propose. The leader gets into contact with Party organizations, maybe with the nucleus, with the Red trade union organizations or the opposition. At the next mass meeting, a double number of delegates can be elected, if the work has not gone on well with the first.

Comrades, is this impossible in a strike? It is fully possible. It is difficult if the pre-requisites are unsuitable, when the head of the Central Women's Department has not a single comrade at hand, either a man or a woman, who understands the matter or who at least could be adapted to it by suitable detailed instructions. What is to be done in such a case? The strike is going on and there is no one to send. In such a case, the head of the Central Women's Department must go herself, must give up everything else, even if only for one week. A strike is on, and everything else is less important.

WHEN THE STRIKE ENDS

The strike comes to an end. This does not mean that the women delegates' meetings must also finish. They can function permanently. It is only necessary immediately after the strike to get into contact once more with the mass of women workers who were on strike, explain the situation to them, expose the reformists on obvious facts—this is what is vital. It is immediately after the strike that the question is decided as to which side has succeeded in strengthening its class position, which is the decisive question in the class struggle. The women delegates must naturally help in the most energetic way. The instructor must naturally leave the dis-

trict, but there remain people to replace her if she has prepared them. Now the leader has the responsibility and she must stay there. No other course is possible. But if she has succeeded in training a competent leader, one of the delegates or a woman Communist from the district, or an assistant from headquarters, in the immediate future it will probably be possible to carry on elections of delegates in many factories.

Possibly, delegates will be elected from a number of factories, but some of them quickly get tired, go home, and you cannot gather them together. But the majority remain at work. Suppose 15 delegates remain from five or six factories. Is the work of these 15 to be considered as extremely petty work? No, this small work is extremely important. These 15 women are not simply individuals, but individuals connected with the masses. From day to day they are among the masses, among the proletariat. If you train them, they will be mass workers. This is very important. What is difficult or impossible in all this? What is there here that is suitable for Russia, but not for foreign countries? When we think of this, we see that it is even more necessary and more suitable for foreign countries than for the Soviet Union. The aim is to unite the delegates with the Communist Party or the trade union opposition or the Red trade unions. *But this is the result of a process.* To demand this at the very start means to obtain nothing. In this case we have not only an organizational task, but the task of helping the Party at the present time to carry on a mass struggle against the reformists and the bourgeoisie. We must carry out both tasks, both the task of developing mass struggles and the task of organization.

I gave this example in connection with a strike, because in a strike the spirits of the masses are high, even among the backward men and women workers. At another time it is probably difficult to interest them and attract them to meetings, but in a strike situation this is much easier. In a strike the maximum results can be obtained. But we must not limit ourselves to strikes. It is possible in connection with all the mass struggles of the proletariat to which the masses of women workers are attracted. Even in election struggles, a start can be made on this work.

Growth of the Fascist Dictatorship in Germany

By ERNST THAELMANN

THE capitalist system and capitalist economy are in a crisis of such dimensions that even bourgeois apologists are no longer able to conceal its seriousness. Even the official "Institut fuer Konjunkturforschung" has to admit that the present business set-back in the whole world, as well as in Germany, is of a seriousness almost unprecedented in modern economic development. Nowhere are there to be seen any signs of a speedy improvement of the economic situation. It is estimated that the number of unemployed in Germany will amount to 4,500,000 in the approaching winter months. The deficit in the finances of the Reich, the provinces and the municipalities is estimated by the "Konjunktur-Institut" at 700,000,000 marks for the second half of the fiscal year 1930.

At what a pace and on what a scale this tremendous crisis of capitalism is bringing disaster, hunger, and unbearable misery to the broad masses it is hardly necessary to describe in detail. Already today, even according to bourgeois estimates, at least one-sixth of the workers and salaried employees are excluded from the process of production. The sufferings of the unemployed, the misery in all the workers' homes, the under-nourishment of the children, the desperate plight of the old folk, the unendurable exploitation of the working women and of the youth—all these are facts which convert the lives of the overwhelming majority of the population into one long torture. The scourge of misery falls on the backs of the proletariat, of the suffering middle classes, and of the working rural population.

But the unemployed who have run out of benefit, the suffering middle class who have been deprived of the means of existence by monopoly capitalism, the small peasants who are harassed by the tax collector and court bailiff—they all want to live. There is a ferment in the masses; there is an increasing will to fight for another social order than the barbarism of capitalism with its accompanying disasters. The whip of hunger wielded by the exploiters is causing the people to think. The anger of the masses towards their tormentors, their hatred against a system which annihilates

millions with unbounded cruelty in order to save the profits of a small insignificant minority, and in addition the deadly enmity, out of which sooner or later there must arise the emancipating act of the millions against this system—all this is the reverse side of the capitalist decline.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY BANKRUPT

Parliamentarism, bourgeois democracy, is finally bankrupt. The Reichstag, brutally gagged by the Bruening government, has by voting for the emergency orders signed its own death warrant. In nearly all the important big towns of Germany the town councils have been almost replaced by the purely dictatorial rule of state commissioners. In the Berlin town council the whole fraction of the strongest party of the Berlin population was removed from the council chamber by the police. The example of the Finnish Lapua fascists is enthusiastically followed by the social democratic Berlin police. The attempts of the social democracy to deny that the bourgeoisie is setting up the fascist dictatorship by bloodless means, their attempts to screen the Bruening government, and thereby to weaken the fighting will of the proletarian masses to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, and to confuse the working class, are a no less anti-working class and for the proletariat a no less dangerous support of fascism than the direct parliamentary and extra-parliamentary lackey-service of social fascism for the fascist policy and the fascist rule of the German bourgeoisie.

That which the capitalist class in Germany has developed in regard to its methods of rule is the inevitable crowning of a process of development the driving forces of which are the crisis of the capitalist system, the severe shaking of the bourgeois order and of the capitalist economy. A year ago this process found visible expression in the offensive of the big bourgeoisie led by the former president of the Reichsbank, Schacht, against the Hermann Mueller government of the big coalition. The kick with which the bourgeoisie three months later cleared the social democrats out of the Reich government was the continuation. The bourgeoisie proceeded immediately to exercise its dictatorship over the people without making use of their social fascist lackeys as go-betweens. The semi-fascist Bruening government, which took the place of the Hermann Mueller government, continued from the first day of its regime to pursue the path of the fascist dictatorship via new fascist methods of rule.

FASCIST GOVERNMENT SETS IN

Today the Bruening government itself has become a government of fascist dictatorship in its commencing stage. For the question

of a fascist dictatorship is for the Marxists not a question of persons, not the problem that a Mussolini or Hitler must take over the helm, but rather a question of the class role of a regime.

The social democracy in its efforts to make the Bruening government acceptable to the masses as the "lesser evil," points out that the proletarian movement has not been rendered illegal, and wonders how the fascist dictatorship can rule in Germany although the Communist Party is still legal. The social democratic party of Germany thereby only betrays how painful to it is the legal existence of the Communists and reveals at the same time its unbounded historical ignorance. In the history of the 12 years since the end of the war it is only in rare cases that the fascist rule in any country commenced with the complete crushing of the labor movement.

The task of the fascist dictatorship, the aim of this dictatorship in the interest of the capitalist system to crush the revolutionary proletariat, can be the result of the fascist rule only in the event of it maintaining itself successfully against the proletariat and succeeding in solving its tasks. That the Bruening government, with its social fascist assistants, has set itself this task of suppressing the proletariat and its party, is obvious to every thinking worker in view of the terror which is assuming sharper forms every day. When the social democratic party of Germany ventures today to enumerate all the "liberties" which the working class and the Communist Party are supposed to enjoy in Germany, while at the very same time the truncheons of the social democratic police guards are used against starving unemployed, when the shots of the police pistols are heard and the searchlights on the police patrol wagons create an atmosphere of civil war in whole districts of the town, while the social democratic chief of police Grzesinsky in Berlin and the social democratic Schonfelder in Hamburg prohibit demonstrations, the social democratic party deliberately mocks the workers with such "arguments."

FASCIST RULE NOT YET IN FIXED FORM

It is quite true that the fascist dictatorship has not assumed a firm and fixed form which is not subject to any further development. That which we have in Germany today is the commencing stage of a fascist dictatorship which will be followed, if the bourgeoisie have their way, by further steps on the basis of the extra-parliamentary development of the reactionary class forces, naturally not

on the basis of any parliamentary votes. How far the "national socialists"* will make use of the method of the bloodless *coup d'etat* of legal assumption of power depends upon the general development of the crisis and the sharpening of class relations. Of course a military *putsch* as a supplementary method is by no means out of the question. In any event it is clear that the fascist terror would with the further development of the fascist dictatorship assume much more cruel and brutal forms. But it is equally clear that these dangers cannot be averted by denying the commencing stage of the fascist dictatorship. Those who today seek to lull the masses of the workers, to minimize the seriousness of the situation, to prevent the clear recognition of fascism as the chief enemy, those who make out to the workers that to support the Bruening government means to avert fascism, are themselves helping to promote the development of the fascist dictatorship to its highest and cruelest stages.

ROLE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The present role of the social democratic party of Germany is that of auxiliary police to fascism. This applies to its police presidents, to the actions of Severing or Grzesinsky, but also no less to the social fascist arbitrators and strike breakers, to the social fascist trade union bureaucracy who help the fascist dictatorship to put through wage cuts and assist in sabotaging the defensive fight of the proletariat.

The social democratic party of Germany has not only prepared the way for fascism, but is also today a faithful buttress of the fascist dictatorship. It vies with the "national socialists" for the preference in maintaining, defending, and developing the fascist dictatorship. Over and beyond its own fascist role the social democracy is becoming a lever for the development of extra-parliamentary fascist mass organizations. The treacherous policy of the social democratic party is driving hundreds and thousands of disappointed salaried employees and members of the middle class, nay, even backward members of the working class, into the "national socialist" net.

A further chapter is the shattering of all the labor organizations by social fascism, the conversion of the trade unions into strike-breaking organizations, as in the case of the strike of the Berlin metal workers, or the recent strike of the tramway workers in Chemnitz. The trade union policy of social fascism is attempting to force the German trade unions on to the path of Mussolini's

* The nationalist fascist party, led by Hitler.

syndicates, on to the path of auxiliary organizations of the fascist dictatorship.

Today the social democracy, inside and outside of parliament, and before all with the aid of the Prussian government and all its functionaries in the capitalist state apparatus, unreservedly supports the Bruening government of the fascist dictatorship. It tries to excuse this unscrupulous treachery with the "statesmanlike" declaration that it is thereby preventing the "national socialists" from entering the Reich government. This also is a barefaced swindle. In reality, by aiding the Bruening government, the social-democracy renders it possible for the "national socialists" to pose as being independent of the system of the fascist dictatorship, of which Hitler and Goebbels are in truth the most important extra-parliamentary supports.

A FIGHT FOR SOFT JOBS

The "fight" between the social democracy and the "national socialists" is seriously meant only insofar as it is a competitive struggle for soft jobs in the capitalist state apparatus. For the rest, the Hitler party and the social democratic party of Germany play into each other's hands.

The policy of the "national socialists" has undergone manifold changes since the Reichstag election. First there began the great race for ministerial seats. The language of the "national socialists" became tame and moderate as befitting a "government party." In foreign policy Hitler, in his various interviews to foreign press representatives, abandoned all his previous nationalist phrases about shattering the Young Plan, the fight against Versailles, and the like.

The Nazi* party came forward as the reliable party prepared to carry out the Young Plan and meriting the confidence of the victor countries. There followed the shameful attempts of the "national socialists" to win the favor of the foreign imperialists, the correspondence between Hitler and the French chauvinist Herve regarding a Franco-German military alliance against the Soviet Union. In those weeks the Nazi party became, at least according to its own account, a gentle, well-behaved set of lambs.

No sooner had it become apparent, however, that the time for the Hitler party to take over the government had not yet come, that today other factions in the camp of German fascism under the leadership of the Center are maintaining power and on their part

* National socialist.

are setting up and exercising the fascist dictatorship, than a sudden change ensued in the policy of the "national socialists." The unreserved defense of capitalism against the workers, as was clearly revealed on the occasion of Hitler's banquet in the Hamburg millionaires' club, had to give place to the former "anti-capitalist" demagogy; the complete betrayal of the national fight for freedom of the German people is now again to be hidden behind nationalist phrases.

FASCIST TERROR RISES

All this, however, only serves to veil the active extra-parliamentary, mercenary services which the Hitler bands are actually rendering the fascist dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie to the best of their power and in competition with the social democracy. The wave of fascist terror is rising again; the bloody attacks of the "national socialists" on revolutionary workers are again increasing. Hardly a day passes without somewhere in Germany a proletarian falling victim to the bullets and knives of the fascist counter-revolution. Needless to say the working class should not fail to give a reply to the organized murder and the open civil war measures of fascism.

If today the "national socialists" are not participating in the Reich government, it is only due to the fact that at present German fascism is split into well-defined factional camps. On one side there is the Bruening bloc, which is endeavoring to realize the fascist dictatorship whilst utilizing to the full and at the same time discrediting the social democracy. On the other side there is the Hugenberg-Hitler bloc, which wishes completely to oust the social democracy from all the higher and lower positions in the state apparatus and replace them by "national socialists."

The question, when the present stage of the fascist dictatorship, in which the Center catholic clericalism plays the leading role, will be replaced by the Hitler-Hugenberg bloc, and whether this change will take the form of a Reichswehr dictatorship under Major General von Hammerstein or the former Reichswehr Minister Gessler, can at present not be decided.

All the above-mentioned forms of the fascist dictatorship are within the bounds of possibility. For the fascist dictatorship is not a form of government, but a state form of capitalist class rule, in the frame of which all kinds of government variations are possible.

COMMUNIST PARTY FIRMLY UNITED

With the beginning of the fascist dictatorship in Germany the war danger has increased enormously. A new period of armament,

adventure, and war policy of German imperialism has set in. On one side new conflicts between the imperialist powers are threatening in a sharper form than hitherto; on the other hand there is increasing as the chief danger of war the anti-Bolshevist intervention front, which is completed by the rule of fascism in Germany. The incitement against the Soviet Union, the lies regarding Soviet "dumping" on the world market, the solidarity of the "national socialists," the bourgeoisie, and the social democratic party with the condemned saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries on the occasion of the Moscow trial—all this shows how joyfully fascist Germany would welcome the campaign of world imperialism against the country of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Communist Party calls the masses of the German people to the fight against the dictatorship. Whilst in all other parties crisis and disintegration prevail, the C. P. of Germany was never so united as at present. Even comrades who in the past combated the Party from the standpoint of the conciliators have to day taken their place in the revolutionary activity of the Party and on the class line of our policy. The unexampled inner firmness of the Communist Party is only a reflection of the gathering of the proletarian class forces for the united front in the camp of the revolution.

A Charter of Slavery for the Indian People

THE Indian Round Table Conference has finished its "labors." The results achieved remind one of the proverb: The mountain labored and gave birth to a mouse. Nevertheless, it is worth while analyzing the recommendations of the conference, for, far as they are yet from realization, they enable us to gauge the limits to which British imperialism, under *present* conditions in India, is prepared to go in order to buy the active cooperation of the Indian bourgeoisie for the suppression of the Indian revolution.

A "FEDERATION" FOR INDIA

Under the provisions of the new Indian "constitution," laid down at the conference, India is to be transformed into a federation of British Indian provinces and native states.

The primary object of a federal system of state is to assure equality to all nationalities which enter into a federation of their own free choice as independent units, free to quit whenever they consider it desirable. This democratic principle (like all other democratic principles) has never been and never will be carried out by the bourgeoisie in its entirety. Here in the United States the southern states form component parts of the union, yet it is the white ruling minority in some of these states, and not the Negro majority that has the say in the government. Another glaring travesty of this basic principle of federation (national equality) is to be found in the South African Union, where the whole federation is actually built on the enslavement of the indigenous population of the country—the Negro masses. It is only in the Soviet Union, under a Workers' and Peasants' government, that all nationalities enjoy real equality of status and real independence inside the federation.

An Indian federation under British domination would mean the very negation of the meaning of federation. This "federation" is to be composed not of nationalities, but of British Indian provinces and native states. The Indian provinces are huge territories carved out on the map of India by the vicissitudes of British conquest and their convenience to the colonial administration. The various minorities and language groups of the Indian people are so torn asunder by these artificial provincial boundaries that the National Congress many years ago found itself forced to rebuild its organization on a basis totally different from the administrative division of the coun-

try. The same thing applies to the native states, which were formed out of what was left after British greed for direct subjugation had been satisfied.

It is these nationally heterogeneous territories which are to become the member states of an Indian federation. Thus, for instance, Bengal, with its population nearly equally divided between Hindus and Moslems, is to enter the federation as one state; Punjab, with its Moslem majority, Hindu and Sikh minorities, is to constitute another member of the federation; also Bombay, with its three or four major language groups. It is clear that such an arrangement can in no way solve the national question or help the political, economic and cultural development of the various nationalities of India. On the contrary, it will only aggravate national (intercommunal) strife in the provinces and on an all-Indian scale. This is exactly what the British imperialists are after. Against the rising tide of the Indian Revolution they want to erect and strengthen a wall of religious hate, caste antagonism, and communal strife.

But the basic question still remains to be answered. Do the various "states" enter this bogus federation by the free choice of their people; are these "states" independent; are they free to quit the federation whenever they wish to do so? No! No!! No!!! Neither the population of the British Indian provinces nor the peoples of the native states are consulted whether or not they want a federation. They are not given the right to separate from the federation. *And above all, they are not independent.*

Here, really, is the gist of the matter. The American capitalist press became hoarse trying to impress upon its readers that the new Indian constitution will bring the governmental system of India close to that of the United States. What a monstrous fake! What can there be in common between an *imperialist* country, such as the United States, which itself has colonies and *oppresses* other nations, and a *colonial* country like India which is and, under the new constitution, would remain *oppressed* by imperialism?

A federation, as a form of state, is progressive when it does away with national oppression and strife and substitutes for them national independence and equality. *Under MacDonald's constitution India is to become a federation based on "equal" submission of all its nationalities to British rule; this "equality in submission" to be supplemented by increased national and religious strife.* The name "federation" does not change the utter *reactionary substance* of this new form of British lordship over India.

The British imperialists themselves leave no room to doubt that they consider the emergence of this reactionary scheme the most important achievement of the otherwise abortive conference. The

only positive assertion in the official statement made by MacDonald at the closing of the conference, refers to the question of federation: "His Majesty's Government," declared the imperialist "Labor" minister, "has taken note of the fact that the central government should be a *federation of all India, embracing both the Indian states and British India* in a bicameral legislature." Whatever concessions are to be made to the national bourgeoisie are contingent upon the acceptance of this scheme. This is made clear in the following passage of the same statement: "With a legislature *constituted on the federal basis*, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognize the principle of the responsibility of the executive to the legislature."

It is this vicious plan, first conceived by the Simon Commission in order to tighten the British grip on India, that received the unanimous approval of the titled reptiles who arrogated to themselves the right to represent the Indian people at the Round Table Conference.

"RESPONSIBLE" GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

While the acceptance of the federal principle is the one definite outcome of the Round Table Conference, it is instructive to review briefly also what the British imperialists have in mind when they speak of "responsible" government for India.

Control over the army and foreign relations is "of course" to remain in the hands of the British viceroy. This means that the military occupation of India by alien mercenary troops will continue undisturbed. The viceroy is also to have authority over foreign loans and debts. India will, therefore, continue to pay, with money extracted from a starving population, for her own conquest by the East Indian Company.* Finally, the governors and the viceroy are to retain extraordinary powers "for the preservation of peace and to assure fair treatment to the minorities." This means that any decision of the legislature can be overruled by the British authorities under one pretext or another. This is also yet another proof that the British will not relinquish their old game of first playing up one nationality against the other, and then of assuming the role of impartial super-arbiters over the Indian people. This game is as old as the world itself and is well known under the name of "divide and rule" policy.

All these safeguards are sufficient to make the future "responsible" government of India a powerless plaything in the hands of its British masters. Yet even this does not satisfy the British imperialists. Too frequent resort to the extraordinary powers of the

* A considerable portion of the foreign debt of India represents the debts of the old East Indian Company contracted to finance its Indian wars.

governor, though provided for in the constitution, would only too soon expose the whole scheme as a sham. MacDonald, in his closing speech, promised that "as far as possible" this will be avoided. Instead of the open use of the veto, another trick is to be adopted which will achieve the same ends but by more subtle means.

The test of every respectable bourgeois constitution lies in the "representative" character of the legislature and in the "responsibility" of the government to the latter. Universal suffrage was definitely *ausgeschlossen* at the Round Table Conference as "impracticable." The future Indian legislature will represent only a small fraction of the population. The elections to the senate will especially require high property qualifications, which will practically assure to the British imperialists the preponderance of their faithful allies—the landowners and big usurers—in the upper house. Both houses will be infested with representatives of the 700 odd major native states, also satellites of British imperialism. It is further proposed that the upper house contain about 100 members, the lower house around 250, and three-fourths of the combined voting strength of both houses, constituted in this admirable way, be required to bring about the fall of the ministry. A simple arithmetical calculation shows that were the lower house to pass a unanimous vote of censure on the government this would not be sufficient to constitute the three-fourths necessary to force its resignation. In practice, therefore, the future "responsible" government will be responsible only to the landowners and feudal princes who make up the senate. With the help of these reactionary allies the government can stay in power *ad calendas Graecas*, and yet roll in the glory of a virgin, non-violated (how sweet to the heart of a Mahatma!) constitution. No need to resort to extraordinary powers, irritating to the people. All the interests of British imperialism, including its absolute political domination, will be preserved and defended strictly in accord with the constitution. Now, in all earnest, is it not a great and ingenious device, this one invented by MacDonald?

Such is the offer of "self-government" which the British imperialists are "generously" extending to the Indian people. If there are still some who vacillate on the theory of "decolonization," let them draw the lessons. The economic development of the last few years in India has mercilessly exposed the utter baselessness of this theory in its economic aspects (the industrialization of India through the efforts of British capital). Now comes the Round Table Conference to bring another concrete proof of the rottenness of this theory in its political aspects (the "decolonization" of India through the grant of dominion status). The proposed Indian constitution is not only anti-popular in its character, as are *all* bourgeois constitu-

tions, which serve only to mask the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but this particular constitution is even not a bourgeois one. It keeps even the Indian bourgeoisie in the hallway of the government chamber. Whatever concessions the national bourgeoisie may and, indeed, will get from British imperialism, there are no signs that it will ever be allowed to enter the sacred precincts of the Indian government as a junior partner of British imperialism. The Tsarist Duma, anti-popular and reactionary as it was, nevertheless marked a certain division of power between the nobility and the Russian bourgeoisie. Even such a Duma is an impossibility in a colonial country like India. For under British imperialism there is only one status for India—the status of a slave. There is only one constitution British imperialism can “grant” to the Indian people—the constitution of slavery.

The Collapse of the Theory of Organized Capitalism

By SAM DON

(Continued from February.)

ENGELS in his *Anti-Duehring*, in analyzing the basic contradiction of capitalism, expresses it most clearly in the following sentence: "The contradiction between the social form of production and capitalist appropriation, reproduces itself as the antagonism and conflict between the organization of production in the *individual* factories, and the anarchy of production in the *entire society*." (Our emphasis.)

The greater the shrinkage of the market because of the reduction of the purchasing power of the masses, the sharper the competition among the capitalists to capture the market. This competition compels them to organize better their *individual* factories, to build trusts, etc. However, this better individual organization is not merely based on the abstract advance of the technical organizational apparatus. The establishment of the higher technical organizational apparatus is carried through to make more effective and "efficient" the exploitation of labor, with the idea of meeting competition which threatens the profits of the individual capitalists and of obtaining the highest profits on the basis of maximum capacity to produce with the least cost of production. Therefore, the higher the organization in the individual factories, the greater the number of trusts, the greater the anarchy of production in society as a whole.

Let us now contrast Engels' conception of organization in individual factories and the anarchy of production in society as a whole, with Hilferding's and Bukharin's conception of organized capitalism. We will quote here two statements of Hilferding, which in a nutshell, give the foundation of the theory of organized capitalism. The first was written in 1924, the other was stated by Hilferding at the 1927 congress of the German Social Democracy:

"In the economic sphere, the war and post-war period is characterized by an extraordinary tendency towards concentration of capitalism. The growth of trusts received a strong push forward. The period of free competition is coming to an end. Big monopolies have become the real masters of the economic life. *This indicates the change from the capitalism of free competition to organized capitalism.* The socialization of the labor process in large scale

production developed to socialization of the labor process of the whole group of branches of various industries and led to the unification of the socialized sections of industry. Thanks to this rose the *conscious order and leadership in economic life.*" (Our emphasis.)

Further,

"The period of free competition when capitalism was mastered by the laws of blind forces, is left behind, and we have at the present time a capitalist organization of economy. In other words economy built on the free play of forces, has turned into organized economy.

"Organized capitalism means a fundamental change of the capitalist principle of free competition with the Socialist principle of planned production."

Before we quote Bukharin, let us briefly analyze Hilferding's statement. First, the very basis of the growth of the post-war greater organization in *individual* factories, was called for by greater competition. They came into life not to eliminate competition, but on the contrary, as more efficient, effective, more formidable weapons of competition. Thus, in the words of Marx,

"In the present economic life, we find not only competition and monopoly, also their synthesis, which is not a mere formula, but movement. Monopoly gives birth to competition, competition gives birth to monopoly. However, it not only eliminates the difficulties of the present situation, but on the contrary, it creates a situation which becomes more complicated and difficult." (From the *Poverty of Philosophy.*)

Lenin developing this point further in his *Imperialism* stated:

"Monopoly growing out of free competition, does not eliminate it, but exists above it and alongside of it, and at the same time giving rise to special sharp and big contradictions, antagonisms and conflicts."

He also stated that "precisely the unification of the contradictions opposing each other which existed at the beginning of capitalism—free competition and monopoly, is also existing in the period of imperialism." Hilferding speaks of the socialization of the labor process in large scale production. The very birth of capitalism is marked by the tendency of the social form of the labor process . . . but linked up with it, which Hilferding "chooses" to forget, is the private appropriation of the product of the socialized labor process. And trusts express most obviously this basic contradiction of higher degrees of the social form of the labor process and the more concentrated and growing appropriation of it. Precisely because of

this, "The cartels and trusts *unifying production*, at the same time, very plainly *strengthen the anarchy of production*."—Lenin. (Our emphasis.)

While there is a difference between Bukharin and Hilferding, in the *manner* of stating the problem of organized capitalism, and a very insignificant shading of difference between them (Bukharin "admitting" competition on the world market), basically, the roots and fallacies of Bukharin are identical with those of Hilferding's theories. We therefore first took up the source of Bukharin's theories—the bourgeois source. The very quoting of Bukharin's statement will show the basic identity between him and Hilferding's theories, and for that matter, the "golden era" theories. Bukharin, in his articles, which appeared in *Pravda* in 1930, stated:

"What means State capitalism from the viewpoint of competition? It means the dying away of competition within the country and the sharpening of competition among the imperialist powers. The anarchistic nature moves over on the line of international economic relations. The problem of markets, prices, competition, crises, becoming more and more problems of the world market. Thus, becoming *within the country, problems of organization*. The most painful and sickly wounds of capitalism, the most crying contradictions of capitalism are fought out on the world arena." (Our emphasis.)

The post-war accelerated growth of trusts, the advance of technique in rationalization was not a sign of the strength of capitalism. On the contrary, it was a "supreme" and "heroic" effort to overcome the contradictions which were accentuated by the war and the post-war development. They resorted to Hilferding's "organized" capitalism, which still more sharpened the contradictions created by the last imperialist war. How come, wonder the learned bourgeois economists, the social fascists and renegades, that in face of the most technically advanced and "organized" capitalism, we are in the midst of the worst crisis in the history of capitalism? Precisely because at no time in the history of capitalism did we have such an accentuation of the "contradiction between the social form of production and private appropriation," which, "reproduces itself as an antagonism between the organization of production in the *individual* factory and the *anarchy of production in the entire society*."

We have spoken in the first part of the article in a general way, of the fact that even the bourgeois apologists under the impact of the crisis are abandoning the cheerful songs of organized capitalism and beginning to chant sorrowful melodies. In view of our above discussion, we will now more specifically, take up some of these sad "melodies."

The October, 1930, issue of the American Federation of Labor official magazine, the *American Federationist* carried an article by Cornelle D. Adams, whose very title really reveals the historical purpose of the American Federation of Labor. The striking name of the article is, How Capitalism Can Save Itself and the World from Revolution. The opening sentences of the article are:

"Most people doubtless think that because modern industry is highly complex, it is also highly organized. Of course, nothing could be further from the truth. The larger units are generally well organized; and so are some industries as a whole. But if all industry within national boundaries was organized as a national unit, such a thing as a commercial failure would be an impossibility. Such phenomena as so-called "prosperity," "business depression," "hard times," would be impossible—inconceivable."

Not a bad funeral song from a savior of capitalism from the world revolution on the theory of organized capitalism. Indeed, what has happened to Hilferding's thought that "big monopolies" have become the real masters of economic life?" And Bukharin's idea that the problem of markets, prices, competition, crises, etc., has moved on an international line, "Thus becoming within the country problems of organization?" What Marx, Engels and Lenin foretold with scientific precision, is a riddle to the bourgeois apologists blinded by their class interests of saving capitalism. That the C. I., basing itself on a Marxian-Leninist analysis, in fighting Bukharin's theories of organized capitalism, foretold the nature and development of the present crisis, which throws the bourgeois scientific world in a state of confusion and panic, is to the bourgeois a sealed book.

To go back to the above quoted statement, the writer almost senses the root of the evil when he states that: "But instead of being part of a coordinated whole, the actual fact is that every individual capitalist is an irresponsible free-lance." But if we may disturb the moral peace and mental balance of the labor leader and "savior from revolution," we will ask him a very simple question: Is it not profits and exploitation which makes every capitalist "an irresponsible free-lance" who prevents the development of society "into a "coordinated whole?"

Another expression of the sensing of the futility of the theory of organized capitalism by bourgeois economists, is to be found for instance in the December 13th, 1929 issue of the *Annalist*. They wrote:

"It is probably expecting too much hope that a marked downward drift in business, the product of a great complex of influences having an immense momentum, difficult to *measure* and even difficult in many regions to *trace in outline*, can be wholly checked even

by a cooperative effort to avoid as far as possible curtailment of business activity. For a while a group of executives may assent to the idea that such a cooperative policy is desirable, each individual, nevertheless, finds himself confronted with a very definite and urgent money consideration; and in most cases his position compels him to be governed by these conditions rather than by a consideration of the policy that might be socially desirable if it were practical in each particular case." (Our emphasis.)

This "great complex" that they speak of which they admit they cannot measure, nay, even trace in outline, was however, traced in outline and measured by Marx and Engels as the contradictions of capitalism. However, what is most significant in the above statement is the admission that cooperative effort cannot check the "complex of influences," that such efforts are really futile. Why? Because as they admit, that which may even from a capitalist viewpoint be socially desirable, cannot be carried through as it will interfere with the individual profits of the respective capitalist groups.

The January, 1931, review of the National City Bank tells us that:

"With the collapse of the boom and moderation of an over-stimulated demand, it is conceded that we face a period of *intensified competition*, in which low costs and ability to anticipate market trends will be more than ever important prerequisites to success."

Thus we see that we are not in for a period of elimination of competition, but for a period of "intensified competition." And this period of intensified competition develops simultaneously, naturally so, with a period of still further growth of trusts. Hoover, for instance, leads the movement for greater trustification in the coal industry and for greater amalgamation of the railroad industry. We also see still further trustification of the steel industry as a result of the crisis, as well as a number of other industries. Without quoting, we merely remind the reader of Marx's and Lenin's statements of the co-existence of competition and monopoly, and contrast them with Bukharin's statements of "the dying away of competition within the country," and his statement in 1920, that, "finance capital did away with the anarchy of production in the leading capitalist countries," to which Lenin briefly and decisively, remarked, "did not do away."

The Federal Reserve system, which was organized in 1913-1914, was heralded as the best medium of stabilizing and organizing capitalism. An institution that was to prevent bank failures and commercial failures. Just a few figures and facts which most eloquently speak of the "organizing" role of the Federal Reserve system. In the war decade, there were on the average, 96 bank failures, in the exceptional war period, 93, and the average for the post war decade, 483! The final statistics for 1930 show that

1,345 banks closed during that year and only 147 reopened. The final statistics also show that six states escaped suspension in that year. These were Delaware, Maine, Nevada, New Mexico, Rhode Island and Wyoming. Certainly not the most important states in the country. The most important sections of the country were affected by the bank failures. In the month of January, 1931 (the first months of 1931 show an increase, and not a decrease, of bank failures), the largest number of failures took place in the Chicago Federal Reserve district, while the volume of deposits affected was greatest in the Atlanta District. How about commercial failures? Just a few figures: The number of failures in 1930 amounted to 26,355, compared with 22,909 in 1929, 23,842 in 1928, and 23,014 in 1927. The liabilities of the commercial failures in 1929 amounted to \$483,250,196, and in 1930, to \$668,283,842. And what are the prospects for 1931? A glimpse is to be found in the February 20th issue of the *New York Times*, when it states, "Commercial failures increased sharply in January, compared with the same month in 1930, according to the records of R. G. Dun and Company, which report 3,316 insolvencies, with aggregate liabilities of \$94,608,212, against 2,759, with liabilities of \$61,185,171, a year before." Any wonder then that the *New York Journal of Commerce* in an editorial in the January 14th issue writes, "The failures record of 1930 makes it clear that our much discussed progress in the direction of business stabilization has not helped to reduce business mortality in periods of depression." Thus we see how finance capital did not do away with the anarchy of production.

In the October, 1930, issue of the *National City Bank* review we find one of the clearest bourgeois admissions of the futility of organized capitalism. We will therefore without much comment quote the paragraph in full:

"It is said that even though individual owners may desire to operate their properties to capacity there is a lack of order and control in the industrial system which results in the conditions complained of. This is the crux of the discussion. It is true that the industrial organization is not under any system of general control. It is a free system, because all persons are free to employ their varied capacities in whatever honest occupations they may choose. It is not the purpose of this article to enter into an argument over such specious pleas as that individual workers are not free, but compelled by the force of circumstances to take work as they can get it. Nobody is free from the compulsion of the circumstances in which a person happens to be placed. (!) Most people are obliged to earn a living and must find something to do where they live or by their own initiative. Society is not responsible for this condition, and it cannot be materially changed by any system of government. Nor is it the intention here to discuss Socialism or Communism, but simply to base what is said upon the fact that

freedom of enterprise and the right of private property exist under the laws of this country. Under such a regime, with everybody free to do anything that any one else may do, *rival and competitive efforts inevitably occur with more or less confusion and disorder.* These conditions are incidental to a state of individual freedom." (Our emphasis.)

Not "conscious order and leadership in economic life" (Hilferding), but "confusion and disorder." Not the "dying away of competition within the country," and the "doing away with the anarchy of production," (Bukharin), but "rival and competitive efforts inevitably occur."

The theories of organized capitalism and ultra-imperialism are closely related to each other. In fact, they are twins. We don't intend at this time to go into a discussion of ultra-imperialism, but merely to emphasize the fallacy of the theory of organized capitalism. Lenin in his *Imperialism*, stated:

"The theoretical criticism of imperialism by Kautsky has nothing to do with Marxism and therefore it is only good as a basis for propagating peace and unity with the opportunists and social chauvinists because this criticism evades and glosses over precisely the very deepest and fundamental contradictions of imperialism; the contradiction between monopolies and along side with it existing free competition."

The present crisis has dealt another death-blow to the theories of ultra-imperialism which raised a head again in the second period of partial stabilization. The present crisis is dissolving the various international agreements of the steel cartel, etc. The collapse of the European sugar conference is another striking example. The admitted failure of the various tariff and economic conferences called by the League of Nations are like the disarmament conferences, a battleground for greater rivalries.

Mr. Young, who is being hailed as the clearest bourgeois thinker, has for the purpose of mobilizing public opinion for war, made statements which touched the very contradiction of imperialism and belie the theories of organized capitalism and ultra-imperialism. In his "famous" heralded speech, at the Lotus Club on December 3, 1930, we find the following gem:

"And one thing more. Our politics and our economics are in conflict everywhere in the world today. Our economics are necessarily international because of our interdependence upon each other. Our politics, on the other hand, are national, increasingly so in every country. The first is forcing itself through frontiers toward an integrated world; the other is building up man-made barriers around a much larger number of political units than existed before the war. The forces are violent and imposing. Some better way must be found of accommodating each to the other or they will *destroy each other.*" (Our emphasis.)

Without commenting on these statements, we will rather quote Lenin as the most appropriate comment. The statement of Lenin quoted below was written in 1915 in his preface to Bukharin's book on *Imperialism and World Economy*. Lenin wrote:

"There is no doubt the development is going in the direction of a single world trust that will swallow up all enterprises and all states without exception. But the development in this direction is proceeding under such stress, with such a tempo, with such contradictions, conflicts and convulsions, not only economical, but also political, national, etc., that before a single world trust will be reached, before the respective national finance capitals will have formed a world union of ultra imperialism, imperialism will inevitably explode, *capitalism will turn into its opposite.*" (Our emphasis.)

Mr. Young in the above quoted speech, not only raises the question of war, but linked up with it, openly calls for fascist organization. He suggests the carrying through of a "holiday of parliaments." Naturally so.

* * * *

What is the political meaning and significance of the admissions on the part of the bourgeoisie, of the collapse of the theory of organized capitalism? What does it mean, that the bourgeoisie begins to feel and admit that there is something wrong, something the matter with the system? Though the capitalists may begin to speak of capitalism being on trial, no ruling class has ever "admitted" its uselessness in society, and that it is played out for further historical progress. No class has ever given up power voluntarily or committed suicide.

What then will be the course of the bourgeoisie? How will it try to solve the contradictions in whose "blind forces" capitalism is imprisoned? Now more than ever before, the capitalist weapons of solving the crisis, will be the only weapons that capitalism knows, with which it was born and grew. This is most ruthless exploitation and most feverish preparation for war. A greater if not sole reliance upon the "subjective factor." This means reliance upon fascism.

Capitalism today is afraid of the working class solution of the present crisis—that is the revolutionary solution, particularly, in view of the existence of the Soviet Union. No wonder then, that Mr. Adams cries out in panic:

"The alternative is communism. The political success of communism, or what passes under that name, in Russia, *has settled definitely the kind of state that will succeed capitalism in case of a successful revolution in any other country.*" (Our emphasis.)

Any wonder then, that "even" the liberals from the right wing of the *New Republic*, to their left-wing of Mr. Calverton's *Modern Quarterly*, fearing the working class alternative, prefer a fascist dictatorship. And the new Socialist, Sherwood Eddy, tells capitalism how to save itself from the "Challenge of Soviet Russia." The realization that the success of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat of the Soviet Union "settled definitely the kind of state that will succeed capitalism," is considered by world imperialism as the greatest obstacle for its "solving" of the crisis. Remove the obstacle—destroy the Soviet Union is the battle cry of the bourgeoisie and their hirelings!

The continuous and steady deepening of the crisis has blown to pieces the theories of organized capitalism. In place of "golden era" theories, fascist dictatorship theories are openly proclaimed. The struggle against fascism, against the social demagoguery of the bourgeoisie, against social fascism, is one of the main prerequisites for winning the majority of the working class. And as capitalism nears its end, the question of the subjective force becomes the determining factor in the struggles between the two classes. In this respect, the Communist Parties must well take to heart the lessons of the defeats of the revolutionary workers of Germany, Hungary and other countries in 1918 and the reasons for the success of the proletarian revolution in Russia. We must therefore study most painstakingly the background and meaning of the following statement in the program of the Communist International:

"These defeats were primarily due to the treacherous tactics of the social democratic and reformist trade union leaders, but they were also due to the fact that the majority of the working class had not yet accepted the lead of the Communists and that in a number of important countries Communist Parties had not yet been established at all. As a result of these defeats, which created the opportunity for intensifying the exploitation of the mass of the proletariat and the colonial peoples, and for severely depressing their standard of living, the bourgeoisie was able to achieve a partial stabilization of capitalist relations."

If we examine and study the development of the crisis in its various phases and stages, it is not done in order to prove the automatic downfall of capitalism. We must examine every stage, every development of the crisis from the viewpoint of how it affects class relationships. Engels, in the *Anti-Duehring*, said: "The contradiction of the social form of production and the capitalist appropriation appears as the antagonism of the proletariat and bourgeoisie." Not to study therefore, every phase and stage, even shadings, in the development of the crisis, means failure to understand the paramount question—the shaping of the class relationships—the development of the class struggle.

Nor is the development of the class struggle an automatic spontaneous process. Both the strategy of the bourgeoisie and that of the working class, are decisive, and in this period of wars and revolution, are becoming deciding factors. Lenin, in arguing against the conception that crises create hopeless situations for the bourgeoisie, pointed to the strategy of the bourgeoisie in lulling certain sections of the working class as one of the means of getting out of the crisis. How else can we grasp the meaning of social demagoguery—the endorsement of the Socialist Party by Mr. Fish—except from the viewpoint of the desperate attempt of the bourgeoisie to get out of the crisis? Therefore we cannot overemphasize the importance of the question of our acquiring the ability of Leninist strategy, of winning and organizing the majority of the working class as a prerequisite for a revolutionary solution of the present crisis and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While the contradictions of capitalism are today more accentuated and more at the point of explosion than ever before, Lenin's warning against the conception of a "hopeless situation for the bourgeoisie" is now more timely than ever.

In 1920, Lenin said:

"We are now tackling the question of revolutionary crisis as the foundation of our revolutionary action, and here, we must point out the existence of two widespread mistakes: On the one hand, bourgeois economists picture the crisis as an unpleasant disturbance, to use a polite English expression. On the other hand, at times revolutionists attempt to prove that a crisis is absolutely hopeless, but this is a mistake. There are no absolutely hopeless situations. The bourgeoisie behave as an exposed robber who has lost his head, who commits one stupidity after another, sharpening the situation and hastening his own doom. All this is true, but one should not 'prove' that there is absolutely no possibility that the bourgeoisie should lull a certain section of the exploited with concessions, that it should not succeed in suppressing certain movements or uprisings of certain sections of the oppressed and exploited. To attempt to prove in advance the existence of 'absolute' hopelessness, would be empty pedantry or to play in conceptions and words. The real 'proof' in such questions can only be practice, experience.

"The bourgeois system throughout the world goes through the greatest crisis. *We must 'prove' now by the practice of the revolutionary party that it possesses enough consciousness, organization, contact with the exploited masses and decisiveness, to utilize the present crisis for a successful victorious revolution.*" (Our emphasis).

The Negro National Oppression and Social Antagonisms

By B. D. AMIS

"The Negro agricultural laborers and the tenant farmers feel most the pressure of the white persecution and exploitation. Thus the agrarian problem lies at the root of the Negro national movement." (Thesis, Sixth World Congress.)

THE Civil War, a struggle between the industrial bourgeoisie of the North and the slave owners of the South, did not achieve the real emancipation of the slaves. It is true that by an amendment to the federal constitution bourgeois democratic rights were granted, supposedly to guarantee the new freedom. For the first time the Negroes were granted the right to vote, to hold public office, to obtain an equal education, which for a brief period were enforced by Negro militia and northern federal troops.

But the northern bourgeoisie entered into a rapprochement with the overthrown southern plantation lords, thus deserting the propertyless former slaves. The northern capitalists were unable to carry the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the war to the end, the taking of the land from the slave holders and giving it to the slaves. If this had been done, the former slaves would not have been forced to return to their former masters after their cowardly betrayal by the northern bourgeoisie, to obtain a livelihood.

Thus the Negro masses of the South, left propertyless by their northern "friends," were abandoned to their fate at the hands of their former masters. The former slave holders soon denied the Negroes their newly granted democratic rights and reduced them to a state of semi-slavery, the plantation system.

Nominal slavery had passed away, but the subsequent dependence of the betrayed Negroes upon their previous masters continued the institution in another form. The plantation tenancy system was adopted by the landlords as a means to continue their robbery of the Negro masses, and continued to contribute to the development of industrial capital, in the North and South.

TENANCY

What then is tenancy? *It is a vile abortive remnant of slavery, successfully enforced by a corrupt social system that is intent in its purpose to crush and subject the Negro toilers of the South, to facilitate huge profits for the white ruling class and maintain its power over the workers.* Tenants can be divided into five classes:

1. croppers whose work animals and implements are furnished by the planters; 2. standing renters who pay a stated amount of farm products for the use of the land and whose work animals and implements are usually all furnished by the planter; 3. share tenants who pay a stated share of the crop for the use of the land, but generally furnish their work animals; 4. share cash tenants who pay the rent partly in products and partly in cash and furnish their implements; and 5. cash tenants who pay entirely cash for the use of the land, furnishing all of their farming equipment.

A notable feature of tenancy is that the owner supplies not only the land but usually part or all of the required capital and equipment. In return he receives a share of the crop. The tenant furnishes all of the labor and occasionally part of the equipment, receiving part of the crop after harvesting.

The standing renters and croppers are the most dependent of all the classes of tenants. The landlords supply them with almost everything and as a result they receive comparatively no returns from their labor. They are so dependent that they know not what liberty is and they are subject altogether to the desire of the landlords, being practically chained to them. It is from the labor of this class of tenants that huge profits are derived. They have no capital with which to pay rent and provide the elementary necessities of life.

CONTRACTS

Conferences are held with the tenants, usually at the beginning or end of the year. At such a time the tenant agrees to sign a contract which is enforced by the laws of the various southern states. In many instances the tenants are illiterate. But even if they understand, because of sheer force and intimidation they sign away what few rights they have.

These contracts are decidedly unfavorable to the tenant. The interpretation of the agreement is always in the hands of the planter, who is assisted by the courts and officers of the law to enforce its terms. The contract always is determined by the desires of the planter. To question the word of a landlord is criminal. The landlords make the laws and either execute them or hire lackeys for the purpose. There is no appeal for the tenant. He is reduced to a serf, or peon.

A CONTRACT

A typical contract reads in part:

"Said tenant further agrees that if he violates the contract, or neglects, or abandons or fails (or in the owner's judgment violates

this contract or fails) to properly work or cultivate the land early or at proper times, or in case he should become physically or legally incapacitated from working said lands or should die during the term of his lease, or fails to gather or save the crops when made, or fails to pay the rents or advances made by the owner, when due, then in case of full possession of said premises, crops and improvements, in which event this contract may become void and cancelled at the owner's option, and all indebtedness by the tenant for advances or rent shall at once become due and payable to the owner who may treat them as due and payable without further notice to the tenant; and the tenant hereby agrees to surrender the quiet and peaceable possession of said premises to the owner at said time, in which event the owner is hereby authorized to transfer, sell or dispose of all property thereon the tenant has any interest in, and in order to entitle the owner to do so, it shall not be necessary to give any notice of any failure or violation of this contract by the tenant, the execution of this lease being sufficient notice of default on the part of the tenant, and shall be so construed between the parties hereto, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

The terms of such a contract are not only binding, but place the destiny of the tenant completely at the desire of the owner.

BOSS SUPERVISION

After the tenant has signed the contract, the landlord sends out a rider whose task is to supervise all the work on the plantation. The boss divides the land among the tenants, giving them a certain amount of fertilizer to use on the acres for cultivation. Also he tells when the crop should be planted. The tenant is forced to start work as soon as there is sufficient light and toil until dark. In the summer the usual starting hour is 4 o'clock. An hour is permitted for lunch. For the wife who works, she is granted two hours for lunch, the extra hour to prepare the meal.

Ordinarily the cropper works from sun-up to sun-down, six days a week.

DIVISION OF PROFITS

Without money with which to pay rent or buy the elementary necessities of life while they are waiting on the maturing, harvesting, and selling of the crop, tenants consequently obtain their supplies on credit from the planter or merchant who takes a lien on the crop. This credit system makes it possible for the store keeper or owner to charge exorbitant prices for supplies.

After the crop is harvested and sold, the planter deducts from the profits whatever debts the cropper has contracted during the year. The value of the articles is left solely to the will of the plantation owner, who never figures in the favor of the cropper.

The landlord owns in most cases the tools of production, the land, stock, and by an unwritten law, the cropper. Whatever profits are derived from the year's transactions are eaten up by the debts accumulated during the off season, according to the accounting of the landlord. Rarely only does the cropper receive a profit. When he does the amount is so small that it does not better his condition. Thus from one year to another the tenant finds himself in debt to his landlord, who keeps the books and decides the division of profits.

In the South there are upwards of 38,000 plantations averaging about six tenants each. In 1925 there were over 625,000 tenants in the South, operating nearly 23,000 acres. Some of the large plantations have been broken up into small farms, because of depression, the owners finding farming unprofitable.

The sufferings from tenancy are numerous. The children of tenants are denied an education, forced to spend the majority of their time in the field. The tenants cannot establish an independent life, but are dependent almost entirely upon the planter for every breath they draw. In a few cases some cash tenants, who have the right to bargain off their crops, have a slightly higher standard of living. They are not dependent upon the landlord to furnish all the food, clothing, and supplies. But the high rentals nearly reduce this group to the same level of the standing renters and croppers.

Tenancy provides the system of robbery by the white ruling class of the Negro victims. From the plantation lord down to the petty merchant, each has a hand in exploiting and robbing these people. The creditor always collects his debt, owed by the tenant, from the landlord who in turn sufficiently increases the amount to reimburse him against any loss he may sustain in undertaking such a risk.

PEONAGE

Tenancy has an accompanying evil known as peonage. Peonage is the scourge that enslaves thousands of black agrarian workers. To prevent any possible chance of the tenants leaving the lands or shifting from one plantation to another, the system of peonage has been adopted. *Peonage is the sharpest expression of a present-day feudal social antagonism (slavery remnant) which firmly fastens the ponderous chains of bondage upon its hapless victims, to assure the plantation owners of permanent, cheap, and docile labor, thereby securing the position of these parasites to continue their oppression and exploitation and drive to the bottomless economic abyss this "caste of untouchables."*

ENFORCING PEONAGE

After the Civil War, the southern states were intent to secure free labor. Many enacted vagrancy laws which compelled every freed person to enter the service of some planter and remain there regardless of wages received. The amount of wages was determined by the former masters. One found without a job was arrested and convicted and either placed on the chain gang to build public highways or leased to landlords. This in reality was a return to slavery. The Washington government interrupted this practice. But, after the withdrawal of troops from the conquered area, the Negroes were disfranchised and the democratic rights previously granted were ignored. Various states, upheld by the courts, passed elusive laws providing for involuntary servitude for debt. States adopting this system were Florida, Georgia, Alabama, North and South Carolina, and Mississippi. Failure to obey contracts for employment, the slightest violation of a contract, or temporary unemployment, drew the wrath of this law which was enforced by the rural courts. A few states attempted to hide the actual enslavement of Negroes with "hidden" plantations on which men, women, and children were kept in involuntary servitude, peonage.

To hold a tenant by fair or foul methods became the cardinal ambition of the planter. To lose his laborer meant to lose his profit. The crops would not be planted, consequently no harvesting.

A STATE LAW ON PEONAGE

The case of *Bailey vs. The State of Alabama* upheld a law which provided that any person who made a contract in writing to perform a service for another and thereby obtained money or other personal property from such person with attempt to defraud the person, and who left his services without performing that service or refunding the money or property, was guilty of a misdemeanor. The law further provided that any person who made a contract in writing for the rent of land, and obtained money or personal property from the landlord with the intention of deceiving him and left without performing such service, refunding the money, or paying for the property, was also guilty of a misdemeanor. The penalty for the offense was a fine not exceeding \$300 and, in default of payment, imprisonment for a period of not more than 12 months. To make this law further effective it was amended so as to make the failure of any person who entered such a contract to perform the service or to cultivate the land or refund the money or restore the goods, prima facie evidence

of intent to injure or defraud his landlord. According to the decision delivered by the Alabama Supreme Court, the accused should not be allowed to testify as to his intent or purpose, or "to rebut a statutory presumption." In as much as employers thereafter made such contracts with their laborers when only the employer and employee were present, it became an easy matter to enforce compliance with such contracts through minor rural courts.

REPRESSIVE MEASURES

A way of securing peons is for an employer or his agent to go to a town or city and hire a group of laborers. He agrees to pay certain wages and transportation and provide the necessary provisions from the commissary, the company store. The laborers, indebted to their employer, trade out their meager wages at the company store. By false methods, trickery, and even foul play the employer keeps the peon in perpetual debt. What books are kept (by the planter only) have false entries. A peon with a large family is most desirable to the planter, who is afforded a greater opportunity to increase his robbery of large numbers of permanent victims through his false bookkeeping system. Oftimes to assure that the peons do not attempt to run away, their children are taken from them.

To keep the peons on the plantations it is necessary to establish iron authority over them. The overseer is the terrorist of every plantation. He uses the whip and gun to strike terror among the peons, subjecting them to the will of the boss and slavery conditions. Women and children alike become the personal property of the white master. The latter grow up in ignorance, and the former are prostituted by the white masters. By the use of sheer force these people are not allowed to leave the plantation, only on very rare occasions. If perchance a victim escapes, he is arrested under false pretexts, as jumping a contract, cheating, or false promises. Generally there is no trial. But the officer returns the unfortunate peon to the plantation camp, where he is severely punished. Besides receiving a brutal beating, the cost of an officer to arrest him is charged to the peon. This debt he is bound by law to pay. The rest of his life is given to pay the debt. He is a peon, forced through downright robbery and slave-whipping barbarism to remain in slavery.

It has been cited that many laborers after being caught have been locked up in stockades at night after working in the fields with a gun levelled continuously at them.

CONVICT LABOR

Convict labor and the chain gang have resulted from peonage. The need of the South for a large supply of laborers has been used as a pretext for the landlords to conscript men and women. A flimsy charge would place one in jail. Planters bargained with the courts for their prisoners, paying the fines, and putting many in involuntary servitude. By forced restraint and cooperation from constables, sheriffs, and other court officials the prisoners released by the courts to the planters are kept in bondage and avenues of escape are closed. If one gets away, bloodhounds are put on his trail and when caught he is subjected to fiendish torture. Planters when brought before courts on charges of peonage and using convict labor have answered that they had to whip Negroes brutally once in a while to keep them from rebelling.

In 1919 in Elaine, Ark., a rebellion of Negroes in peonage took place. These victims, because of the worst forms of oppression, struck a blow for economic liberty. But they were shot down, overpowered, and arrested. A mob court held a mock trial and sentenced 67 to long prison terms and 12 to death.

During the Mississippi flood it was revealed that peonage was rampant. The planters objected to having their peons removed to the Red Cross camps for fear of escape. They did not consent until they received assurance from the Red Cross officials that their "niggers" would be returned to them.

The state, using the national guard, compelled the peons to work throughout the flooded area. The most brutal methods were employed to prevent all attempts to escape. However, many fled to the North, telling of the horrible conditions existing on the peonage farms. This was in 1928.

The fact that there exist on the statute books of the federal government laws prohibiting peonage does not safeguard the rights of the Negroes. This remnant of slavery, fastening its iron hold upon millions of unfortunate victims, has its roots in a roguish social order whose dastardly rulers in their mad rush to amass riches out of the sweat and blood of the workers and peasants exploit and oppress the entire toiling class. The defenseless Negroes considered as a "caste of untouchables," and who in the majority are agrarian workers, have not been liberated. Amendments to the present constitution will not free them. Only an agrarian revolution, with the proletariat assuming the hegemony, under the leadership of Communists, will finally achieve freedom for this oppressed potential nation.

"It is a Yankee bourgeois lie to say that the yoke of slavery has been lifted in the United States." (Resolution of the Communist International on *The Negro Question in the United States*.)

These social antagonisms (remnants of slavery) "stink of the disgusting atmosphere of the old slave market. This is downright robbery and slave whipping barbarism at the peak of capitalist 'culture.'" (*Ibid.*)



Karl Marx on the Paris Commune:

"The workers of Paris and their Commune will be honored as the harbinger of the new society. Their martyrs erected an everlasting monument to themselves in the great heart of the working class. Their hangmen, history has nailed to the post of shame and no power will ever remove them!"

"The Commune was the higher and more pliable political form. The actual secret of the Commune lay in the fact that in its labors it was the government of the working class: the result of the war of the producing class against the exploiters. It was the open political form that could bring about the emancipation of labor."

Some Rural Aspects of the Struggle for the Right of Self-Determination

By JIM ALLEN

THE national-liberation movement centering in the struggle for the right of self-determination among the Negro masses will necessarily be concentrated in the Black Belt of the South, an area roughly designated as East Virginia and North Carolina, the state of South Carolina, central Georgia and Alabama, the delta regions of Mississippi and Louisiana, and the coastal regions of Texas. In this area there are 264 counties in which the Negroes make up the majority of the population, and two states—Mississippi and South Carolina—in which they form the majority of the whole population.

These regions are also the center of cotton and tobacco production, the money crops of the South. In the old cotton states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi alone there is a rural Negro population of 5,000,000. It is in this region also that the chronic farm crisis has had its most constant development and produced its most devastating results, working within the framework of a tenant system, retaining many of the features of feudalism in which have been interwoven the oppression of a caste system.

The stepping stones towards the development of a national-liberation movement for self-determination, with all its highly developed political features, must be provided by a rural program of struggle based upon the crying daily needs of the rural masses in these sections. A struggle based on such demands is of itself directed against the ruling white landlords and their governing apparatus, by the very conditions of the rural situation. No group of Negro farmers can raise such a demand as retaining the full proceeds of their crop, without striking at the very roots of the tenant and credit system. The struggle for the abolition of this system leads into and goes along with that for the attainment of state unity in the Black Belt.

Southern agriculture revolves about the growing of cotton and tobacco, chiefly the former. With the exception of sugar, rice, and

insignificant crops of peanuts and soy beans, cotton and tobacco provide the money income of Southern farming. Other crops like corn and truck are mostly consumed on the farms. Cotton or tobacco provides the cash for living expenses and other necessities of life. While recently there has been an expansion of the cotton crop toward the Southwest, which with the aid of fresher soil and mechanized means of production has produced about 40 per cent of the cotton since 1925, the bulk of the cotton is still being produced in the old cotton states where the rural Negro is shackled in the tenant system.

EFFECTS OF CRISIS

The effects of the crisis in the old cotton producing states of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama give a pretty clear picture of what is happening to the Negro rural population of the South. In these states in 1925, 43 per cent of the crop land harvested was in cotton and tobacco and 41 per cent in corn, which was consumed on the farm. The tenant or share cropper cannot plant whatever he chooses, but must devote a given percentage of his land to the money crop from which the landlord gets his direct profit. The result is that corn and truck are very restricted, although corn is the staple food of the Southern tenant the year round. When the price of cotton takes a landslide it means that more cotton is necessary to pay off the debts for advances in food and cash from landlord and credit merchant, after the landlord has taken his 25 or 50 per cent, as the case may be. This year, with cotton at the five-year pre-war average and very far below the cost of production, the tenant not only must hand over his entire crop to landlord and merchant, but finds that he is still heavily in debt, and hasn't a cent to live on for the winter, with the credit agencies closed to him. That is what is happening, not only in the old cotton states, but throughout the South, and that is the explanation of the demonstration of the 500 sharecroppers at England, Ark. In addition, the drought has ruined the corn crop in many sections, depriving the farmers of their bread.

DECREASE IN FARM LAND

In the old cotton states, the beginnings of the agricultural crisis were felt even before 1920. Since 1910 the area in farm land in the South decreased by 25,000,000 acres, and there are many miles of deserted farm lands throughout the cotton country. The tendency in the old Black Belt was for the richer lands in the plantations to drop out of use as some of the larger land owners were

forced out by the crisis, and for the poorer lands of the small land owners to continue in use. Between 1920 and 1925 there was a decrease of 10,000,000 acres of improved land, despite the fact that 42,000,000 acres of farm woodlands were cleared, as wood-cutting was resorted to as a last desperate effort to keep going.

Of the 25,000,000-acre decrease between 1910 and 1925, 14,000,000 of these acres were in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Half of the 10,000,000-acre decrease in improved land was in this area. The shrinkage in the number of farms in the Southeast was almost entirely due to the dropping out of the farms of from 20 to 100 acres, farms largely cultivated by Negroes. While at the same time there was a tendency in the old Black Belt to divide the larger plantations into smaller tenant farms, there was a total decrease of 114,000 farms between 1920 and 1925. During the same period the cotton acreage was reduced by 4,000,000 acres. The decrease of 96,000 farms in the Southeastern states as a whole during this period was almost entirely due to the reduction of the number of farms operated by Negro farmers and tenants, 84,000 of the total being Negro farms.

While the farm crisis thus forced many thousands of Negro farmers to abandon their land and swell the army of unemployed in the cities, it also pushed the Negro farmer lower on the tenant scale. In the four old cotton states of the Southeast the percentage of croppers—the most enslaved of the tenant classes—among Negro farmers increased from 39 per cent in 1920 to 46 per cent in 1925. In 1920, during the period of inflation, the landlords were interested in more cropping, since they made more profit out of the half-share basis with cotton prices high. Between 1920 and 1925 many cash tenants and renters became croppers because they lost all their tools and work animals to the landlords and credit merchants when they could not pay off their debts in the developing crisis. Both small land owners and cash renters decreased during this period and entered the cropper class. *Thus, while the farm population in this area decreased, the number of croppers remained the same, with tenancy on the increase.* Between 1925 and 1930 this tendency was even more pronounced, and 1930 census figures will show a much greater increase in the percentage of tenants and of croppers.

OPPRESSION INTENSIFIED

With the development of the crisis, the feudal elements on the countryside are intensified, the small landowners are thrust into

the tenant class, the cash tenants and renters into cropping, and with that exploitation and persecution are intensified. While the white farmers suffer in the same way, the Negro is always one rung lower on the economic ladder. The Negro landowner is forced to abandon his land, and a small white landowner takes his place. The decrease in the number of Negro farmers in the upper economic categories of the tenantry has been made up by the number of small white landowners entering this class.

Special attention has been given to the extreme four Southeastern states of the Black Belt, for it is here that the majority of the rural Negro population is concentrated. Here the tendency, even more accentuated during the past few years, has been for the Negroes to leave the countryside in increasing numbers, while the masses remaining on the farms are pushed into lower economic classes of the tenantry, under the lash of a white landlord and credit class. Today, more than ever before, the immediate cry is against starvation itself. In a "better" year, in 1928, the average total yearly income of a Negro farmer in Greene County, Georgia, including the crops sold and crops consumed on the farm, and also the value of wages for his work on the farm and earnings at other incidental work in the towns, was \$399 for the whole family, slightly more than \$1 a day. Lewis F. Carr, a bourgeois agricultural economist, places the average earning of a Southern sharecropper at 25 cents a day, the same wage scale as the East Indian peasant on the cotton fields, the Egyptian cotton-field laborer, or the Mexican peon. The same authority states that "in the South there are at least 7,000,000 people living on a family income of less than \$250 a year, and 3,000,000 of these live on a family income of less than \$150 a year." This was before the industrial crisis of 1929-30, which in its turn aggravated the farm crisis. Today, the lowest level possible is being reached—starvation.

The demonstration at England, Ark., was a dramatic and concentrated expression of the revolt and struggle for food that has been going on for some time in the South. It had been expressed before, and is today, in the form of individual gun battles between landlord and tenant throughout many parts of the South. The revolt has reached such a stage that many plantation commissaries are double-barred and surplus stocks of food have been removed. The increasing number of dead Negroes found in woods and streams in the Black Belt, the large number reported in the newspapers being only a small percentage of the actual number, also tells the story. The increased number of lynchings is also a reflection of this situation. In the rural situation we have the

basis for the development of a powerful mass self-determination movement.

DEVELOP LOCAL STRUGGLES

Our chief problem now is to develop local struggles in the Black Belt, based on immediate relief for the starving farmers. More than the general description, such as above, is necessary for the development of demands that will catch fire and burn in the correct direction. Forms of the organization of this struggle and the demands raised will depend upon the local situation and the development of our work, at which we have just made but a small start.

Our demands will probably group about two major issues: (1) the written contract or tacit understanding involved in the relationship between landlord and tenant; and (2) the credit system, which is also interwoven in the landlord-tenant relationship. Because the tenant is forced by his landlord to focus all his attention on raising money crops at the expense of food crops, he is left to the mercy of credit merchants and money lenders for his food supplies and other necessities. This also forces him to dispose of his crops at a forced sale, at much lower prices, in order to repay his debts. It is chiefly the merchant and the landlord who make these short-time cash advances, or advances in fertilizer, food, and clothing. Fertilizer, so necessary to the Negro farmer because the cash crops year after year exhaust the soil, is his primary expense. He pays an average of 37 per cent interest on fertilizer credit, and an average of about 25 per cent for advances from merchant and landlord. His whole crop is given as security. Thus, from many sides, the Negro farmer is chained down and becomes a virtual peon.

THE CROPPER CONTRACT

The contract, as it functions in the South, is a subtle form of forced labor, which carries with it the threat of imprisonment for non-payment of debts and gives the landlord a lien on the tenant's crops. It is enforced by the whole police and court system, working hand in hand with the landlord. The cropper, who is furnished with all his tools and work animals by the landlord, who in return gets 50 per cent of the crop, is thus entirely at the mercy of the landowning class. This is even more true of the Negro cropper, whose caste position leaves him absolutely no avenue of escape. A demand such as a collective contract between the tenants and croppers on a large plantation on one hand, and the landlord on the other, at the beginning of the season, as Comrade Tom

Johnson suggests, similar to a wage agreement between a union and a boss, might be an excellent focus point for developing a struggle. This is only possible, however, in the large plantations, chiefly concentrated in the delta regions.

The complicated economic class divisions among the lower strata of the farm population do not offer as many difficulties in organization among the Negro farmers as one would suppose. There are five classes of tenants in varying degrees of dependence upon the landowner. Among the Negro farmers this is not of such great importance, since the line of demarcation is not very sharp and the common struggle against the white landowner and the system of "white superiority" will have a tremendous cementing influence. The line is also not as sharp between the small Negro landowner and the Negro tenant, because even at his best, the Negro landowner is fully dependent upon the white superior, on whose land he is often forced to work in order to supplement his meager income. The Negro farm population is a very compact economic group, not very seriously hindered by tenant class divisions, and therefore a tremendous revolutionary force on the countryside. These complicated economic divisions, however, offer many serious difficulties in uniting the white and Negro farmers, for they, to a large measure, are at the basis of white chauvinism on the countryside, aggravated by landlord and credit merchant.

COUNTRY-CITY INTERCHANGE

There is another factor of extreme importance in the Southern agricultural situation which will be of great help in the development of a proper movement for self-determination. According to the United States Department of Agriculture, 50 per cent of the Southern tenants move every year. There is a continual stream from one farm section to another, into the cities and back from the cities. This together with the fact that the Southern proletariat, especially the Negro, still has one foot on the soil, will help tremendously in combining the proletarian and agrarian movements. With the development of a revolutionary movement in the cities, the Negro worker will carry his experience back into the country. This intimate relationship between city and farm worker also makes it necessary for the Party immediately to start work on the farms, guaranteeing ourselves a revolutionary recruitment at the source of Southern labor. While this constant fluctuation is unfavorable from the point of view of building stable organization on the countryside, it is extremely favorable in that it will guarantee the hegemony of the city proletariat in the struggle for self-determination.

This factor is also of great importance in overcoming what I think to be our greatest difficulty—white chauvinism among the white workers and farmers of the South. There is always present the danger that the bourgeoisie will succeed in making the struggles in the South take on the character of race warfare unless we make greater advances in organization among the white workers than we have done to date. This is fully recognized by the white ruling class, which constantly harps on this distinction in its campaigns against us. In the development of the self-determination movement this danger looms greater than elsewhere. It is therefore a prime necessity that the revolutionary movement be developed among both white and Negro workers. In this connection it is also of prime importance that the movement of the industrial Negro and white proletariat be speeded into more power and greater intensity and in this manner retain hegemony over the agrarian movement.

One would naturally suppose that this would be an expected development, but the chronic character of the farm crisis and its growing severity may drive the farm population to revolutionary action before the city proletariat. The migratory character of the white tenant, as well as the Negro, will act as a levelling process in combatting the white chauvinism on the farms by bringing the experience of white and Negro solidarity in the cities to the country. Above all it is necessary to assure the hegemony of the proletariat, in order to give firm and correct leadership to the movement, combatting chauvinistic expression.

For the immediate present we should aim to develop our farm movement in the areas immediately adjoining Birmingham, the greatest industrial center of the South, and in the heart of the Black Belt. It is here that our work among the industrial workers and among the farm workers can complement each other in the development of not only a movement for self-determination but of our entire revolutionary movement in the South.

Why the Peasant Revolts in the Philippines?

By HARRY GANNES

RUDYARD KIPLING, in his subtle tales of India, gave the imperialists the cue on how to cast a befuddling net of mystification over the elementary struggles of the colonial masses for land and food. The lesson has not been lost on the present-day imperialists in the colonies, especially in the face of increasing struggles of the masses.

In the Philippines an armed uprising of thousands of peasants took place in the early part of January, 1931, at Tayug, Pangasinan Province, northwest Luzon. It is symptomatic of more widespread discontent among the millions of Filipino peons, tenant farmers, agricultural workers, and actual slaves on the plantations. To hide the real cause of the revolt, it was dubbed a "fanatical religious movement." In the capitalist press the whole affair is buried under the meaningless and inscrutable name of "Colorums." We see the same attempt at mystification in Burma, where the peasants and agricultural workers carry on a simple and direct struggle for land, against a crushing head-tax, and against starvation. The capitalist newspapers dangle before the eyes of their readers a strange, unseen leader called King Golden Crow, leading a band of fanatics dressed in blue pajamas, fighting like demons in the jungle vastness, because they do not appreciate the benevolent rule of the British imperialists.

There is nothing strange or mysterious about the tremendous increase in the strike and peasant uprisings which shake the Philippines. The conditions of the masses in the Philippines have been gradually worsened by the encroachment of American imperialism. The world economic crisis, that has so severely affected the agrarian countries, has fallen with a heavy hand on the Philippines.

FILIPINO MASS STRUGGLES

The news of the struggles of the Filipino masses in this leading Yankee colony never reaches the United States. A whole series of strikes in industry and peasant revolts in all parts of the islands have been sweeping the Philippines in the past year. The three leading strikes involved more than 500 workers on the Iloilo Railway, 1,300 lumber workers in the Fabrica mills at Occidental, and 3,000 long-

shoremens at Iloilo. The lumber workers carried on a militant strike in December, 1930. Soldiers and constabulary armed with machine guns and hand grenades were sent against the strikers.

The peasant struggles were particularly marked by the uprising of the Moros, Mohammedan peasants in the southern Philippine Islands, in the summer of 1930. Thousands of these expropriated peasants fought the constabulary and United States marines for weeks. They were finally subdued only after wholesale slaughter. In the Buenavista hacienda in Culacan, tenant farmers and peons, who were evicted from their lands after they had raised a rice crop, fought militantly against their eviction. In Dinalupihan, Bataan tenants on the Pampanga sugar estate arose en masse in an effort to keep the lands their forefathers had cultivated for centuries, which the courts had taken away from them. These lands, which were originally taken from them by the archbishop of Manila, under Spanish rule, were handed over to the feudal bourgeoisie by the American invaders. The Filipino-American courts finally decided that the peasants should be evicted.

The uprising of 1,000 peasants at Tayug, who carried on a pitched battle for two days, capturing a town of 15,000 inhabitants, holding it for four days and inflicting serious loss on the Filipino constabulary sent against them, brought the seething mass peasant discontent to light. The immediate cause of this uprising was the decision of the Philippine Supreme Court (with a majority of Americans on it) holding as legal the seizure of the land of 1,000 peasants by the imperialist owned Esperanza estate which already covered 100,000 acres stolen from the peasants. Here we have the action of the Wall Street-controlled supreme court strengthening the hand of the feudal elements in the Philippines against the great mass of impoverished peasants.

INROADS OF IMPERIALISM

It is not only because of the present crisis, particularly affecting the raw-material producing countries, that the peasants are impoverished. The actions of the American imperialists, backing the parasitic landlords and money lenders, are the primary cause of this pauperization.

With the entry of American imperialism into the Philippines there took place the transformation of the economic life of the islands. Colonies are forced to become raw-material producing countries for the industries in the capitalist country. In the Philippines this process has resulted in stimulating the production of sugar, tobacco, coffee, Manila hemp, cocoanut (mainly for the oil) for export instead of the production of food.

Though the soil in the Philippines is unusually fertile, and there

is sufficient land to feed the entire population, a large supply of the main food product, rice, is imported at a high price. The Filipino peasants are forced to raise crops for the market, instead of raising food. They are no longer self-sufficing farmers. They are forced to buy food with the money they obtain through selling their raw material crops. Because of the monopoly of the sugar, the coconut, and the tobacco industries by native bosses and their imperialist supporters, the prices paid for these crops are forced away below the average market value. To buy sufficient food while producing these crops, the peasants are driven to the money lenders. In this way, imperialism worsens the conditions of the peasants. It ties them to its needs for producing raw material, and in general impoverishes them, making them dependent on the world market, the money lenders, and the feudal landowners.

In these conditions, the eviction of the peasants from their small land holdings is speeded up. With each crisis, whole droves of them lose their lands. They become farm tenants or agricultural workers, where their conditions are even worse than when they were small landowners in the grasp of the money lenders.

The peasant handicraft industries are destroyed by the competition of manufactured products shipped in by the imperialist country. In this way imperialism completes the process of making its colony a source of raw material, on one hand, and a market for its manufactured goods, on the other.

When a crisis of the present magnitude occurs, with world overproduction of such raw materials as are produced in the Philippines, the impoverishment of the peasants is intensified.

NATIVE LANDLORDS BACK IMPERIALISTS

This process is aptly summed up in the Colonial Thesis passed at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International:

"Inasmuch as the overwhelming mass of colonial population is connected with land and lives in the villages, the plundering character of the forms of exploitation of the peasantry made use of by imperialism and its allies (the class of land-owners and trading-usury capital) acquires a specially important significance. Owing to the interference of imperialism (imposition of taxation, import of industrial wares from the metropolis, etc.), the drawing of the village into the sphere of monetary and trading economy is accompanied here by a process of pauperization of the peasantry, destruction of village handicraft industry, etc., and proceeds at a much more rapid rate than was the case when the same process took place in the leading capitalist countries."¹

¹ Thesis on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies, adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, 1928. Published in pamphlet form by Workers' Library Publishers, under the title, *The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies*.

The whole process of American imperialism has been to bolster up the feudal elements in the Philippines. The leading big landlords and *caciques*, local bosses and money lenders, are the chief supporters of American imperialism.

The great impoverishment of the mass of peasants and the robbery of their lands by the Spanish imperialists and the Catholic church was the cause of a whole series of revolts leading finally to the overthrow of Spanish rule. In this final struggle American imperialism swooped down on the Philippines and superimposed its more highly organized imperialist structure, uniting with the Filipino landlords, increasing the number of usurers, and hastening the process of expropriating the land of the small peasants.

PLIGHT OF LANDLESS PEASANTS

More than 90 per cent of the Filipino masses depend on agriculture for a livelihood. The vast majority of them are landless peasants, tenant farmers, farm laborers, *taos* (peons) and actual slaves. Slavery, which was legal under Spanish rule, has actually never been abolished in the Philippines.

Out of 9,000,000 acres of land under cultivation in the Philippines, 6,000,000 acres are recorded as being cultivated by Filipino peasant landholders. The average holding is three acres, but since this includes the large plantations as well as the farms of the richer *caciques*, the usual holding is much less, and a good proportion of even the 6,000,000 acres is not owned by the peasants who till the soil.

While the number of farms is reported to have increased from 815,500 in 1903 to 1,955,000 in 1918, there has since been a big drop in the number of Filipino peasants owning their land. The director of agriculture in the Philippines in 1927 reported that there were 1,500,000 small landholders, showing a drop of 455,000 since 1918. This means that in nine years more than 450,000 peasants were robbed of their land. Also, the average holding in 1903 was eight acres; in 1927, it was less than three acres, indicating that nearly all of the Filipino peasants had a big share of their land taken from them and were forced to become tenant farmers or farm laborers.

From 1903 to 1918, the number of tenant farmers increased from 14,400 to 62,000. Today the number of tenant farmers runs into the millions. In 1918, there were 2,600,000 landless peasants who were forced to become agricultural laborers.

"MANOR LAIRDS"

There are in the Philippines over 325 large plantations ranging from 1,500 to 25,000 acres. More than 2,000,000 tenant farm-

ers and farm laborers are employed on them under feudal conditions. Speaking of conditions on these plantations the *American Chamber of Commerce Journal* (American-owned), in June, 1930, said:

"It is feudal farming; the manager is the manor laird, and these his tenants his fief lieges."

The *Journal* complains, "Too few Americans in Manila go into plantation ventures." It carries widespread propaganda for more Americans to become "manor lairds."

Even those of the Filipino peasants who work their miserably small farms find themselves constantly in debt to the money lenders and large landowners who, together with the American imperialists, are the real rulers of the Philippine Islands. An imperialist observer describes this grasp of the money lender on the Filipino peasants in the following terms:

"Ninety per cent of the people of the islands are engaged in agriculture. Many of them are too poor to carry on their farming throughout the year without assistance and they most usually secure this from the *cacique* of the neighborhood. The *cacique* is the local boss and sometimes because of his power can control the destinies of his district. His power is based upon his ability to lend money to the farmer to enable him to tide over from crop to crop. He charges usurious rates and sometimes is able to retain the family in economic slavery for a long period of time."²

MONEY LENDERS SQUEEZE PEASANTS

While the American masters have organized 600 rural credit associations, in actual practice this has resulted in the more efficient organization of the money lenders to squeeze greater interest out of the mass of peasants. According to this same writer, quoted above, the *cacique* "can determine who shall represent the neighborhood in the legislature." The fact is, the majority of the Filipino legislators are either large landholders, lawyers who represent them, *caciques*, or agents of the *caciques*. Through this means, and with the full support and approval of American imperialism, a law was passed legalizing the imprisonment and enslavement of the peasants for refusing to pay the usurious interest imposed by the *caciques*.

The tenants on the plantations and farms owned by the *caciques* are held in virtual slavery. They are kept in debt at all times and cannot leave their employment until the debt has been paid. Interest rates average between 10 and 20 per cent a month, and though there is supposed to be a law against "usurious interest pay-

² Duggan, Stephen P., "Future of the Philippines," *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1926.

ments," it is winked at by the Filipino politicians and their American collaborators. Dean C. Worcester has declared that peonage "lies at the root of the industrial system of the Philippines."³

In 1912 the Philippines Commission, controlled by American members, agreed to a law which legalized peonage and slavery, strengthening the hand of the *caciques* and driving the peasants deeper into misery. While this law was "repealed" in December, 1927, the repeal has not changed matters. During the present crisis thousands of peasants were plunged deeper into debt and serfdom.

LARGE PLANTATIONS SWALLOW SMALL

In the Philippines there are 72,000,000 acres of land. Of this 9,000,000 are under cultivation—half by small landowners who are constantly in the grasp of money lenders. The other half is divided between plantations which employ mainly the tenant farm system and the share-cropping system, or the land is leased out to tenant farmers. Over 25,000,000 acres are in forest land, which the imperialists are attempting to develop for their own profit. There remain about 34,500,000 acres of vacant cultivated land, belonging to United States imperialism. This land is dished out mainly to big Filipino landlords and American corporations.

While there is a land law in the Philippines, fostered originally by the American invaders, limiting the acquisition of land to not more than 2,500 acres, in practice this law is not carried out. Preparations are now being made to do away with this law outright, to enable the big American plantations to increase their acreage up to the millions. The Filipino landowners carry on a half-hearted struggle against this attempt to liquidate the law limiting land holdings because they fear that the same process which took place in Cuba, where the American sugar corporations swallowed most of the sugar lands, may take place in the Philippines. But with adequate bribery, they are quite willing to overlook this point. Through a process of "leasing," the large corporations are able to increase their land holdings to almost unlimited amounts.

"Any second-class lawyer," said Senator Borah in the United States Senate (January 14, 1930), "can take a leasing system and combine all the cultivable land in the Philippines, so far as the laws in the Philippines are concerned." This process of extending the large landholdings by the big plantations is going on all the time. Besides, to facilitate this process, the present American governor general, Dwight F. Davis, in December, 1929, signed a land law and sent it to the United States Congress for passage giving "the agricultural secretary authority to allow private interests to survey,

³ Worcester, Dean C., *The Philippines, Past and Present*, p. 714.

subdivide and *improve* portions of the public domain *in any quantity in any part of the island under such terms as he may deem proper*. Also, to dispose of such lands he has, or let the surveying outfit do it to such persons, corporations or associations as are entitled to apply for agricultural lands.”⁴

INCREASING POVERTY

An imperialist observer in the Philippines is particularly struck by the unmistakable signs of increasing impoverishment. He reports his findings in the *American Chamber of Commerce Journal*, October, 1930, under the title “Lipa’s Classic Poverty”:

“Lipa, at an elevation of about 1,000 feet, is in a rolling country of central Batangas. If you are familiar with provincial life in the Philippines and motor into Lipa, you say at once: Here is agrarian distress, here is monopoly, here is usury, here is ruin—the usurious mortgage and the *pacto de retro*, sale without right of repurchase. The mean circumstances which have fallen upon Lipa are visible everywhere.”

Against these conditions the Filipino masses are showing a will to struggle. Most of the uprisings that took place during 1930-1931 were spontaneous, unconnected. They reflect the limit of endurance of the enslaved peasantry. In the cities, the workers are becoming radicalized, following the leadership of the Proletarian Labor Congress, affiliated to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. The strike on the Iloilo railway was carried on in cooperation with the Proletarian Labor Congress.

PEASANTS DEFY TERROR

Despite a ferocious reign of terror carried on by the Filipino petty bourgeois in harmony with the American governor general, the Philippine Peasants Confederation, affiliated to the Proletarian Labor Congress, is endeavoring to unify the struggle of the peasants.⁵ In January, 1931, on the occasion of the burial of Antonio C. Ora, one of the leaders of the Proletarian Labor Congress, a mass funeral was held in Manila. The workers carried red flags and banners calling for a more determined struggle against American imperialism. The capitalist press openly branded this demonstration, involving nearly 50,000 workers, as a “Communist demonstration.” While the police had expressly forbidden the funeral procession, at the last moment they announced that they would “outwit the Reds” by permitting them to hold the funeral.

⁴ *American Chamber of Commerce Journal*, January, 1930.

⁵ For more details on the labor movement in the Philippines, see H. Gannes, *Yankee Colonies*, International Pamphlets series.

There is little doubt that with the growing militancy of the workers and peasants, the Filipino bourgeoisie, already hand in glove with Wall Street, will draw closer to American imperialism. Even now they are begging for a definite determination of the status of the Philippines within the American empire. They realize that their mask of struggle for independence is being rapidly torn away. The masses are beginning to see that their real enemies are both the rich Filipino feudal landowners and their imperialist supporters.

Lenin on the Paris Commune:

“The Soviet Power is the second step of world revolution, the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Paris Commune was the first step. The Commune created a new type of state—the Workers’ State.”

“The Commune was the first attempt of the proletarian revolution to break up the bourgeois State and constitutes the political form discovered at last which can and must take the place of the broken bourgeois machine.”

The 25th Anniversary of the December Uprising

By M. POKROVSKY

THE Revolution of 1905 opened the revolutionary mass struggle which continues up to the present day. In the beginning we fought against absolutism and the landlords, then against the bourgeoisie. Now we fight against the remnants of the bourgeoisie. The fact that we are threatened with possible danger from outside our country only magnifies the grandeur of the struggle. At present the struggle is a world struggle, while before it was a struggle in one country alone; but the struggle is the same.

It is interesting to compare the fate of the Revolution of 1905 with the fate of its greatest of predecessors, the great French Revolution. Of the political achievements of the French Revolution, nothing remained after 25 years. The republic had long ago fallen. Napoleon's empire was overthrown by the bayonets of the feudal rulers. In 1814 the feudal privileges had been destroyed, but the nobles, the landlords, remained. They returned from foreign countries and received a tremendous indemnity for the land which had been taken from them. Private ownership of the land remained, labor laws did not exist, strikes were prohibited by law. Thus the French masses 25 years after the Revolution had traveled in almost a complete circle; but the end of the circle was lower than the beginning.

THE CURVE OF REVOLUTION

It is important to say something about this curve because it is always before the eyes of our bourgeois enemies. They are actually convinced that this is the way every revolution proceeds. It always seems to them that our revolutionary index will begin to drop. They write about it and they talk about it. Take, for example, the last book by Kautsky, *Bolshevism in Difficulties*. He tells you that we are in such terrible conditions that "it sends a chill through you." He actually pictures to himself that we are in such difficulties that there is no way out. Read the counter-revolutionary press. Recall the testimony of those on trial for sabotage. All this circles around the thought that the curve of the Revolution is going down and that this curve will form almost as complete a circle as did the line of the French Revolution. But

with us the situation is just the opposite. We have not a closed curve, but the curve of our Revolution is constantly going up.

Socialism was advanced by us as a slogan in 1905. We did not call for the direct socialist revolution, but socialism was our basic program.

And so you see what a difference exists between the French Revolution and our Revolution. *There the slogans advanced in the beginning of the Revolution were transformed into dust. With us the slogans which were in the beginning mere words were transformed into action.*

At the time of the Jubilee of the Populist Party a false statement was spread that the members of that movement were the predecessors of the bolsheviks and that they were socialists. Lenin, however, pointed out that the Populists were not able to connect their revolutionary struggle with socialism; that they were not socialists in their practical activities. But the Populists would not have been the largest political party known to our old revolutionary movement if they had not been tied-up to a certain degree with the working class, with the workers' circles and workers' groups which they organized. And so as early as the 70's and 80's the working class showed signs of becoming the largest revolutionary force of the future.

LABOR MOVEMENT AND REVOLUTION

If we examine the years from 1890 on, it is noticeable how the revolutionary wave rises and falls with the growth and fall of the labor movement.

The second half of the 80's and the first half of the 90's was a period of relative calm in the labor movement, and of deep depression of our intelligentsia and dissolution of the revolutionary groups. The labor movement commences again from the middle of the 90's seemingly as an economic movement. The revolutionary movement received a new impetus after the stormy labor struggles of 1895 to 1906, the St. Petersburg and Moscow strikes. The first years of the 20th century marked the rise of the labor movement which found its expression in the demonstrations of 1901. After that we have the strike of 1902 in Rostov, the general strike in 1903. Then the labor movement temporarily recedes.

The revolutionary movement of the other classes keeps time with the rise and fall of the movement of the working class. For instance, in 1902 there was a large peasant movement in the Kharkov and Poltava provinces. It is characteristic that this movement was directed from the village of Lisitchi, which had been one of the

centers of the distribution of the *Iskra* up to the beginning of the mass movement. The mass revolutionary movement of 1905 arose before us, first of all, as the labor movement.

JANUARY 9 *

The movement commenced with the uprising of the workers on January 9, 1905, in St. Petersburg. Regarding this uprising a great many legends exist in our literature. The ikons and the crosses which the workers took with them to the Winter Palace undoubtedly beclouded the revolutionary significance of the advance. But the ikons and the crosses are not the important thing. The important thing is that the workers went to the Tsar to demand their rights. The lack of class-consciousness on the part of the workers manifested itself in their going to the Tsar without arms, thinking that they could expect something good from him. January 9 bitterly disappointed them, but they went to demand their rights.

We underestimate the significance of the first barricades which appeared in the Tsarist capital on the eve of January 9. If you should read the reports of the military commanders dealing with these barricades you will see that for masses, armed almost entirely with stones and only on rare instances with revolvers, they constituted a great achievement. In several instances the cavalry gave way, fled from the attack of the workers from the barricades. This was a truly serious attempt at an uprising. Lenin was correct when he linked up the armed uprising with the advance of the proletariat. In fact, Lenin's first article on the armed uprising was written on the occasion of the shooting of the Buchov workers in May, 1901. After that time the armed uprising is never omitted from his program. In *What's to Be Done* this problem is raised, as you know, definitely. So, to consider the armed uprising as several historians, for example, Roshkov, do, as a manifestation of lack of consciousness, to link up the movement for uprising with the backward strata of the workers—this means turning reality upside down. The reverse, however, was the case. There were ten times as many strikes during that month of January as during the entire preceding year. This was indeed a great explosion, which clearly showed to what degree the shooting on January 9 affected the workers, to what degree this shooting was recognized as a blow at the entire working class. Regardless of nationality—Poles, Letts,

* Old style; according to the new style and our calendar, it was January 22.

Caucasians, in Baku the Persians also—all struck as an answer to January 9.

OTHER CLASSES FOLLOW WORKERS

The labor movement found its echo in the other classes. First, the intelligentsia began to stir. At meetings all over the country the intelligentsia made threatening speeches and adopted the most threatening resolutions. Then, of course, the police dispersed them without difficulty. But this echo created by the labor movement is quite characteristic.

A more serious response is the wave of struggle among the peasantry. By itself the movement in the villages in the spring of 1905 was not of great interest. The outstanding event was the *Potemkin*. The mutiny on the *Potemkin* was an uprising of peasants clad in sailors' uniforms; 36 per cent of the sailors of the Black Sea fleet were peasants. But they belonged to the most developed portion of the peasantry, mainly from around the Volga River, who were, therefore, accustomed to the water.

And so, as early as the summer of 1905 the labor movement embraced the neighboring strata of the population. It began to drag along with it the entire petty bourgeois mass, beginning with the upper intelligentsia and ending with the peasantry.

In our historical literature we find systematic and artful falsification in this respect. After the revolution the Free Economic Society published two volumes of correspondence from the regions of the peasant movement, entitled, *On the Agrarian Movement of 1905-1907*. In these two volumes, which seemingly contained documents and local correspondence, the idea was carried through that at the head of the peasant movement were the village bourgeoisie and the kulak. Later we unearthed the reports of the governors and the gendarmes from those localities. And it appeared that the movement not only was not led by the kulaks, but was against the kulaks. The gendarmes and the governors often reported that the movement was directed not only against the land owners but against the enriched peasants, especially when they rented the landlords' estates and placed themselves in the position of the landlords. The peasants were united solidly against the landlords. Our peasant revolution in 1905 originated in an atmosphere created by the workers' revolution. The workers' revolution dragged with it the mass of peasantry, the poor and middle peasants. It led them, it saturated them with its slogans to such a degree that peasants who started the revolution as sincere monarchists were elected to the second Duma in the fall of 1906, politically unsafe, and were arrested and jailed because they fought against the

Tsar. This is how the mood of the peasantry changed during this period under the action of the labor movement. These facts indicate the hegemony of the proletariat in our bourgeois revolution of 1905. A better justification of the theory by history we cannot find. The hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution was introduced by Lenin theoretically; but history justified this theory 100 per cent. One cannot think of the peasant revolution of 1905 without the proletariat as its leader.

THE SCHOOL OF STRIKES

The proletariat itself goes through a great school, and part of this school was the strike in Ivanovo-Vosnesensk, in the summer of 1905. This strike was of colossal significance. This was the first large strike, affecting 30,000 men in the Moscow industrial section. This political school, which the workers passed through, is very valuable for us, and it shows how stupid it is to place a sort of impassable barrier between a political and an economic strike. There is no such barrier, dialectically; one grows into the other. Lenin always underlined this fact in 1905. And it is not at all important whether one or the other strike advances political or economic slogans. The economic strike, facing the police or the bayonets of the army, is transformed into a political strike and inevitably assumes a revolutionary character. The strike in Ivanovo-Vosnesensk is especially characteristic in this respect. It is no wonder, therefore, that the first soviet of workers' deputies was born in this strike.

That entire schooling led the working class to the idea which was realized later in 1905—the idea of the general strike. Of course, the working class did not come to this spontaneously. It was on the basis of the mood created by the strike in Ivanovo-Vosnesensk that the Moscow committee in July issued its call for a general strike. Propaganda for the general strike was carried on, and this propaganda, without doubt, produced its fruits in the October strike.

We can follow this development systematically among the railroad workers. After the decision adopted at their convention, July 24, to prepare a general strike of the railroad workers, they did not relinquish the idea. Individual sections of the railroad union went out in August, others in September, the entire union advanced the slogan on October 4. But since the majority consisted of Social Revolutionaries, nothing happened, because they had little contact. Then the Social-Democrats took up the job and with their aid the railroad workers' general strike became a reality.

The October strike was not transformed into an armed upris-

ing. This is perfectly natural if we take into account the development of the labor movement as a whole.

In January, 1905, the workers thought that one could talk with the Tsar in an amiable and friendly manner, but were cruelly disappointed. In October they came to the realization that they must show the Tsar their fists, and only then could they achieve something. That it was necessary to use arms against the Tsar was the idea of a subsequent stage, and this idea was only understood by a minority of the working class.

There were uprisings in Sormovo, in Ekaterinoslav (at present Dniepro-Petrovsk), in Gorlovko. There was a very large uprising of miners armed with about 150 rifles and 500 pieces of various types of firearms. Uprisings took place in Rostov, in Krasnoyarsk, in Chita, in Siberia, in Novorossiysk. In short, armed uprisings developed in a whole chain of workers' sections.

ST. PETERSBURG HOLDS BACK

But in St. Petersburg the workers did not come out, and their participation in the Revolution was decisive. Why was not there an armed uprising in St. Petersburg? At the head of the St. Petersburg Soviet during the entire period of its existence stood a crafty menshevik who was best able to combine menshevik activity with revolutionary phrases. The name of this menshevik was Trotsky. He was a real dyed-in-the-wool menshevik, who did not desire any armed uprising and generally did not want to lead the revolution to its end, to the overthrow of absolutism. For this reason he created a whole theory, the so-called theory of permanent revolution, which was not understood for a long time but which at present, in the light of the extremely precious autobiographical documents published by Trotsky in *My Life*, becomes as clear as crystal. How did Trotsky represent the whole problem? "The question whether it is possible to lead Russia directly to socialism never presented itself to us. Such formulation of the question requires a special structure of the head," writes Trotsky. In other words, to him the thought of socialism in Russia seemed then entirely irrational. His scheme was as follows: The Revolution comes to an end, Tsarism is overthrown. What then? Then the socialist revolution is inevitable. But without the socialist revolution in western Europe, to talk of socialism in Russia is only conceivable on the part of persons having a special structure of their heads. Trotsky wants to say that only idiots can talk that way, therefore it is not necessary to push the democratic revolution in Russia to its conclusion. We must be satisfied with definite concessions on the part of Tsarism, and on the basis of these concessions begin to build a legal open

Labor Party. Such is the scheme of Trotsky. In this direction he led the St. Petersburg Soviet. In a speech delivered some time before, he said: "If we consider that the aim of our uprising is the overthrow of Tsarism, and that this uprising would be the only one, then I agree with the comrades that we must fight till the end. But our offensive is a whole series of battles whose aim is to disorganize the government, to gain the sympathy of new groups, including the army."

Hence, the overthrow of absolutism is not a direct goal of the proletariat, as the bolsheviks considered it, but it is something to be achieved in the distant future.

OPPORTUNISM AND LEFT PHRASES

This speech is very significant. It was not thoughtlessly that Trotsky reprinted this speech with minor changes in 1905. Indeed it is quite characteristic of Trotsky. It contains a combination of real opportunism, the adaptation to the electoral struggle for the government Duma, and at the same time loud phrases—"We dictate conditions to the world stock exchange," "We will blow up the government of Count Witte." Such men stood at the head of the St. Petersburg Soviet—a man who beforehand decided that to lead the revolution to its conclusion is self-destruction. The struggle for the eight-hour day was defeated in the Soviet of workers' deputies. The same thing happened to the question of the armed uprising. Trotsky mentions this matter several times, but what the St. Petersburg Soviet as such did toward organizing an armed uprising nobody knows. In St. Petersburg the armed uprising did not take place, not because of objective causes which could not be foreseen, but mainly on account of political errors of the leadership. This decided the fate not only of the St. Petersburg proletariat, but it was reflected in the fate of the proletarian struggle in the entire land. Of course, this is not a matter of the personality of Trotsky, although the fact that he was an excellent orator and was opposed on the bolshevik side by Bogdanov, a muddle-head without any oratorical talents, played an important role. It is a matter of organized opportunism.

RED PRESNIA

Red Presnia represented the most heroic moment in the uprising. About this there can be no doubt. Those comrades are correct who explain that the armed uprising was at no place so closely bound up with the working classes as in Presnia. It was everywhere linked up with the masses, but that close bond which caused the armed uprising directly from the workers' barracks did not exist

anywhere except in this place. Red Presnia was a sort of citadel where the reserve forces were found and whence they went directly into battle. Such a close link between the workers and the armed uprising as was found in Presnia did not exist anywhere else. It is not surprising, therefore, that Lenin wrote to the workers of Red Presnia, and it is quite obvious why we are celebrating the 25th Jubilee particularly in Red Presnia, and it is entirely correct. Presnia occupies an honorable place in this uprising. But the armed uprising of 1905 was the offensive of the entire proletarian mass in our country. The proletariat unfortunately was defeated. And this decided the fate of the entire revolution, as was proven in the following year, 1906.

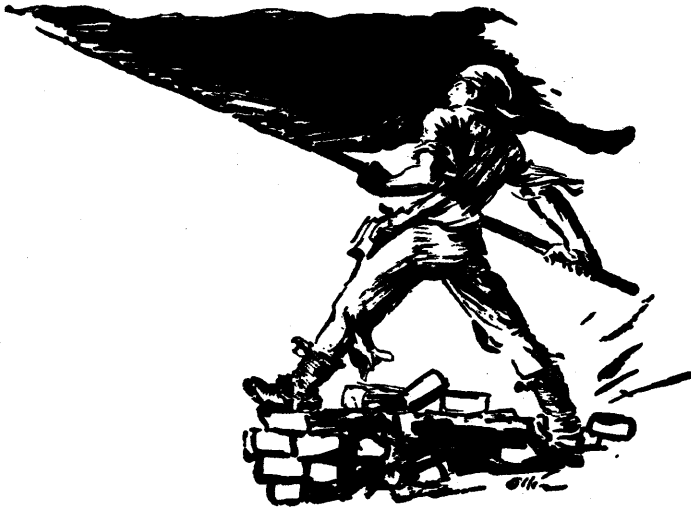
The year 1906 is especially characteristic as a review of the condition of the hegemony of the proletariat in our first revolution. In 1906 the peasant movement was much more intense than in 1905. Simultaneously the movement in the army reached colossal dimensions. The number of cases of insubordination in the army was many times larger in 1906 than in 1905. The non-proletarian revolution raged in 1906 much more than in 1905. The petty bourgeoisie entered the revolution, but as it entered without its leader, the working class, the big bourgeoisie was in position to conquer.

LESSONS OF TWO REVOLUTIONS

Thus our revolution of 1905 supplies material for the examination of the great French Revolution. Our revolution conquered and marched ahead as long as the working class conquered and marched ahead. Our revolution began to suffer defeats when the working class was defeated. Was there a working class in France? No. The proletariat of course existed, but as a class which has become conscious of itself and its interests, it was not represented in the French Revolution. The French Revolution developed on a petty-bourgeois plane, that is, on the same plane on which our revolution developed in 1906. Here are the reasons why the results of our revolution are so stable, and that 25 years later it is going up, while the French Revolution after 25 years had long gone down and buried itself under its own tail, so to speak, since the charter of 1814 gave much less than the constitution of 1791. This is the first lesson we derived, and at present the working class marches at the head of the revolutionary movement in the entire world. It leads the movement in China and in India, and there the supporting centers are the proletarian centers, Shanghai, Canton, Bombay. About the other countries in Europe and America it is not necessary to speak. There the hegemony of the working class is quite obvious.

In Germany there are still millions of workers in the hands of the opportunists. Here is the explanation of the failure of our revolution of 1905 and the slow tempo of the revolutionary movement in Germany at the present time. The roots are the same. Here is a tremendous lesson which the revolution of 1905 teaches us.

The struggle against opportunism of all types—rights and “lefts”—is our basic task. This can of course be shown in many ways—in the light of economic and international situations, but it does no harm to explain it historically, for in the final analysis historical examples are most convincing. Opportunist leadership always leads to failure and destruction. To place opportunists in the leadership of a movement means to head for a smash-up, for certain destruction. We learn this from the revolution of 1905. It teaches us to hate opportunism, and in this respect the revolution remains a lesson unforgettable even in our own days.



Hail 60th Anniversary of the Paris Commune!

Outline for Discussion on the Agrarian Question

LESSON I.

QUESTIONS—ANSWERS—REFERENCES

1. *Why should the Communist Party, the party of the proletariat, interest itself in the problems of the farmers?*

Answer: "The peasant problem is part of the general question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and as such it constitutes one of the most vital elements of Leninism." "Those who are getting ready to seize and hold power, cannot afford to be indifferent about the possibility of finding powerful allies." "The essential foundation of Leninism, its starting point, is the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the question of how that dictatorship is to be established and strengthened. The peasant problem, the question how the workers in their struggle for power are to secure the support of the peasantry, is a subsidiary one. Even so, though subsidiary, the peasant problem is of vital importance to the proletarian revolution.—*Leninism*, by Stalin.

2. *How does the task of building an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry present itself?*

Answer: As a struggle against the bourgeoisie for leadership of the toiling masses of the agrarian population.

"The current period of history may justly be defined as a period of desperate struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie not only to win the backward sections of the proletariat, but also the vast sections of the peasantry."—*ECCI Thesis on the Peasant Question*, 1925.

3. *Why do the "socialists," the I.W.W., the Lovestone and Trotsky-Cannon opportunists show, practically, an indifference to the agrarian question?*

Answer: Because they are, despite all pretensions, indifferent or opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat; hence they are indifferent or opposed to practical steps to attain the proletarian dictatorship.

"The main reason is that these parties do not believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are afraid of revolution, and have no wish to lead the proletariat to the con-

quest of power. Now, one who dreads revolution, one who does not wish to lead the proletariat to the conquest of power, is not likely to be interested in finding allies for the proletarians. To such persons, the question of revolutionary allies will seem to be subsidiary, up in the air. The sarcastic attitude displayed towards the peasant question by the leaders of the Second International is regarded by them as a praiseworthy one, as a sign of the genuineness of their Marxism. Really, there is no trace of Marxism in such an attitude, for, on the eve of the proletarian revolution, indifference to so important a problem as the peasant problem is tantamount to the repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is an open betrayal of Marxism."—*Leninism*, by Stalin.

4. *What was the view of Marx and Engels?*

Answer: In his book *The Peasant Question*, written in the 90's of the last century, Engels wrote: "The conquest of political power by the socialist parties has become a matter of the near future. In order to be able to capture political power the parties must go from the cities into the villages and become powerful in the rural districts. The larger number of peasants we prevent from dropping into the state of proletarians and bring over to our side as peasants, the more rapid and easy will the social transformation be brought about."

Marx, in a letter to Engels, written in 1856 and referring to the German situation said: "The whole situation in Germany will depend upon the possibility of reinforcing the proletarian revolution by a sort of second edition of the peasant war. Then the situation will be excellent."

Again, in the first edition of his *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx wrote: "Despairing of a Napoleonic restoration, the French peasant will also abandon faith in his plot of land and the whole social edifice based upon peasant land ownership will collapse. The proletarian revolution will obtain a chorus without which its solo must be a swan song in all peasant countries."

5. *Can we say that the essential theory of Marx does not apply to the United States because it is a predominantly industrial country?*

Answer: No. Agriculture is, itself, the greatest single industry in the United States, and an integral part of industry as a whole. The farm population of 27,500,000 cannot be left out of account, nor can the question of which side the toiling masses of the farm will support be left to "solve itself." The winning of the city proletariat for revolution does not "automatically" win the masses of the farm poor. Such a view is dangerous. Hence the ECCI

Thesis on the Peasant Question of 1925 warns the Communist Parties which—

“... do not observe the terrible danger which threatens the proletarian movement in the event of the bourgeoisie succeeding in binding the vast strata of the peasantry more closely to itself.”

6. *Is the American bourgeoisie trying to bind the farming population closer to itself, and how?*

Answer: Yes, it is trying. To maintain its supremacy in the face of growing mass discontent in the agrarian crisis, it attempts to stop the leftward trend among the peasant masses. While retaining its own supremacy, the great bourgeoisie makes certain concessions to certain “leading” upper strata of the farmers. Politically we see this in compromises, amounting to an alliance, with the rich farmers represented by the farm bloc. Economically this alliance is based largely upon the role of the Federal Farm Board, with its system of agricultural credits, stimulation of marketing cooperatives, and certain protective tariffs. Culturally, it works through existing farmers’ organizations with all manner of “educational” programs, the “4-H Club” for farm youth, and the like. Witness the propaganda against “Soviet wheat dumping.”

7. *What is the key to Communist activity among the farming population?*

Answer: To perceive clearly the class differentiation and aligning the Party and the city proletariat in support of interests of the poorer strata, which are opposed to the interests of the rich farmer-capitalists and the bourgeoisie as a whole. In short to bring the class struggle to the farms.

8. *Can the Communists support all farmers’ movements without exception?*

Answer: No. “But they should support those peasant movements, those peasant struggles, which tend directly or indirectly to promote the emancipation of the proletariat, to supply motive power to the proletarian mill, to make the peasants a proletarian reserve, to transform them into allies of the urban workers.”—*Leninism*, by Stalin.

9. *Can the Communists hope to build up the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, to win the poor toiling farmers by showing them that only after the revolution can a real solution be given, without practical support to their present interests?*

Answer: No. This point of view is destructive of the alliance. Neither can Communists devote themselves to mere reforms. The correct policy is stated by Comrade Kolarov in his article "Revolutionary Alliances of the Workers and Peasantry," English edition of the *Communist International*, Vol. VI, Nos. 9, 10, referring to the Marxians in the old Second International, as follows:

"Of course, the propaganda of socialism among the small peasants ruined and oppressed by capitalism, the development in them of the conviction that only the proletarian revolution can, by putting an end to capitalistic relationships, save them from exploitation and disaster, was an extraordinarily valuable piece of work, but it was inadequate. It was necessary to associate it with the practical defense of the small peasants against all exploitation to which they are subjected in the process of capitalist development, for this was the most hopeful road to their emancipation from the influence of the bourgeoisie. However, it was here, in the sphere of practical activity, that the revolutionary wing of social-democracy in the majority of cases showed the greatest indifference to the small peasants."

10. *If we say that clearly perceiving class differentiation among the farming population is the "key" to correct understanding and activity, to which "door" should we apply this key?*

Answer: In determining in the practical given circumstances, what particular categories of the farm population there are, with whom we find a common interest; in making those common interests the basis of common struggle and in attaining through this struggle the leadership of the vast mass of the agrarian population.

11. *What are, in general, the class categories with whom the industrial proletariat and its Communist Party find common interests?*

Answer: First of all, the agricultural wage workers, who are also proletarians, and who tend, under capitalism, to occupy insofar as wages, hours, and conditions are concerned, the very bottom of the social scale. Of their wages Marx said (cited in the *Communist International* magazine, English edition, No. 24, page 980) that, "The wages of agricultural workers represent the minimum wage which could satisfy the needs of existence."

As to the other classifications, the following extract from a speech by Comrade Kuusinen in September, 1930, on the American farm question is of importance:

"I should like to draw the attention of the American comrades to this,—that it is not only of importance theoretically, but also practically, to carry out the most exact classification of the peasantry, if we speak about our tasks in this sphere. It is not exact for the American comrades to speak all the time only about two categories of farmers: rich and poor. A rich farmer may become poor tomorrow, especially under the conditions of the crisis. But most of the rich farmers, even when they become poor, do not thereby come closer to us.

"We should speak of semi-proletarian, small farmers, middle, and big farmers; and as a decisive factor in this classification we must take the relation to wage labor just as Lenin did, whether the wage labor of others is used constantly or not. I believe Lenin's formula must be applied in America:

"1. That we must base ourselves above all on the category of the rural worker and semi-proletarian; 2. That we must win the small farmers; 3. That we should try to neutralize the middle farmers; and 4. That we unconditionally are faced with the task of struggling against the big farmers.

"The neutralization of the middle farmers must not be conceived in such a way that we simply say to the middle farmers: 'We are neutralizing you.' On the contrary, we can only neutralize the middle farmer by fighting for certain demands of the middle farmer, demands which do not contradict the interests of the worker but coincide with them."

12. *While it is easy to identify the farm wage worker, what is a "semi-proletarian," and what is a "small" farmer, and how can we distinguish him from a "middle" farmer? And then, how can we distinguish a "middle" farmer from a "big" farmer or "rich" farmer?*

Answer: The confusion on these question, increased by the greatly varied conditions found in separate sections of the United States, must first be cleared away.

First, the semi-proletarians. These may exist in any section, and may be either tenants or owners, whose income from the land farmed by them is insufficient and who regularly or irregularly work part of the time as wage workers on the farms of others or even in factory or other industry. A great mass of these are concentrated in the South and are known as "share croppers." These differ essentially from the "share tenant" more common in the

North. The "share tenant" holds a farm, sometimes of importance both in size and in capitalization, the year round, owning his own implements and even at times using hired labor. He pays his rent in kind, but is free to market his share, usually two-thirds, at will. The "share-cropper" of the South, on the other hand, comes empty-handed onto the "patch" assigned him by the landlord (who is called "the farmer") at the Spring planting time. The "farmer" usually furnishes the implements and work animals, and arranges at local stores for a limited credit to supply the "cropper" with food and clothing until harvest. Immediately the crop is harvested, the whole is required to be taken in possession by the "farmer" landlord who sells the "cropper's" share at once (without regard to waiting for better market), pays off the cropper's debt (with usury arranged between the landlord and the store), and gives the cropper what may be left, if anything. Almost all croppers are forbidden to raise garden or small stock or cows or pigs. Essentially, therefore, the cropper is a proletarian, the "farmer" landlord capitalist merely taking advantage of the cropper's helpless position to secure his labor throughout the season by deferring his "wages" payment until the crop is gathered, after which the cropper may be dismissed like any wage worker.

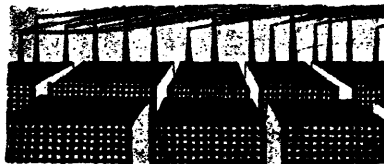
Secondly, it is inaccurate, as pointed out by Lenin, to define the categories of "small, middle, or big" farmers according to acreage, or according to whether they be tenant or owner. It is highly important to note that there is both "extensive" and "intensive" farming. In extensive farming a comparatively modest amount of capital may be applied to a very large acreage, while in intensive farming a large amount of capital per acre is applied to a small acreage. Likewise, there are unquestionably many tenants who have little capital and may be classified as "small" or "middle" farmers, but there are also farmers with considerable capital who may rent but do not own the land they cultivate, often with hired labor the year round.

Basically, therefore, the amount of capital held by the individual farmer constitutes the common denominator, from which the division into the categories of "small, middle, and big" may be derived. Secondly, there is the question of the use of hired labor which is usually (though there are exceptions) used to greater degree as the amount of capital increases.

Concerning the importance of exact analysis of categories, Comrade Kuusinen in his speech on American agriculture in September, 1930, said:

"We must be careful that in dividing the farmers into rich and poor, precisely the middle farmer does not disappear.

I am not quite certain who is the dominant figure among the American farmers, the middle or the small farmer. I am very much inclined to believe the American comrades that it is the small farmer. But most certainly the middle farmer is also no insignificant figure. A middle farmer is also one who, while not regularly, yet from time to time, uses hired wage labor; and with far-reaching mechanization, that is not even always necessary; there may be also middle farmers who do not use hired labor power. Our relation to the middle farmer must, in my opinion, be very accurately examined, for our worst enemies in the sphere of agrarian work appeal precisely to the mass of middle farmers. They base their work, it is true, on the shoulders of the big farmers, but they recruit among the middle farmers. The Congressional opposition, the only opposition in Congress—our worst enemies—is indeed a kulak opposition, but they appeal to the entire mass of the middle farmers and even to the small farmers, whereas in reality, they are conducting a fight against the struggle of the farmers. That is a dangerous tendency against which we should fight, with which we have coquetted a little in the past in America,—with the Farmer Labor movement, with the LaFollette movement. Since then we have not come any closer to the farmers. Precisely the exposure of these people before the masses of middle farmers is an important task for us. In this it is tremendously important to raise correct partial demands.”



The Revolutionary Movement in Mexico

(Continued from February issue)

ROLE OF THE PARTY

The economic and political situation of Mexico raises before us an extremely important question—the role of our Party when the armed struggle of the bourgeois factions breaks out. The Central Committee of our Party held an enlarged plenum in October and adopted a resolution laying down the line; independent armed struggle, against both factions, for the smashing of the bourgeois-imperialist regime and for the setting up of a Workers' and Peasants' Government. The perspective for independent armed struggle is linked up, of course, with the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers and poor peasants; against lockouts, against wage cuts, against the rising cost of living, for unemployment insurance, for land for the poor peasants, against their being disarmed. But the only perspective in the case of an armed struggle of the bourgeois factions is independent armed struggle of the workers and poor peasants under the leadership of the Party.

Just before I left Mexico, we received information about the Latin-American Conference of the Comintern, held in Moscow after the Congress of the R. I. L. U. At this conference Comrade Manuilsky showed the error of a single perspective of "independent armed struggle," explaining that the weakness of our Latin-American parties may hinder the realization of this slogan in practice, and that, on the other hand, our parties can and should take advantage of the armed struggle of the bourgeois factions to push forward and develop the revolutionary movement, with *other forms of independent struggle*, such as strikes, mass demonstrations, and arming of the workers and poor peasants for the defense of their organizations, all based on concrete demands of the workers and peasants. My opinion is that Comrade Manuilsky is correct, and I believe that our Central Committee will revise this weak point in our October resolution when it receives the complete material from the Latin-American Conference.

TASKS BEFORE THE PARTY

But the important thing is to determine the tasks of the Party and to examine the forces with which we have to carry them out.

The October resolution, which I have already mentioned, recognizes that the Party finds itself, both from the point of view of organization and from the political point of view, not up to its tasks. The resolution concludes that the only way of preventing the Party from dragging at the tail of events is to redouble its activity in mass work, to develop its local organizations, to penetrate and strike roots in the basic industries and the agricultural centers, to create within itself the leading cadres which it lacks, and, in a word, to transform its weakness into strength and to make itself capable of organizing and directing the great mass struggles which are approaching in Mexico.

The weakness of our Party, of the Young Communist League, and of the revolutionary unions is, before all else, a reflection of the weakness, youth, and lack of experience of the Mexican proletariat. But it is likewise a result of the old opportunist errors which we committed in 10 years of failure to understand the economic and political events of the country, the true character of the so-called "revolutionary" governments, which were considered to be "anti-imperialist to a certain extent," and, as a result, a failure to understand the role of our Party. The Party finds itself much weakened, also, by the fascist repression and by the struggle against the so-called "opposition," which has been a petty-bourgeois attempt to continue the old line of collaboration with the government and which has tried to justify itself theoretically, rallying around the point of view of the international right-wing groups. But this organizational weakness (many desertions and expulsions), and this political weakness (decrease in the leading cadres) is actually a basis for strengthening and developing the Party, now freed from the elements hindering the application of the correct line.

SHARP CHANGE NECESSARY

Aside from some special problems, peculiar to the semi-colonial country in which it is functioning, our Party has to confront all the problems and all the difficulties which face the Communist Party of the United States and which are being discussed at this Plenum. The most important question, there as here, is that of the complete change in the methods of work and of the very form of focusing on mass work and of approaching the masses. There, as here, there has been an excess of revolutionary phrases, of general questions, of high politics, and little attention to immediate demands, to concrete problems, to the economic struggles of the workers and poor peasants. We have been incapable of penetrating to the center of the work and of tying ourselves up closely with the life and the struggles of the toilers, in order to take up

our role of organizers and leaders, not only of the workers' and peasants' revolution, but also of the struggle for better living conditions of the workers and poor peasants within the capitalist system.

The chief defect of our Party, from the point of view of organization, is the lack of nuclei in the factories, shops, mines, and plantations. The progress made in the reorganization of the Party on the basis of production is as yet very small. The majority of our factory nuclei are vegetating or dying for lack of political content and nourishment; the nuclei are organized in a mechanical way, without being imbued with life and activity as the basic bodies of the Party. On this point, fundamental for both Parties, there must be an interchange of experiences. The discussion at the Plenum on the organizational report has shown that the situation in the Communist Party of America, as far as the factory nuclei are concerned, is no better than that of our Party in Mexico.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The revolutionary trade union movement—the Unitary Trade Union Confederation of Mexico—faces the same problem as the T.U.U.L. in the United States, sharpened by the low political level of the Mexican workers and by the fascist repression. Our trade union movement has remnants of reformism and anarcho-syndicalism, a natural thing in a country where reformism and anarcho-syndicalism have controlled the labor movement from its birth. The struggle against reformism, anarcho-syndicalism, and opportunism in the Unitary Trade Union Confederation of Mexico, was impossible with the presence of the right-wing elements in the Party. With the cleaning of the Party, there has begun the cleaning of the Unitary Trade Union Confederation of Mexico and the correction of its line, of its methods of work and struggle.

A central question at the present time in Mexico is the question of the relations between the Party and the Unitary Confederation, the work of the fractions in the trade unions, the creation of leading cadres, and the working out and application of a trade union line for the Unitary Confederation. Then come the question of the factory committees as a base of organization, the question of the united front from below, of the leadership of strikes. In the matter of organization, the most important thing for us now is the work among the agricultural laborers, who in Mexico are in a majority and who will be the basis for our Party in the countryside and a decisive force in the workers' and peasants' revolution. This work has been begun, some progress has been made in the banana region of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca, where the United Fruit

Company has its hold. But there remain hundreds of thousands of peons, on the cotton and hemp fields, on the sugar cane plantations, on the corn and wheat farms, who must be organized in the unions of the Unitary Confederation. One of the most important defects of our work is the lack of attention given to the organization of the 800,000 peons, employed and unemployed workers in the country, and the serious errors committed in the few attempts made up to now—errors which greatly resemble those of the American Communist Party and which we are fighting to correct.

ORGANIZING THE PEASANTS

A question of extreme importance in Mexico is the organization of the poor peasants. There was formerly a great deal of confusion in our Party on this point. Today, our line is clear: the agricultural workers have nothing to do with the peasant organizations, but must be organized into revolutionary unions, in the sections of the Unitary Confederation. The poor peasants, properly so-called, the peasants attached to the communes (which have received land that is insufficient and poor, and who lack machinery to work with), the poor tenants, the middle peasants and the share-croppers, exploited by the land-owners and bankers, must form their regional organizations, linked up with the revolutionary unions by solidarity agreements and under the control of the Party through Communist nuclei in the countryside. In this connection, we have the question of the native tribes, which constitute a special problem, and which our Party has for the first time begun to take up seriously. The native tribes—the few who remain in their primitive communities—show certain characteristics of national minorities. These characteristics must be taken into account by our Central Committee in discussing this question, which is very important because of the fact that the native tribes have always been a fighting force—intelligently used by the petty-bourgeois leaders in Mexico in their armed struggles.

SOME DEFECTS

Our October resolution also points out the defects of our work in the non-Party mass organizations: the Anti-Imperialist League, the Red Aid, the anti-clerical and atheist organizations, and the necessity of developing them as instruments for mobilizing the non-Party workers and poor peasants, and also other elements capable of aiding the revolutionary movement. It emphasizes particularly the complete lack of work among women, who in Mexico represent a very important factor in production, and the complete lack of attention to sport work (a special task of the Youth

League), all the more important because sport is one of the weapons of the government for the fascization of the working class youth. It emphasizes also the necessity of building a Pioneer organization and of combating among the children the fascist propaganda of the government, which has today gone to the point of forming children's police corps. The resolution mentions also the anti-militarist work, which has been begun (above all by the Youth League) with a certain amount of success, and which must be continued, fighting to crystallize in the barracks the sympathy already existing there among the soldiers. Lastly, it points out to the Party the need for organizing the "Workers' and Peasants' Defense," for the defense of the revolutionary organizations, of their demonstrations and meetings, of their strikes, of their speakers and leaders, against the bands of fascist gunmen and the state forces.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

I want to end by making some practical suggestions which, I hope, will be considered. Besides the general program of "adoption" of the Latin-American Parties by districts of the Communist Party of the United States, I suggest the following:

(a) That there be begun seriously the work of organizing the Latin-American workers living in the United States, doing away with the tendency—which is visible within the Communist Party of America—to turn this task over exclusively to the Spanish-speaking militants. My opinion is that the Party should consider this work as one of its most important tasks and devote to it the American comrades who are studying Spanish and the problems of the Latin-American workers.

(b) That special attention be given to the organization of the workers of the South and West, all along the border, to establish connections and make possible joint action of both Parties on the frontier. In this connection, the Communist Party of the United States, basing itself on its organizations in Upper California, should help the Communist Party of Mexico to create Communist groups and revolutionary unions in Lower California.

(c) That, in accordance with the decisions of the Seventh Convention of the American Party on "adoption," every district create a committee charged with formulating and applying a concrete plan of assistance to the particular Latin-American Party which it has adopted.

(d) That every district, as a part of this plan, support a student of the respective Latin-American country in the American Party School. In this way comrades can be trained who are connected with the masses of their respective countries, and who can

go back to work in these countries at the end of their studies in the school.

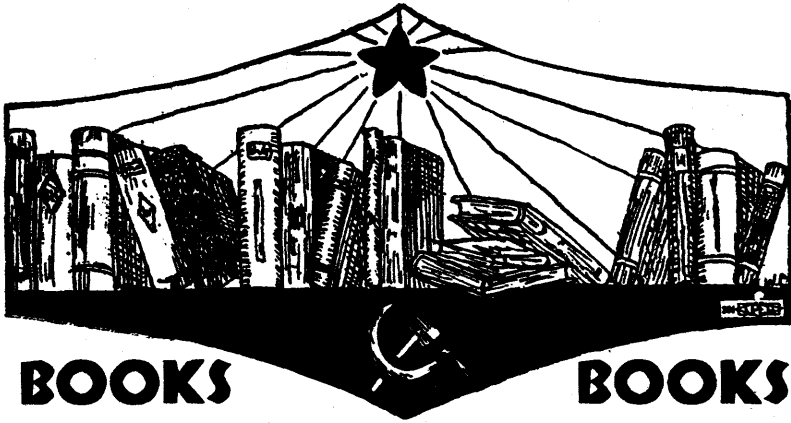
(e) That the Colonial Department of the Central Committee of the C.P. U.S.A. help the Communist Parties with literature in Spanish. The problem of literature is one of the most difficult for our Parties.

(f) That the C.P. U.S.A. and the Y.C.L. make an effort to send some comrades to these countries to help our militants in the building of the Communist Parties. We must wipe out the stain of Wolfe, Weisbord, and Blackwell, and send good comrades to help us and straighten out what these others bungled.

(g) That at all the national meetings of the C.P. U.S.A. and of the Trade Union Unity League (plenums, conferences, conventions), an invitation be extended to the Parties and trade union organizations of the Caribbean countries—at least to the most important of them, such as Mexico, Cuba, Panama, Salvador.

(h) That effective cooperation be established between the Unitary Trade Union Confederation of Mexico and the revolutionary trade union organizations of the Caribbean, on concrete points, with specific forms of joint work and cooperation, which can be laid down by the National Committees of these organizations, on motion of the fractions, and the carrying out of which must be carefully supervised by the Central Committees of the Parties.

Comrades, it is my desire that the close cooperation of our Parties, that the assistance of the Communist Party of the United States to the Communist Parties of Latin-America, already begun, be in the future more effective and more regular; that all the resolutions adopted on this question be translated into action, and that at the next national convention of the Communist Party of the United States, it will be possible to show practical results.



FASCISM

Capital and Labor under Fascism. CARMEN HAIDER, PH.D. No. 318 of Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. New York, Columbia University Press. 1930. 296 pages. \$4.50.

Reviewed by VERN SMITH

This is a book by a scared fascist. One can imagine that while Haider was basking in the smile of that blood-stained individual she ordinarily refers to as "his Excellency, Benito Mussolini" or any other of the long list of similar "Excellencies," she was outspoken in admiration. Coming back to America where the workers are still in the main tricked instead of clubbed into support of a system that exploits them. she got cold feet. and presented the argument for fascism in the manner of Galileo.

A great part of the book is taken up in a contrast of two systems, both of them fake: the advantages. or rather alleged advantages of what fascism says it is, are set over against the "advantages" of what bourgeois "democracy" says it is. Naturally fascism rather wins. For example, in discussing the "labor problem" which (p. 19) "is generally thought of as a world problem," this woman (to whom sufficient supply of effective labor power to make profits for the employers is just another single difficulty like getting enough good coal might be) finds that there is something to be said for and something to be said against strikes. Strikes interfere with the continued prosperity of the nation, therefore Mussolini in his wisdom forbids them. However, and on the other hand, workers for some reason grow greatly discontented if the right to strike is abolished, and strikes sometimes aid the employers to unite among themselves, so it is still a problem, which of course can be solved if the fascisti can give the workers a substitute for the strike by means of advancing their conditions through welfare work, for which there exists a whole organization known as the *Dopolavoro*. and by a feeling that the fascist state will watch out for all their proper interests, etc., etc.

This side of the book is useless to workers, except as it states the fascist propaganda. and enables them to contrast it with fascist practice, and to recognize fascism when it appears in a disguised form in another country.

The book does contain a considerable number of facts on both fascist propaganda and practice. Carmen Haider gives a historical sketch of the origins of fascist theory, and a weird story it is. Outside of a few main points (taken

from Hegel) on the permanence of the state as a living entity superior to all individuals and all classes in the country, a thing for which all must sacrifice and to which all must be obedient in even the smallest detail of their lives, and aside from a few ideas of syndicalist organization of society most of which are not put into practice, plus Hegel's theory of property as "a fulfillment of the ego of the individual" and therefore never to be abolished, the ideas in fascist theory change, contradict, and nullify one another. Now fascism scores capitalism as an oppressor and declares itself the champion of Labor "which must have a better life." The next thing you know it changes the eight-hour day to 11, introduces speed up, cuts wages, and deprives the worker of the ballot—"for the good of the country." Now Mussolini invites the socialist Buozzi, head of the reformist Confederation of Labor, to sit in his cabinet and recognizes the confederation as truly representing the workers. The next thing you know he is chasing the confederation over the boundary, prohibiting its existence in Italy, and ordering that work shall be given only to members of the fascist syndicates.

There are many other such contradictions—actual anti-religious propaganda and head-on collision with the Catholic Church, yesterday, and today a concordat with the Pope and a united front in the plebiscite. But finally Haider arrives at a notable synthesis of the contradictions: "Fascism works only for the good of the whole state, and refuses to be bound by any program; it is purely pragmatic and guided only by the immediate circumstances."

A study of the actual deeds of fascism shows that there is a certain element of truth in the interpretation made by the author: the key to fascism's contradictions is that it has only one creed, which is acted upon and never declared: "Capitalism shall rule and exploit and the fascisti shall be its chosen and well-paid instruments." Aside from this, anything goes. There is far less of a program than is generally believed. That fascist propaganda in its early stages is much alike in every country is due to the fact that conditions, the main opportunities for action, are much alike in every country under capitalism.

When a movement toward dictatorship arises that is patriotic, that declares the class war is not inevitable and can be avoided, which upholds family, religion, and private property, exalts the state, and offers a program of class collaboration to "improve the conditions of the workers," talks (only talks) of "controlling" big business and "freeing" little business—such a movement is fascist. It is fascist even if it indulges in fake strikes. As a matter of fact, Italian fascism did conduct a fake strike in the metal industry in 1925, to head off a real strike by the workers, to betray them, to build its own company unions (labor syndicates), and to force certain recalcitrant employers into line with the rest of the capitalist class. These are exactly the reasons for Schlesinger's fake strikes in America. And the propaganda of fascism in the beginning is remarkably like the propaganda of the officials of the A. F. of L. today, just as it is also very like that of Hitler in Germany, of the Heimwehr in Austria.

The book, being recent, gives some valuable information on the actual situation in the fascist state. First, the loudly advertised syndicate state, the non-political state, is so far only another propaganda theory. The syndicates of workers nominate about half of a list of 800 candidates for the lower house of parliament. Membership in the syndicates is permitted only to those who profess fascist loyalty, and the nominations are made by the fascist officers, mostly appointed by the Grand Fascist Council. The syndicates of employers nominate most of the other half. Then the Grand Fascist Council

adds or strikes out any names it pleases, and selects 400 out of the thousand, and submits them to the country for a vote of approval. No opposition list is allowed, no opposition campaign is permitted, no one can vote but property-owners and members of the fascist syndicates, and they are punished ferociously if they do not vote. The list is accepted. Then the Grand Fascist Council can at any time deprive of office any deputy it does not like. The Grand Fascist Council proposes all bills for passage. The council is not elected from the syndicates and has no relation to them except to give orders to them. It is the central committee of the fascist party.

This, of course, is a dictatorship, not even in form a syndicalist state. The dictatorship is even more condensed, for Mussolini has the legal right to appoint anybody he pleases at any time to the Grand Fascist Council—thus guaranteeing himself a permanent majority. And Mussolini has always been, as Haider herself points out, "on good terms with the industrialists." (p. 218.)

The book never openly admits that present-day Italy teems with still suppressed insurrection, but numerous casually stated facts show it. There are venomous laws against strikes, but the workers still strike. The plebiscite by which the present parliament came into power showed one-third of the workers (even those in the labor syndicates!) refusing to vote in Naples.

Even the workers in the syndicates have to be compelled to take part in fascist demonstrations. Only 20 per cent of the workers have joined the syndicates, though terror and bribery (the best jobs and priority of employment) are used to force them in. The perfect class collaboration instruments, the fascist corporations, which were to unite employer and worker by industries, are still on paper, though they hold fake congresses. The workers don't seem to like the 11-hour day, 50 cents a day for agricultural labor (Italy's biggest industry), 32 cents a day for women workers doing the same work as men. There have been outcries at the heavy dues in the fascist labor syndicates. They kick when these funds are not used for welfare work, as promised, but are turned over to the *Balilla* or to the state. They complain when a tremendous bureaucracy is built up in the syndicates to give jobs to the Mussolini machine. In 1928 the general organization of the fascist labor syndicates had to be smashed and its chief Rossoni removed because it was developing, even under all handicaps, a sort of class movement. (The Rossoni faction was playing with fire to get leadership. Fascism, Haider admits, is rotten with factionalism.) The fascists have never dared to call the general assemblies of workers in the plants, though these are provided for by law. Haider's book was written before the crisis hit Italy in full force—all the resentment is greater now.

Propaganda ceases to be effective and disillusionment results from such a situation as at Molinella, where the workers called on the fascist law itself to save them from some new and rank exploitation. They were answered by Italo Balbo, for the fascist government: "The appeals to law and equity represent an unconscious moral extortion, and are ridiculous and absurd on the part of the enemy." (p. 242.)

And finally, even Haider admits that illegal workers' organization persists. "The Communists continued their activities independently and the fascists found it difficult to discover their secret organizations." (p. 244.)

PAMPHLETS

of immediate importance to every active participant in the class struggle

ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN AMERICA

Why Every Worker Should Join the Communist Party....	.05
Out of a Job, by Earl Browder. A Revolutionary Program of Struggle Against Unemployment .....	.05
Another War Coming .....	.05
Lynch Justice at Work, by B. D. Amis .....	.05
American Working Women in the Class Struggle .....	.05
Chemical Warfare, by Donald A. Cameron .....	.10
Work or Wages, by Grace M. Burnham .....	.10
The Struggle of the Marine Workers, by N. Sparks.....	.10
Speeding up the Workers, by James Barnett .....	.10
Social Insurance, by Grace Burnham .....	.10
Yankee Colonies, by Harry Gannes .....	.10
The Frame Up System, by Vern Smith .....	.10
Steve Katovis, Life and Death of a Worker, by A. B. Magil and J. North .....	.10
The Heritage of Gene Debs, by A. Trachtenberg.....	.10

ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION

The Sixteenth Party Congress

Political Report to the Sixteenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by

J. Stalin .....	.50
The Five Year Plan and the Cultural Revolution .....	.10
New Phases of the Soviet Union, by V. M. Molotov.....	.15
Soviet War on Religion .....	.10
Anit-Soviet Sabotage Exposed .....	.10
Russian Women in the Building of Socialism .....	.10
Modern Farming Soviet Style, by Anna Louise Strong....	.10
War in the Far East, by Henry Hall .....	.10

ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Life of Stalin—A Symposium

In these years since the death of Lenin, Stalin, the most outstanding continuer of Lenin's work and his most orthodox disciple, the inspirer of all the principal measures taken by the Party in its fight for the building of Socialism—has become the recognized leader of the Party and of the Communist International.

Contains reminiscences by L. Kaganovich, K. Voroshilov, and others .....	.50
World Communists in Action, by O. Piatnitsky .....	.20
The consolidation of the Communist Parties and why the growing political influence of the sections of the Communist International is not sufficiently maintained.	
The Developing Crisis of World Capitalism, by V. M. Molotov .15	

Order from

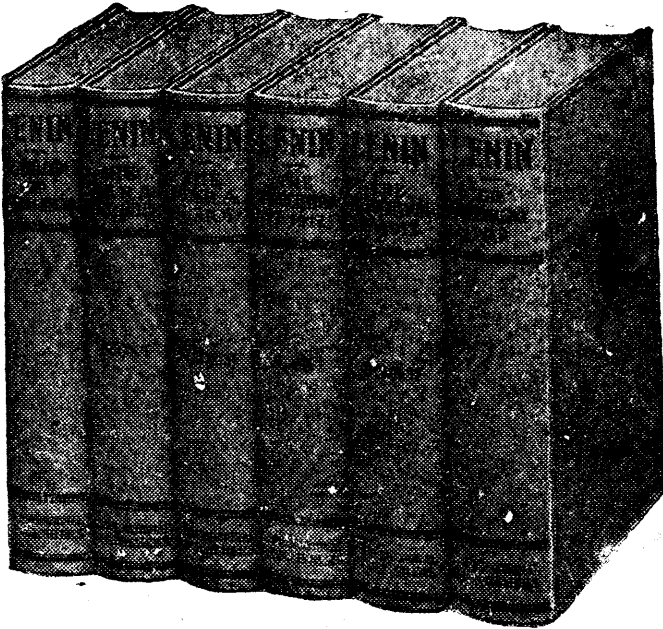
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Station D,

New York, N. Y.

THE COLLECTED WORKS ON

L
E
N
I
N



L
E
N
I
N

USUALLY: **\$18.50** SIX VOLUMES ARE NOW PUBLISHED
 THE IMPERIALIST WAR
 THE REVOLUTION OF 1917 (Two large books)
 THE ISKRA PERIOD (Two large books)
 MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM

NOW
\$9.25

THREE NEW BOOKS *in the* LABOR and INDUSTRY SERIES

"The books are a mine of information. A central feature is the trade union struggle of the workers. The 'Labor and Industry Series' can profitably be read by every worker. They should receive a wide distribution." —WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

- LABOR AND COAL, by Anna Rochester.....\$1.00
- LABOR AND LUMBER, by Charlotte Todes.....\$1.00
- LABOR AND TEXTILES, by Robert W. Dunn and Jack Hardy.....\$1.00

Previously Published

LABOR AND AUTOMOBILES, \$1.00 LABOR AND SILK, \$1.00

Order these books from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, P.O.B. 148 Station D, New York