

PICKET FRUIT CO. DESPITE POLICE

Workers Demonstrate Against American Imperialism

Dock Workers at Meet Pledge Solidarity With Colombia Strikers

Fifty pickets, marching in front of Piers 15 and 16 of the United Fruit Company on South Street, Saturday afternoon denounced American imperialist aggression in Latin-America and expressed their solidarity with the strike of 40,000 Colombia plantation workers despite the efforts of police to break up their line.

The picket demonstration, arranged by the New York branch of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League and the Marine Workers Progressive League, lasted for two hours and attracted the interest of many dock workers. Among the slogans carried by the pickets were "Help the Colombia Fruit Workers Win Their Strike," "Demand the withdrawal of U. S. Marines from Latin-America," and "Support the Fight of the Latin American Workers Against American Imperialism."

Police Try to Break Up Line.

Shortly after the picket-line formed, police appeared and, declaring that the pickets were parading without a permit, attempted to break up the line. "When the pickets refused to disperse, I. Zimmerman, who was leading the line, was pulled out and taken to the police station. Twice the police broke up the line and then decided to arrest the whole group of 50 pickets. While they were being marched to the station, two other policemen came along and after consulting with their colleagues, decided to let the pickets go. Evidently orders had been sent out not to cause unpleasant publicity by making arrests. Zimmerman was also released at the police station without being officially arrested.

Hold Meeting.

The workers marched back to the waterfront and started a meeting while a group of them continued to picket. Speakers included Harriet Silverman, secretary of the New York branch of the Anti-Imperialist League; Harold Williams, a Negro worker; I. Zimmerman of the Anti-Imperialist League; John Horn of the Marine Workers Progressive League and a needle trades worker. About 200 dock workers listened with great interest to the speakers.

CHILE-BOLIVIA DIPLOMATS ROW

SANTIAGO, Chile, Dec. 23.—The news that the Chilean government has sent the League of Nations notice that in Chile an association in favor of the League of Nations is being organized, and that similar associations will be encouraged in other Latin American nations, coincides with the public outcroppings of diplomatic differences between Chile and Bolivia on statements by each of how and why Bolivia yielded, temporarily at least, to arbitration in the dispute with Paraguay.

It is known that the day before Bolivia conceded arbitration, a secret but intense activity was going on at Santiago. The Chilean Chancellor, Rios Gallardo, was closeted with the Bolivian and Paraguayan ministers and then with the Argentine minister. The Bolivian minister then went to secret conference with the Chilean president, and in the evening the U. S. minister, Culbertson, conferred with the chancellor. No one knew what was going on but it was clear that the Chaco dispute was the subject of these conversations.

Chile Reproves Bolivia.

Then, the day after the Bolivian action accepting arbitration, the Chilean chancellor issued a statement in which a diplomatic criticism

Industrial Groups at Chicago T.U.E.L. Ball

CHICAGO, Dec. 23.—The various industrial groups of the local Trade Union Educational League are trying with each other for the largest representation at the New Year's Eve ball of the organization, to be held Monday, Dec. 31, at Mirror Hall, 1136 N. Western Ave. Competition is especially close among the metal, building and needle workers. A Negro jazz band will furnish the music for the ball. A large turnout of militant Chicago workers is expected.

Jobless Father Drops Dead of Starvation



Nathan Ruiz, 40, a worker, was out of a job for months. Finally, with no food in the house, to save the lives of his two children, Leonard, 10 months, and Irving, two years old (shown above), he brought them to the Infants' Home in Borough Park, Brooklyn. While waiting to have the children entered, Ruiz toppled over and died. Death was pronounced due to heart failure brought on by lack of nourishment. His is not a fairy tale. All this happened in the richest city of the richest (for whom?) country in the world in the golden age of Coolidge and Hoover "prosperity."

REICH BANS MILITANT WORKERS FROM ARMY

ANTI-WAR MEET HITS MISLEADERS

Demand Class Struggle to Stop Imperialism

"The workers of America will have to fight their misleaders of labor as well as the more open militarists in Wall Street and Washington if they want to check the next war," said William Z. Foster, of the Secretariat of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, last night at the great mass meeting against the next world war and against the United States inspired Bolivian-Paraguayan war now going on in South America. The meeting was held in Grand Central Opera House, with Bert Miller as chairman. Other speakers were Robert Minor, editor of the Daily Worker, and N. Tallentire, of the International Labor Defense.

A resolution was adopted, condemning the intrigues of U. S. imperialism in Bolivia, Paraguay, Colombia, Nicaragua and other Latin American countries, denouncing the militarist fake "peace" pacts, and calling upon the workers to demand the release of those arrested for their organized demonstrations in opposition to the war danger.

"The last A. F. of L. convention accepted the whole imperialist program of the American government," Foster continued, "and only demanded that eight out of the fifteen cruisers to be built in the present naval race with England should carry the union label.

Faster, Faster, Towards War!

"Today the imperialist powers are preparing for war faster than ever before. The 1914-18 war will be remembered as a small matter compared with the next world war. The sources are, first, the combined imperialist attack on the U. S. S. R., which is the greatest menace to world imperialism; and the great economic antagonism between U. S. and Great Britain.

Cultivate Illusion.

"One of the greatest assets in the hands of the war mongers is the disbelief in the minds of the people in the possibility of another world war. The militarists are very carefully cultivating this illusion of the

Continued on Page Two

FASCIST SENATE LOSES "POWER"

ROME, Dec. 23.—Closing down the already defunct Italian senate yesterday, Mussolini indulged in more empty phrases of praise and especially recommended the senate for the well regulated fashion in which it passed all bills proposed to it by Mussolini.

According to the new law which Mussolini had the grand council of

MEMBERSHIP MEETING FOR PARTY DISCUSSION

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party has arranged the following membership meetings in connection with the Party Discussion. These meetings have originally been scheduled earlier but due to the Party Plenum the final dates are the following:

Thursday, December, 27th—New York City; Superior, Wis.; Seattle, Wash.; Chicago, Ill.; Friday, December 28th—Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo, St. Paul. Saturday, December 29th—Pittsburgh, Detroit, New Haven, San Francisco. Sunday, December 30th—Cleveland, Kansas City, Los Angeles.

The Central Executive Committee desires that the widest sections of the Party shall participate in these General Membership meetings and calls upon every Party member to attend.

The place of the meeting in each city will be announced in the next few days.

COMINTERN HITS GERMAN PARTY'S RIGHT WINGERS

"Brandler, Thalheimer Exposed: Really Left Social Democrats"

Need No Compromisers Rights Not Able to Split Communists

(Wireless to the Daily Worker)
MOSCOW, U. S. S. R., Dec. 23.—The session of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on Dec. 19 adopted an open letter to the German Communist Party concerning the right wing danger; this letter reviews briefly right wing fractional activity in the German Communist Party since 1923. The right wing never abandoned hope to regain win the leadership of the party. The fifth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International sternly rebuked Brandler, Thalheimer and Radek.

Before the Essen Party congress in 1927 fractionalism of the right wing was resuscitated. The next stage of the fractional work was referred to the ninth E. C. C. I. Plenum and fourth congress of the Red International of Labor Union. The German right wing openly defied the decision of the fourth R. I. L. U. congress, attacked the central committee of the German Communist Party all along the line, and worked out its own political platform.

Utilized Wittorf Case.

The Wittorf case gave the right wingers an opportunity to make a new attempt to win the party leadership. This attempt was condemned by the E. C. C. I. The right wingers then commenced openly to build a fraction.

Brandler and Thalheimer held fractional meetings in Berlin, Chemnitz and Offenbach in November. The right winger Galm transformed the former Offenbach party newspaper "Volksrecht" into a right fractional organ. The right winger Hausen issued the fractional newspaper "Gegen den Strom." Hausen admitted to the E. C. C. I. Presidium the existence of a right wing fraction.

Reformist Agency.

Thus it is proved conclusively that an organized right wing fraction exists in the German Communist Party with a central leadership, political platform and fractional discipline. Brandler and Thalheimer are exposed by their own actions as left wing social democratic politicians. Objectively they are a right wing reformist agency in the Communist Party.

Misleaders Agree to No Strikes for 2 Years

STOCKHOLM, Dec. 23.—The officials of the Swedish labor movement today signed away the right of the workers to strike for a period of two years in a series of new collective agreements with the employers.

The agreement was signed after many weeks of negotiations, during which the left wing movement opposed the agreements energetically. The officials' signatures are supposed to affect 234,000 workers in shipyards, electrical industry, building trades, paper mills, sawmills and foundries.

The agreement is to extend for a period of two years and provides that all disputes between workers and employers be settled by arbitration. During this period a strike would be "illegal."

The fascist party pass and then the parliament approve, the grand council is to become the supreme legislative body in Italy and the senate is to become honorary hothouse for gray-haired fascists and loyal followers.

The Communist Party in the party of the liberation of the Negro race from all white oppression.

COMPLETE SELL- OUT OF GERMAN METAL WORKERS

Severing, "Socialist," Capitulates to Employers

Workers Are Enraged Communists Build Left Wing Committees

BERLIN, Dec. 23.—Carl Severing, the social-democratic minister of the interior, who had been appointed as "impartial" and "competent" arbitrator in the Ruhr metal lockout, announced a decision today which is a blatant and open capitulation to the metal employers.

His decision called for a 57-hour working week and extremely small increases in wages, ranging from 1 to 6 pennings (about 1 cent) an hour. The decision is to be effective January 1, 1929. The scale of increase represents an even lower award to piece workers than that given by the labor court which preceded the lockout, and in most categories of workers grants only a 1 or 2 pennings increase per hour.

Workers Enraged.

The reformist labor unions had agreed to allow the workers to return to the mills while Severing's decision was pending and they had further bound themselves to accept all the employers demands until the award was given. They had completed their betrayal by agreeing to accept the decision no matter what it was.

Militants Affect.

The workers affected by the lockout numbered 225,000 and now they face even worse conditions than before, with the virtual collapse of the unions and the victory of the employers in this heavy industry.

From the very beginning of the lockout on Nov. 1 the revolutionary left wing and the Communist Party had led the unorganized and militant workers in the struggle against the betrayal of the labor fakery. Mass meetings attended by thousands of workers demanded a direct struggle against the owners instead of appealing to the bosses' courts as the reformists did. They had pointed out that the struggle was of tremendous political significance since it was primarily a maneuver by the employers' association to assert its power over the labor unions and thus open the way for more unemployment and increasing exploitation.

Reformists Aid Bosses.

Through the whole lockout the reformist labor leaders played the game for the employers. Refusing to follow the demands of the left wing that a general strike be called in Germany to combat the onslaught of the metal employers on the workers, they instead cooperated with the bosses in suppressing the left wing and persecuting the Communists. By going to the courts and promising beforehand to accept the decision of an official of a government which wanted to increase its metal exports and gain a more advantageous place in the sun of world imperialism, they completely sold out the workers. The betrayal not only affects the 225,000 metal workers, but all workers in Germany, since it is a capitulation to the bosses and a surrender of the unions.

The bogey used by the employers, that their profits were low and that they had to keep wages down and hours long, was proved to be absolutely false even by an imperialist economist, Gilbert, American reparations general, in his report yesterday on the condition of German industry, showed in figures that the Reich metal industries were extremely well off and that their profits were extremely high. Exports in German steel has risen to such an extent during the last few years that it has become one of the principle steel sources on the world market.

Force Train Workers to Slave Long Hours During Xmas Season

The approach of the Christmas season was yesterday heralded by a doubling of the speed-up of the railroad workers throughout the country. Holiday travel, according to the officials of the New York Central, is now at its peak, and the railroad announced that the Twentieth Century Limited will leave Grand Central station in four and five sections, and that 28 extra sections will be added to short haul trains.

The New York, New Haven and Hartford has told its workers that they must prepare to handle 75,000 extra passengers over the Christmas week-end.

We demand the immediate abolition of all vagrancy laws; protection of unemployed workers from arrest on charges of vagrancy.

Big Concert at Phila. "Daily" Birthday Fete

(Special to the Daily Worker)
PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 23.—What will undoubtedly be the most elaborate event of its kind ever held by the workers of this city will be the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Daily Worker, to be held Friday evening, Jan. 11, at the Labor Institute, Eighth and Locust Sts. Preparations for this celebration are now going ahead full blast, with many workers participating. Thus far only a small part of the program has been arranged, but it already indicates the unusual character of the celebration.

The workers of this city will for the first time be given an opportunity to hear the revolutionary music of the Soviet Union. J. Fischerman, well-known pianist, who has just returned from the Workers' and Peasants' Republic, has brought with him a number of the latest compositions of the leading Soviet composers, including the famous "October" and "1917." These com-

HOLD BIG SILK WORKERS PARLEY

Plan Drive to Organize Paterson Industry

(Special to the Daily Worker)

PATERSON, N. J., Dec. 23.—Ninety shop representatives from the silk mills here, and delegates chosen to represent unemployed silk workers, held an all-day conference in Oakley Hall today for the purpose of mapping out the plans for a unionization drive in this city.

At the conclusion of one of the most hopeful gatherings of silk workers held here in years the conference of the Paterson Local of the National Textile Workers Union adopted a series of resolutions which are to be taken for endorsement to a membership meeting on Saturday afternoon, after which they will be before the Union for execution.

Before the resolutions were put to a vote, Albert Weisbord, secretary-treasurer of the N. T. W. U., in a masterly speech, gave the workers a clear picture of the silk and dyeing industry in their city, called attention to the need of concentrating on the large shops, and told the workers that, although difficult, the job of organizing Paterson and building a powerful union there could be easily overcome by determined fighters, which the silk workers have proven to be.

Weisbord laid great stress on the task of organizing the dye workers, who make up 6,000 of the Paterson 25,000 silk workers.

"This, too," said Weisbord, "can be successfully carried out, since 80 per cent of the country's silk dyeing is done right here."

In his speech he pointed out that all the dye plants can be mobilized on 24 hours' notice into full-fledged chemical plants for war products.

Chernenko Reports.

After the election of a chairman and secretary, Organizer Lena Chernenko reported on the organizational condition of the union now and proposed plans. I. Ruskak was chosen chairman and Martin Ruskak was elected secretary of the conference. Martin Ruskak is the young revolutionary poet and writer whose work has appeared in the "New Masses." I. Ruskak is his father.

The organizer explained, in her report, the purpose of the conference. Her proposal to postpone the

RAVITCH URGES MORE GREETINGS FOR "DAILY"

"The units of the Workers (Communist) Party must be the leaders in the campaign for greetings for the fifth anniversary edition of the Daily Worker," declared A. Ravitch, business manager of the "Daily" last night.

Ravitch stressed the importance of having every unit of the party throughout the United States represented in the special anniversary edition on Jan. 5.

Greetings From Every Member.

"The Daily Worker is the spokesman for the entire American workingclass," he said, "but we must not forget that it performs this function as the central organ of the revolutionary vanguard and leader of the workingclass, the Workers (Communist) Party. Unless every unit of the party and every member of the party has failed to recognize the 'Daily' as its direct representative.

"I want to also emphasize," Ravitch continued, "that birthday donations are absolutely indispensable to the Daily Worker at the present

positions created a stir when they were played recently in New York. At the Philadelphia celebration of the Daily Worker anniversary Fischerman will also play a number of pieces never before heard in this country.

Arrangements are being made to secure a singer from the Metropolitan Opera Company and there will also be a number of other features on the musical program.

Speakers at the celebration will include Robert Minor, editor of the Daily Worker; M. J. Olgin, editor of The Hammer; Michael Gold, editor of the New Masses, and Herbert Benjamin, district organizer of the Workers (Communist) Party.

Many workers' organizations are electing special delegates to represent them at the celebration. In addition, working class organizations, as well as individual workers, are preparing to send greetings for the special fifth anniversary edition of the "Daily," which will appear Jan. 5.

WARD LINE CUTS FARE TO HAVANA

Anti-Labor Co. Leads Fight on Britain

Following the action of the U. S. Shipping Board last week which claimed the New-York Havana run as an American monopoly, and directly challenged the British-owned Cunard line by loaning the shipping board vessel "President Roosevelt" to the Ward Line to offset the Caronia, recently added to the Cunard line, Ward officials yesterday announced a reduction in passenger fares of 25 per cent. This makes a single way trip on the Ward line, first class, \$120, which is now \$15 below the Cunard rate.

This open declaration of war between the British and American shipping interests, with the U. S. government actively backing the American concerns, is but another gun in the economic and commercial war which is raging between the British and American imperialisms, and marks one more step towards approaching world conflict.

Worst Conditions.

"The Ward line is now singled out as the emblem of American patriotism," stated Geo. Mink, secretary of the Marine Workers League, which has its headquarters in the International Seamen's Club, 28 South St., New York.

For weeks the Ward line has been quietly weeding out its foreign-born seamen, and "Americanizing" itself. Evidently it knew the role it was to play in the British American conflict.

city convention till a membership meeting was held was adopted. The membership meeting will elect permanent officers and an executive board.

Adopt Proposals.

When she asked for suggestions from the meeting for finances, the following proposals were made by the workers, and immediately adopted: The establishment of an initiation fee of \$1 after Jan. 1, the election of a committee of 15 to arrange a big ball for the union, an affair at the opening of the new headquarters.

The resolutions are: Proposals to organize the unorganized; on unemployment, women's work, on the establishment of educational facilities for the membership. The youth section of the union was instructed on their special problems to the membership meetings.

KABUL BRITISH TO BE REMOVED

NEW DELHI, India, Dec. 23.—The Afghan government has agreed to permit the British air force in India to remove British and Indian women, attached to the official legation at Kabul tomorrow.

The British had previously worked out a scheme by which to remove British officials from the Afghan capital in case of "trouble."

The removal of the British officials from Kabul is taken by observers here to mean a preparable intensification of British agitation among the tribes thru the mullahs (priests) with the purpose of overthrowing the progressive government of Amanullah.

The British air force is being kept in readiness for any emergency, and it is reported that British arms and munitions find their way over the Indo-Afghan border to the tribal chiefs around Jelalabad in a steady and easy stream.

HOOVER TELLS LATINS' DEBTS ARE VERY HOLY

Wants More Trade as Measure of Affection; Lauds Supreme Court

Takes Secret Auto Trip Battleship Sails for Florida Playground

RIO DE JANEIRO, Dec. 23.—President-elect Hoover today boarded the battleship Utah to return to U. S., his South-American trip over. This capital breathed a sigh of relief, the army went back to routine duties, and Manuel Silva, the laborer, no longer has to snatch his hat from his head when he sees a procession coming, for fear a policeman will knock it off if he does not show the respect demanded by a venal government for the imperialist president.

Talks to Congress.

Yesterday Hoover delivered three speeches. He went to the special meeting of the Brazilian Congress, and told the congressmen that they guarded the advance of civilization. People continually make new discoveries, said Hoover, and out of these grows tyranny unless legislatures are continually alert. He did not say anything about the discovery of oil in the Gran Chaco.

Then, leaning on the arm of President Washington Luis, Hoover addressed the Supreme Court of Brazil. He told it that it was entrusted with the most exalted function in the gift of organized society, which is, to see that contracts are enforced. "The whole fabric of international commerce rests in the end on the sanctity of the contract," said the representative of the Wall Street financial power that has the world in pawn. His audience gained the impression that Hoover would use very strong measures, if necessary, to prevent any debtor country committing the sacrilege of neglecting its interest payments.

"Business Is Love."

But at the banquet, Saturday night, Hoover became eloquent about the need of international relationships based on mutual affection. More trade between the U. S. and Brazil would supply this affection, he said.

In the president-elect's afternoon automobile drive, an effort was made to counteract the almost ludicrous degree of compulsion visited upon the Brazilian workers, to compel them to be respectful to the agent of North American imperialism. Instead of travelling down a street with the gutters lined by infantry in close order, holding loaded rifles and fixed bayonets, preceded by clattering cavalry with drawn sabres and with machine guns at strategic points, Hoover toured the ocean drive in a plain, closed car, incognito, and without escort. No one knew he had gone, or what his route would be, but the trick made possible the official announcement that: "Mr. Hoover dispensed today, on his drive, with the armed guard, saying that he had no need of protection from the people of Brazil."

CONSTANTINOPLE, Dec. 23.—

The revolting tribes have been driven from the heights near Kabul to a distance of 35 miles to the north, and all the roads leading to Kabul to a distance of 35 miles to the north, and all the roads leading to Kabul are cleared. It was stated by the Afghan legation here today on the basis of telegrams arriving from the capital.

They declared that the government forces were very strong and that both wireless and airplane service had been resumed. It was also denied that King Amanullah and the queen might leave Kabul by airplane.

Houston Police Are Guilty of Lynching Negro in Shadow of Democratic Convention

TEXAS MAYORS HUSH UP TRUE GUILT OF COPS

Wounded Youth Taken From Hospital

The Houston police are guilty of the lynching of Robert Powell, a young Negro, on the night immediately preceding the democratic national convention in Houston, according to an article printed in a southern paper, "Variety." The article reads in part as follows:

"An unprinted story of the lynching of a colored man in Houston by policemen of that city, just prior to the democratic convention, seems to have been known by all the newspaper men in attendance. It was on account of the correspondents that the roping bee was smoothed over by the authorities. It would not sound nice, they decided, for the world to know that Houston policemen violated the very lynch law that the South has been trying to cover up for years.

"A night or so before the convention opened, a policeman and a young Negro fired shots at one another. Both were hit and taken to a hospital, where the policeman died. Later that night, five of the dead policeman's uniformed companions went to the hospital where the still unconscious Negro had been taken, removed and hung him from a bridge near the outskirts of the city. His body was cut down the next morning.

"That the police had done it spread among the higher-ups of the city. Houston's mayor, it is said, in a dilemma, thought to ask the advice of four other Texas mayors on how to hush up or keep quiet about the police as the lynchers. Only one reply contained a suggestion thought worthwhile. That is said to have come from the mayor of Dallas. It suggested that any other five men be pinched and held until after the convention.

"Accordingly, the police of Houston picked up five local vagrants on a lynch charge, told them to behave, and they would later be let loose, otherwise they would get the limit afterward. One was to write a confession. Nothing further was done in reference to the lynching."

This explains the fake trial that was held in connection with the lynching, about two months ago. It is to be remembered that five men were brought to trial for the brutal murder of the wounded Robert Powell, but suddenly nothing further was done and everything was hushed up. The police have shown their true face in one of the most brutal crimes on record.

Many Nationalities at Red Poets' Night Next Friday Even

Many nationalities will be represented at the third annual International Red Poets Night, next Friday evening, at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. Fourth St. The outstanding revolutionary poets in the country are going to read from their own work in their own languages at this unusual event.

English will, of course, be represented by the greatest number of poets. Among the English language poets will be Michael Gold, Joseph Freeman, Robert Wolf, Henry Reich, Jr., A. B. Magil, Edwin Rolfe, James Rorty, Lola Ridge, Adolf Wolff, Herman Spector, Martin Ruskak and David Gordon.

The Yiddish poets will be Moishe Nadir, H. Leivick, Aaron Kurtz and A. Pomerantz. William Weinberg, contributor to "Elore," the Hungarian Communist daily, will read in Hungarian; H. T. Tsiang in both Chinese and English; D. Burluk in Russian; J. Sigorich in Jugo-Slavian, other poets will read in German, Italian and Spanish.

Following the poetry readings everybody will join in a dance bacchanal. You won't be able to resist it when John C. Smith's Negro Synchopators begin to play. Tickets are on sale at the business office of the Daily Worker, 26 Union Square.

Latin America Ball in Harlem Tonight

Tonight will be the first ball given by the Spanish Fraction for the benefit of the "Vida Obrera," the only workingclass paper in the Spanish language to reach the Latin American workers in this country. It will be held at the New Harlem Casino, 116th St. and Lenox Ave.

There will be exhibitions of the Tango and La Juto in the original costumes, and as a special number there will be the Antillian Group in a variety of their latest songs accompanied with the Antillian instruments. Dancing will continue until early morning to the music of John Smith's Modern Jazz orchestra.

Brownsville Forum to Hear Leibowitz Today

S. Leibowitz, assistant manager of the Furriers Joint Board, will speak on "Who is responsible for the present conditions in the Amalgamated," at the Brownsville Open Forum today, 12 o'clock noon, at 154 Watkins

ALL WORKERS OUT FOR I. L. D. TAG DAYS TODAY

By ROSE BARON.

One thousand one hundred workers are now in jail because of their activity in the struggles of their class. More than half of these—662—are being tried in New Bedford, where the mill barons' courts are determined to eliminate from the field of activity those that played the most militant roles in the great New Bedford textile strike and at the same time deal a crushing blow to the National Textile Workers' Union. In addition, 25 other New Bedford strike leaders are indicted on conspiracy charges and faced with long jail terms.

All Cases Defended by I. L. D. All these 1,100 class war cases are being defended by the International Labor Defense, the central permanent defense organization of the American working class. Included in these cases is another mass trial, that of 125 miners in Pittsburgh, trials based on anti-imperialist demonstrations, at least 80 "free speech and free press" trials, about 40 deportation cases, the John Porter case, the Kansas criminal syndicalism cases, the Los Angeles raid cases, the Bridgman, Mich., cases, the Shifrin case, the Mineola cases and many others.

Also we must not forget that Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings are still in jail after more than 12 years and that the eight Centralia prisoners have already spent nine years behind the bars. The I. L. D. is leading the mass movement to

free the victims of both these notorious frame-ups.

What are workers doing to help the International Labor Defense tear these 1,100 fighters from the working class out of the clutches of capitalist "justice"? The Christmas season is here. Workers are being flooded with all sorts of propaganda of the boss charity organizations. Give to the Red Cross, give to the Salvation Army, give to the hundred neediest cases. The aim of all these drives and organizations is to blunt the hatred of the workers for their exploiters and to substitute the miserable, bread-crumbs charity of the bosses for the efforts of the workers to strengthen themselves in the struggles against the capitalist class and its legalistic machinery. Such charity is poison for the workers.

Today and tomorrow the New York district of the International Labor Defense is conducting house-to-house collections for funds to defend the New Bedford strikers and the other workers now under attack by the capitalist courts. Workers give to and for your class! Give for the defense of the 662 textile strikers, of the 125 miners, give for the release of Tom Mooney and the Centralia prisoners! Let your Christmas gift be a blow against the exploiters and oppressors and a blow for your class brothers who are learning the true meaning of the capitalist "Christmas spirit" and boss "charity"—in the jails of this country!

SHIPPING WAR UPON ENGLAND

U. S. Board Fights for Control of Cuba Rum

The United States government combined with private American shipping lines yesterday to strike at British competition in the New York-to-West Indies passenger trade.

The shipping board assigned the United States liner President Roosevelt to the Ward Line to make weekly sailings for three months beginning March 5 to meet competition offered by the Cunard liner, Caronia, which will go on the same run next month.

Chairman T. V. O'Connor of the shipping board announced the move after a conference here with representatives of the New York and Cuba Mail Line, the Dollar Steamship Company, the Tuson Steamship Line, the American and Cuban Steamship Line, the Panama Mail Steamship Company, the Panama-Pacific Steamship Company, the Grace Line and the United Fruit Company.

O'Connor said: "In putting the vessel in the Havana service, the shipping board reaffirms its stated policy to support at all times the interests of private American steamship lines. The New York-Havana trade route is peculiarly an American, not a British route."

ADMIRAL SHOUTS FOR HUGE NAVY

Wants No Restrictions 'WhatHellDoWeCare'

(Federated Press)

Not merely 15 armored cruisers, but many times 15, were demanded by Rear Admiral Charles P. Plunkett in a fire-eating speech before a preparedness dinner of the National Security League in New York. The Washington agreement of 1921 to limit battleship building was described as a British-Japanese plot against the United States by Henry A. Wise Wood, who urged disregard of what Europeans think about America. "What the hell do we care what they think about," he shouted as Security Leaguers applauded wildly.

Major General Weigel deplored the Washington treaty provision forbidding the United States to develop naval bases against Japan and Britain in the far Pacific. Mrs. William Cumming Story asserted that "free speech is carried on to a degree that is appalling in New York City." Martin W. Littleton, attorney for Fall and Sinclair in the oil cases, asserted that war is certain and that the United States should have the best and biggest navy afloat.

"War Good for Business." General Robert Lee Bullard, U. S. army, retired, lauded the program to build 27 new cruisers, with a possible chance of getting still more in the near future, as the "best thing for business" in a speech before the executive committee of the Hardware Metals and Allied Trades, while banqueting at the Hardware Club, New York.

This committee is a military organization, created during the World War by the metal manufacturers of the United States, and maintained in anticipation of the coming world war.

"The provisions of the fifteen cruisers and war aircraft carriers completed in the administration's navy program would contribute \$135,000,000 to the business and

ANTI-WAR MEET HITS MISLEADERS

Demand Class Struggle to Stop Imperialism

(Continued from Page One)

masses, lulling the workers to sleep. "The Kellogg peace pact is in no way in opposition to the program for the building of fifteen more cruisers. "The socialist party and its theories are one of the most sinister elements in the situation, for they are carrying out on an international scale the pacifist propaganda which demoralizes and fools the workers, and makes them helpless against war when it does come.

Robert Minor, editor of the Daily Worker, in his speech showed that even more important than the rivalries between the imperialist powers, sharper though these are becoming daily, is the principle antagonism that is dividing the world into two camps—the capitalist powers, on the one hand, and on the other the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, behind which stand the international proletariat and the oppressed colonial peoples.

Minor stressed the basic tactic of the proletariat in capitalist countries in this situation, the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war. The struggle must be intensified against pacifism, which is a screen to hide war preparations and against social-democratic parties, which, in their international struggle against the working class, have reached the stage of active counter-revolutionary preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

This includes the campaign against the Trotskyist hangers-on of the social-democrats. The Trotskyist movement gathers together all elements of pessimism, discouragement, careerism and loss of faith in the workers' cause, all renegades from the Communist Party, all social-democratic "intellectual" weaklings on the fringes of the labor movement who in less dangerous times like to call themselves Communists.

Norman Tallentire stated that the Kellogg pact is a prelude to the next world war, as the great wave of peace propaganda that covered up the preparations for the last world war and ushered it in. The navy league is now demanding that more cruisers be built in one year than were constructed during any five-year period previously. Today, just one month after the tenth anniversary of the 1918 armistice, all Europe is talking, not about the last world war but about the next one.

The Soviet Union is in danger, said Tallentire, of a united attack by the world capitalist powers, for the reason that before the imperialist powers can settle the fight among themselves they must settle with the Soviet Union, realizing, as they do, that a number of Soviet governments will arise from the next world war.

The Communist Party, under the leadership of the Communist International, will turn this next world war into a civil war, bringing the workers and farmers into conflict with their capitalist rulers and creating a number of Soviet Republics.

prosperity of the whole land," General Bullard asserted. He said that forty-seven of the forty-eight states of the Union furnished material of all sorts to build warships, and said that half the cost of such construction went for materials.

The general wound up with an attack on Communism, and also denounced government and municipal ownership as interfering with the profits of business.

DIPLOMATIC ROW BETWEEN CHILE AND BOLIVIA ON

Rejoinder Hints Pact With Paraguay

(Continued from Page One) of Bolivia was made concerning its actions before its note of acceptance. This statement began by saying: "Friendly consultation was made with the foreign offices of the American countries thru the Chilean representatives in Bolivia, without the Chilean foreign office being specially addressed. From such attitude it is deduced that the Bolivian government judged it useful to give an opportunity to America (referring here to both Americas) to define a point of highest continental policy, as despite the existing preoccupations, Bolivia does not forget the traditional American tendency, nor the moral solidarity of the new world."

Vents Criticism. It should be noted at this point that Chile is a member of the League of Nations, and opinion may incline to the view that the words of the Chilean chancellor did not mean to compliment Bolivia. The statement continued in sharper vein disclosing Chile's displeasure with Bolivia's refusal of arbitration prior to its note of December 18, which finally accepted arbitration.

"Bolivia was not seeking advice with respect to its conduct toward the well-intentioned action of the League of Nations and the Washington Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration, as displayed before the armed conflict between the two South American countries, the discrediting of intervention by the Montevideo commission on formal grounds that everyone knew existed and the friendly offers from the League of Nations and the Washington Conference.

"Bolivia wished to feel out American opinion on the territorial litigation submitted to the good offices of Argentina, in confronting the possibility of establishing precedents and forming doctrines regarding the intervention and influence of Geneva in American matters and the beginning of the Washington conference."

Bolivia's Rejoinder. This statement has awakened the Bolivian government to the following nettled rejoinder to the Chilean statement which created a sensation in all South America:

"By means of the American (of both Americas) diplomatic representatives, the opinion of their foreign offices was requested in view of the two offers of conciliation, that of the League of Nations and that of the conference gathered in Washington.

"It Was Natural." "The agreement of the League binds all American nations that signed it, associated by a judicial link rather than by a simple friendship or moral bond, as it deals with a solemn agreement that creates rights and obligations. Pan-Americanism, represented in the Washington conference, interested itself, offering its good offices, and it was natural that the American spirit might guide me in determining the most notable way of solution.

"Before this dualism, the attitude of Bolivia would be an important international precedent, and the Bolivian government, anxious to keep American harmony and solidarity, wished to understand the opinion of the other governments of the continent. Such was the scope of the inquiry. It did not deal with the form of counteraction to Paraguayan aggression, but of choosing the way of conciliation.

"Claims Based on 'Defense.'" "The use of the right of legitimate defense or safeguarding of sovereignty are not to be questioned, for even in the record of the Bolivian-Paraguayan conference in Buenos Aires, July 12, 1928, signed by both nations, the following stipulation is found:

"Both delegations agree in declaring that the dispute will be solved only by peaceful means, except in case of legitimate defense." "Chile, being part of the League of Nations and member of the Pan-American Union, could not be excluded from an inquiry to friendly countries. Such was the only scope of the test of American opinion."

Secret Accord Rumored. Asked if he thought the incident indicated a secret accord between Chile and Paraguay, the Bolivian evaded direct reply by charging to telegraphic mistakes the Chilean opinion, "upon a matter in which a sovereign nation can never permit her conduct to depend on another or other nations, however good their relations may be."

It is noted here that Bolivia is centralizing all newspapers under national control and setting up a system of patriotic teaching in schools.

Amalgamated Forum at Workers Center Today

An open forum of the General Amalgamated League will be held today, 12 o'clock noon, at the Workers Center, 26 Union Square, at which Joseph Boruchovitch will speak on "What should the members of the Amalgamated do in order to win back their union conditions?"

Reared by Labor's Toil



A view of the 56-story Chenin Building, the tallest building put up since the Woolworth Tower. It is in the Grand Central section. It represents the labor of thousands of workers to house the officials of their bosses' firms. There is a theatre on the 50th story and on the street floor inter-city busses arrive, drive on to a turn-table, are turned about and drive out into the street again.

LABOR DEFENSE TAG DAY TODAY

Will Aid Victims of the Strike Terror

"Give for the defense of the New Bedford strikers!" will be the appeal of hundreds of volunteers who today and tomorrow will cover the entire city in the house-to-house collection drive of the New York district of the International Labor Defense.

Six hundred and sixty-two strikers are being tried in New Bedford in the largest mass trial in the history of the American labor movement. The I. L. D. Tag Days, as well as the general Christmas campaign of the organization, will furnish the funds necessary to rescue them from the clutches of the mill barons' courts. In addition, the Tag Days and Christmas campaign are being depended on to furnish funds for the defense of many other class war cases, numbering nearly 1,100 in all, that the I. L. D. is in charge of.

All workers and sympathizers are

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Daily Worker

26-28 UNION SQUARE.

NEW YORK CITY.

Who are the Poets that will read at Red Poets' Night?

Here are a few:

Michael Gold, Joseph Freeman, Robert Wolf, James Rorty, Henry Reich, Jr., Langston Hughes, Famous Negro Poet, A. B. Magil, Herman Spector, William Weinberg, Adolf Wolff, Martin Ruskak, Edwin Rolfe, David Gordon, Lola Ridge, Arturo Giovannitti, Moishe Nadir, H. Leivick, H. T. Tsiang, and many others.

Which means that the best revolutionary poets of various nationalities will appear December 28 and read from their own work.

3rd ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL RED POETS' NIGHT

FRIDAY DEC 28 1928

Manhattan Lyceum 46 E. 4th St. 75c

TICKETS ARE NOW ON SALE AT THE BUSINESS OFFICE OF THE DAILY WORKER, 26-28 UNION SQUARE, N. Y.

OFFICE WORKERS CONTINUE DRIVE FOR MEMBERSHIP

22 New Members Join at Mass Meet

Twenty-two new members were acquired by the Office Workers Union Thursday evening as a result of an enthusiastic meeting held at the Labor Temple, 14th St. and Second Ave., at which Juliet Stuart Poyntz was the principal speaker.

The mass meeting clearly showed the tremendous response of the so-called white-collar slaves to the organization drive that the Office Workers Union has actively sponsored since its formation several months ago, according to I. Jerome, organizer of the union. Workers joined actively in the discussion that followed the speech of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, bringing up many new ideas for the successful continuance of the organizational drive, which has until now been instrumental in building the Office Workers Union from a small group to the point where it hopes soon to be a force among the thousands of clerical workers throughout New York City and vicinity.

Plans for the continuation of the drive and for many other mass meetings of the sort were mapped out at the mass meeting Thursday, which, it was pointed out, is only one of the first of many such meetings which will be held in the near future.

The Office Workers Union has also made arrangements for a ball to be held at Webster Manor, 11th St., between Third and Fourth Aves., on the eve of Washington's birthday, February 21. All sympathetic organizations have been asked to arrange any conflicting events for that date, in order to co-operate with the young union in its organizational and membership campaign.

War Agent on the Spot



David Kauffman, American Minister to Bolivia, has been acting as Wall Street's agent right on the scene of the imperialist war between Bolivia and Paraguay, which was instigated by the Standard Oil Co. in its desire to grab the Chaco oil lands.

Freiheit Sports Club to Play Three Games at Soccer Tomorrow

The "Freiheit" Sports Club, members of the Labor Sports Union, has arranged the following games for tomorrow:

The "Freiheit" "A" team, composed of the best players of the club, will clash with the Metropolitan S. C. in an exhibition game at Thomas Jefferson Field, Pennsylvania and Livonia Aves., Brooklyn, at 12 o'clock. The "Freiheit" "B" team will meet the Falcon S. C. in a regularly scheduled league game at Jasper Oval, 137th St. and Convent Ave. The kickoff is set for 11 a. m. The "Freiheit" "C" club crosses legs with the shifty Scandinavian "B" team, at Chelsea Park, 27th St. and 9th Ave., New York City. The kickoff is set for 2:30 p. m.

TABULATE POLL IN ELECTION OF FURRIERS UNION

Convention Delegates Picked Yesterday

(Continued from Page One) who established a dual scab union in the industry, the left wing Joint Board had succeeded in gaining the adherence of every real local throughout the country. When the convention opens nearly all the organized furriers in the country will be represented. Large sections of unorganized workers in the fur industry will also be represented.

Ben Gold, manager of the Joint Board and Maurice H. Cohen, its secretary-treasurer, were elected to represent the Joint Board at its last meeting Tuesday night.

A list of the elected candidates was issued from the Joint Board yesterday. Local by local they are:

List of Candidates. Local 1—Max Brownstein, Hyman Finkel, Sam Liebowitz, Julius Mailman, Max Fine, Irving Potash, Sam Potash, Charles Riger and Jack Schneider.

Local 5—Benj. Baraz, Aaron Gross, Philip Glantzman, Max Lange, Sam Mencher, Harry Schiller, Louis Spivak, Louis Telis, Harry Trachtenberg, Benj. Weinstein, George Weissman and Sam Yacker.

Local 10—Louis Cohen, Julius Fleiss, Ben Garf, Joseph Hershowitz, Max Kochinsky, Kassel Miller, Abe Moskowitz and Sam Reznik.

Local 15—Jacob Cohen, Emma Greenberg, Malvina Liebowitz, Celia Rabinowitz, Lena Rabinowitz, Clara Meltzer, Regina Schrieber and Joseph Winogradsky.

The socialist party endorses the rubber League of Nations, the fake Kellogg peace pact and creates the illusion that war can be abolished under capitalism. Down with these traitors to the working class!

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 Wrecking the Labor Banks—William Z. Foster.....25c
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WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

MOBILIZATION OF THE PARTY FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER AND TROTSKYISM

The Workers (Communist) Party of America, in its fight for its Communist integrity and Leninist line, is facing two dangers, two brands of opportunism: one is the Right Danger, which appears as open, outright opportunism; the other is Trotskyism—in other words, inverted Menshevism—which is opportunism covered with left phrases.

THE RIGHT DANGER IS THE MAIN DANGER.

The Central Executive Committee Plenum reiterates with the most vigorous emphasis the formulation in the November 16 statement of the Central Executive Committee:

"In the present international situation, the Right Danger is the main danger within the Communist International and in its American section."

The Right Danger constitutes a tendency towards opportunism, has its roots in the relative stabilization of capitalism and in the existence of social reformism in the labor movement, which retains its hold on large sections of the working class. The Right Danger is the expression of the influence on our ranks of the petty-bourgeois and the labor aristocracy. The present period of growing war danger and sharpening class struggles, the merging of the forces of social reformism with the state apparatus of capitalism, make the struggle against the Right danger imperative for the Communist International as a whole and for the Workers (Communist) Party of America in particular.

The Right Danger within the Communist International manifests itself in numerous forms:

Underestimation of the war danger, certain forms of legalism, a tolerant attitude toward the socialist party; passivity in strikes; underestimation of or nihilistic attitude towards the national question and the struggle of the colonial peoples; lack of internationalism; a static attitude on the trade union question;—these are the gravest forms of the manifestation of the Right Danger within the Communist International.

In France, the Right Danger crystallizes itself in resistance to the election slogan "class against class."

In Great Britain the Right Danger appears in the form of a non-committal attitude towards the Labor Party and the refusal to put up Communist candidates as against the Labor Party.

In Germany the Right Danger assumes the form of illusions about the "left" social democrats and of a resistance against the decisions of the last congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, as well as a tolerance of the Right by the conciliators, and the new outbreak of Brandlerism against the present leadership.

In Czechoslovakia the Right Danger manifests itself in provincialism, in a legalistic attitude towards state power, in a reluctance to mobilize the masses against the state.

In the Soviet Union the Right Danger appears in the form of resistance against the rapid industrialization and in the tendency to give concessions to the kulaks, Nepmen, and bourgeois intellectuals. An expression of tolerance towards the Right Danger was recently evidenced in the Moscow Committee of the Party.

In the South African Party the Right Danger appears in reluctance to fight for the racial equality of the Negroes.

On the basis of the unqualified recognition of the fact that the Right Danger is the main danger facing the Communist International today and that every party must fight it as such, the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee approves the December 3 statement of the Political Committee in fully endorsing the position of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party Conference of the Communist Party of Germany in their fight against the Right Danger and those who show tolerance of the Right.

THE RIGHT DANGER IN THE AMERICAN PARTY.

While the Right Danger in the European Communist parties has its roots in the partial stabilization of capitalism, in America its objective basis is the world hegemony of American imperialism. The United States of America has today the biggest, most corrupt labor aristocracy, the most comprehensive system of social reformism, which serves as the model for the poisonous "Americanization" of the labor movement of the whole world, which creates an atmosphere of class collaboration, labor-jingoism, and pacifist propaganda around the Communist Party. The lack of resistance to the influence of the labor aristocracy, of special reformism, labor-jingoism, and pacifism constitutes the Right Danger in the Workers (Communist) Party of America today. The Plenum of the Central Executive Committee recognizes the fight against the Right Danger as the main attack of the whole party.

The Central Executive Committee Plenum rejects most emphatically the erroneous analysis of the Foster-Bittelmann Opposition regarding the objective basis and character of the Right Danger in our Party. The Foster-Bittelmann Opposition, in its platform, "The Right Danger in the American Party," put forward the theory that the emphasis on the contradictions of the world imperialist system as the primary antagonisms of the present, the third period of the post-war capitalist development, as given by the thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, is a wrong analysis, and that the inner contradictions of the individual countries are today the primary moving forces.

Despite repeated efforts made by the Central Executive Committee, the Opposition is unwilling to give up its reservations to the thesis of the International situation adopted by the World Congress, and is still defending these reservations openly and vehemently. The Plenum of the Central Executive Committee states that the underestimation of the growth of the antagonisms within the world-wide system of imperialism is a manifestation of a deep lack of understanding of the driving forces toward the proletarian revolution and leads inevitably to a dangerous underestimation of the war danger. The whole platform of the Foster-Bittelmann Opposition—which emphasizes the primacy of the inner contradictions of the individual countries over the growth of antagonisms within the world system of imperialism, which refuses to recognize as one of the basic facts of the third post-war period, the shift of world hegemony from Europe to America, which bases its analysis on the erroneous conception of the already diminishing reserve powers of American imperialism instead of explaining the present aggressiveness of American imperialism by the tremendous growth of American capitalism and by the disproportion created by that growth—is one of the most important ideological sources of right errors in our Party, because it leads to an underestimation of the war danger, leads to an underestimation of the power and influence of the labor aristocracy on the American working class, and—with its erroneous conclusion about a nation-wide, deep-going, general radicalization of the bulk of the American proletariat today—tends to prevent the fight against the influence of social reformism, which is still the dominant ideology of the American labor movement, thru an understanding of its strength.

The other most important ideological source of Right errors in our Party is the theory which overestimates the power of American imperialism, which inclines to the belief that American imperialism is virtually invincible, that for many years to come American imperialism will not undergo any serious crisis. This theory appeared in its most consistent form in the various writings of Comrade Scott Nearing. Such an erroneous analysis must be combated by the whole Party, because it leads to the dangerous conclusion that for the whole period ahead of us there is no hope for a mass Communist Party, that the Communist Party must restrict itself to mere propaganda, should refrain from political actions, and that there is no possibility of a successful resistance of the Latin American peoples against American imperialism.

The third substantial source of Right errors in the Party today is the direct influence of social reformism, which creates illusions about a left wing in the socialist party, attempts to make united fronts with the renegade leadership of the socialist party, substitutes the Labor Party for the Communist Party, attributes such revolutionary possibilities to a labor party which only a Communist Party can possess, which fails to see the A. F. of L. bureaucracy as an integral part of the imperialist machine, which sees "dynamic possibilities" in labor banks and workers' savings, which, impressed by the power of the labor aristocracy, manifests a skeptical attitude towards the organization of new unions.

The Plenum of the Central Executive Committee states that the general line of the Central Executive Committee and the Party as a whole is correct, is in accordance with the line of the Communist International. The charge of the Foster-Bittelmann Opposition on the one hand and the Trotskyist Cannon group on the other hand that the general line of the Party is a Right line, that the Central Executive

Draft Resolution submitted by Comrades Bedacht, Patrick and Weinstone, and adopted by the Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America held December 19, 1928.

Committee itself constitutes the Right wing in the Party, is a slander against the Party and was rejected by the Communist International. At the same time the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee states with emphasis that the Central Executive Committee and the Party as a whole committed many errors, among them Right errors also. The responsibility for these rests not one-sidedly on the majority but is shared by all groups or tendencies within the Central Executive Committee and the Party. In fighting the Right Danger, it would be an erroneous attitude to stop at the criticism of Right errors committed by individuals or party organizations. It is necessary to state that the Central Executive Committee and the Party as a whole are responsible for many of the Right errors which deviated from the generally correct line of the Party. The Plenum of the Central Executive Committee considers it its duty to state that the October 2 declaration of the Political Committee did not contain sufficient self-criticism, laid too much emphasis on the unquestionably great achievements of the Party, and did not analyze sufficiently the errors committed by the Central Executive Committee and the Party. The November 16 statement constitutes a great step forward in the necessary self-criticism.

The Plenum of the Central Executive Committee considers it as the main task of the present session to exercise merciless and thoroughgoing self-criticism. The present leadership would not deserve to be recognized by the overwhelming majority of the best proletarian elements in the Party as the leadership of the Party, and the Party would not be able to develop into a real Bolshevik Party, if the Central Executive Committee Plenum were to shrink from the fulfillment of the task of self-criticism.

MANIFESTATIONS OF THE RIGHT DANGER

The Right Danger in the Workers (Communist) Party of America since the last Party Convention has manifested itself in numerous forms. The most important features of the Right Danger are the following:

1. **Pacifism and under-estimation of the war danger.** This is the most dangerous manifestation of the Right danger. The Party has not shown sufficient energy in fighting American imperialism. This shortcoming has already been pointed out by the theses of the Sixth World Congress. The C. E. C. did not sufficiently concentrate the attention of the whole Party on the war danger and did not sufficiently put into the center of the activities of the Party the struggle against imperialist war. There is insufficient contact between our Party and the Communist Parties of the Latin American countries and Canada. A lack of internationalism manifests itself in certain sections of the Party. Pacifist errors were committed by some of the leading comrades, such as issuing the slogan: "Stop the Flow of Blood in Nicaragua" (Gomez); "We welcome our boys of the fleet, but don't shoot the Nicaraguans" (California D.E.C.); the slogan: "Against building more cruisers" (Bittelmann instruction). An excess of emphasis on petty-bourgeois liberals in our anti-imperialist work; and underestimation of working class elements.

2. **Wrong attitude toward the socialist party,** as exemplified in the open letter by the Central Executive Committee to the national executive committee of the socialist party, and by the Panken case. Insufficiently sharp attack on the socialist party. The supposition of the existence of a left wing in the socialist party. Insufficient recognition of the transformation of the Socialist party of America into a petty-bourgeois organization. The united front offer to the socialist party officials of Reading (Philadelphia district; approved by Bittelmann). Attempt to support some socialist party candidates in Milwaukee (Sub-district Organizer Sklar). The May Plenum of the Central Executive Committee already exercised self-criticism in regard to these mistakes. The Sixth World Congress justly criticized the wrong attitude of our Party toward the socialist party. The Central Executive Committee was only recently forced to condemn an open letter to the state leadership of the California socialist party by the California District Executive Committee and District Organizer of our Party during the election campaign. The symposium, inviting representatives of the socialist party and other bourgeois parties for a discussion on our platform (Women's Committee, New York).

3. **Wrong attitude toward the Labor Party.** A tendency on the part of some comrades to substitute the Labor Party for the Communist Party, or a failure to maintain the independent role of the Communist Party within the Labor Party movement. Typical expressions of this right error: The article in the Daily Worker "The Labor Party is the only hope of the Working Class"; the resistance of the Opposition comrades in Minnesota (most of them expelled since, because of their going over to Trotskyism) to fight Senator Shipstead as an enemy of the working class, their attempt to place Labor Party discipline over Communist Party discipline, to consider the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party a class party of the working class; the article by Comrade Raymond saying that we should fight for the Workers Party until a Labor Party is organized; the proposal to organize Labor Party clubs based on individual membership (Bittelmann). Also, the February thesis of the Central Executive Committee Plenum had unclear formulations regarding the relations of the Communist Party to the Labor Party.

4. **Insufficient energy in organizing the unorganized.** The February and May Plenums have already criticized the slowness of the Party in entering into the mining campaign. The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern also criticized the Party's lack of energy in this respect. There is a certain remnant of craft ideology and practices among comrades in the needle trades. A certain amount of hesitation showed itself in the organization of the new textile union. There is a lack of emphasis on political issues in the various strike movements. Resistance against using the words "class struggle" in the preambles of the newly organized unions (Swaback and Foster, Weisbord and Jakira—Comrade Jakira admitted this error immediately and Foster and Weisbord at the December, 1928, Plenum).

5. **Underestimation of the Negro Work.** The Central Executive Committee did not lay enough emphasis on the importance of Negro work. In many sections of the Party there is a serious underestimation of the significance of the work among the Negroes. There are dangerous remnants of white chauvinism in our ranks, as manifested in Detroit and in California, and it is strongly represented in certain Party units in the South. Insufficient attention by the Party fraction in putting forward prominently Negro miners at the Save-the-Union Conference in Pittsburgh. Sometimes there is a nihilistic attitude toward the race aspects of the Negro question.

6. **Lack of faith in the Party.** On the part of some members of the Party there is a wrong estimation of the role of the Party, a certain belittling of the activities of the Party, an attitude of skepticism and cynicism, a conception that the Party is a brake on the revolutionary activities of the masses. There is a strong feeling among opportunist elements against the Party assuming leadership in mass organizations (attitude of Sulkanen and Askeli in the Finnish Workers' Clubs). Resistance to showing the face of the Party in mass organizations (attitude of Comrade Moore in the American Negro Labor Congress). A pessimistic view of the last election campaign. The restriction of the activities of the Party to mere propaganda (article by Com. Scott Nearing in the "Communist," "The Political Outlook for the Workers (Communist) Party").

7. **Bureaucratic and insufficient proletarianization.** Insufficient emphasis on drawing into the leadership, into all Party subdivisions, proletarian elements from the factories. The Sixth World Congress has already criticized this shortcoming of the Party. Comrade Molotov in his report about the Sixth World Congress to the Leningrad Party organization also pointed out the necessity of a change in this respect. He said: "Even the Communist Party of such a country as the United States suffers greatly from this drawback. The Congress drew special attention to the necessity of a decided change in the American Communist Party on this point, advising that every effort be made to promote workers to the leading positions in the Party." The declaration of the Party delegation to the World Congress and the declaration of the Political Committee on the decisions of the Communist International regarding the American question acknowledged the shortcomings of the Party in this respect.

8. **Capitalist-bourgeois difficulties.** A certain tendency on the part of some of the needle trades comrades (Chicago, Boston, New York) to give up the fight in the face of the strength of the enemy,

The failure of the District Committee of California to put the Party on the ballot, to make a serious attempt to collect the necessary signatures, and their retreat in the face of the difficulties confronting them in this task. The non-Communist, unauthorized circular to collect signatures in the election campaign on an unprincipled basis on the line of the least resistance (Coddick). Attitude of opposition in the cooperative (Costrell). Tendency to producers' cooperatives in place of struggle in the unions.

9. **Legalism.** Failure to expose fake capitalist democracy. Illusions about election of Communist officials on local scale. Policy of a guilty by the participants in the Washington anti-imperialist demonstration last spring (Gomez). The use of injunction in a labor dispute (secretariat of Boston district). Such expressions as used in the Central Executive Committee statement issued by the anti-imperialist department as "The Colombia strikers' struggle to uphold the law of the land" (Bittelmann).

10. **Non-Marxian ideology.** There is a general carelessness in the whole Party literature, Party press, deviating many times from the precise expressions of Marxist, Leninist ideology. In many sections of the Party there is a general neglect of, even contempt for, theory. Some of the Negro comrades lay too much emphasis on the work in the Negro churches. Non-Communist illusions about "left" churches and adherence to them (Moore).

11. **Resistance to shop nuclei.** There is a lack of emphasis on shop nuclei, insufficient concentration on factories (especially in the California district, where there do not exist any shop nuclei and where there is not a single shop paper; in Connecticut, where there was manifested a certain resistance to the formation of shop nuclei under the pretext that the "workers are not ripe for that"; in Buffalo, where there is resistance to shop nuclei because of fear of persecution). Underestimation of the importance of Party fraction in non-party workers' organizations (weakness of trade union fraction apparatus, weakness of fraction work in the Negro Labor Congress, in the I.L.D., in the W.I.R., etc.) Too much emphasis on the organization of housewives instead of working women in the women's work. Manifold remnants of the language federation ideology.

12. **Underestimation of the Youth.** There is a manifestation of the lack of understanding of the significance of the young workers in the struggles of the Party. This is a dangerous error, especially in the face of the growing war danger and of the increasing importance of the youth in the basic industries.

13. **Wrong attitude toward the Communist International.** This is one of the worst manifestations, in certain respects a summing-up of all right-wing dangers in our Party. On the part of some comrades there is a tendency to accept the Communist International decisions only with reservations (Foster-Bittelmann Opposition). The tendency to attack the leadership of the Communist International as a right wing leadership, to attack the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to speculate on alleged differences within the leading group of the Russian Party, undermining thereby the prestige of the leadership of the Communist International (Cannon). The substitution for the Leninist conception of the Communist Party the theory of permanent factionalism, disregarding openly or covertly all instructions of the Comintern.

These numerous manifestations of the Right Danger in the American Party show clearly that the Right Danger is today the main danger for our Party, and that the Right Danger in America is especially great because our Party has not yet gone through a real revolutionary situation and has not gained sufficient revolutionary experiences. But we can feel confident—on the basis of our experiences, of our mistakes, during the attack of the government in 1919-1920, when the Party was driven underground—that the core of the Party and its leadership is sound and will, with the help of the Comintern, combat successfully and exterminate from our ranks the Right Danger.

The serious menace of the Right Danger necessitates a sincere struggle against it. Therefore, any tolerance or conciliatory attitude towards the Right Danger is impermissible and constitutes an obstacle in successfully combatting it. The Central Executive Committee Plenum emphasizes not only the necessity of fighting actively against the Right Danger, but also the need of exposing even the slightest inclination or tendencies of tolerance toward it.

THE MENACE OF TROTSKYISM

The crystallization of a Trotskyist group in the ranks of our Party constitutes a grave menace to the Communist movement. The Central Executive Committee Plenum endorses the appeal of the Communist International which called upon the Central Executive Committee in its cable of November 30 "to mobilize the whole Party against Trotskyism." The recurrence of Trotskyism, under the leadership of Cannon, in the Party, is all the more dangerous, because there are certain factors in the objective conditions of the country and of the working class and in the situation in our Party which make the growth of Trotskyism possible. The strength of American imperialism, the contradictions of the simultaneous development of reformism and the radicalization of certain sections of the working class tend to create confusion in some sections of our Party. The uneven tempo of the radicalization of the unskilled masses simultaneously with the shifting of the labor aristocracy to the right; divisions within the working class (organized and unorganized, foreign-born and native, skilled and unskilled, etc.) find expression in differences of opinion and serve as a basis for groupings within our Party. Factionalism shows a tendency to perpetuate itself and to become fertile soil for Trotskyism.

The Party is at a turning point in its life. It is in the process of transition from a mere propaganda organization to a political party of action and of leadership in working-class mass activities. Some sections of the Party have been unable to adapt themselves to this turn.

The growing attacks against our Party, the united front of the government, the Ku Klux Klan, the American Legion, and reactionary labor officials and socialist party against the Communists have had the effect of filling some members of the Party with pessimism, of making them capitulate before the growing forces of reaction. A wrong estimation of the international role of the Soviet Union, the growing pressure of the imperialist powers against the sole working class state, has also had its effects on some sections of the working class in the form of a retreat before this pressure.

On the basis of the contradictions and difficulties of the situation, certain former members of the Party have lost faith in the Party's capacity to lead, have developed a wrong attitude denying the leading role of the Party in mass organizations, have developed an erroneous attitude towards the Communist International, challenging the correctness of the Comintern, slandering the leadership of the Communist International as a Right wing leadership, and speculating on the alleged differences in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Internationally, in the Comintern in the leading parties of Europe and in the Soviet Union, Trotskyism has been definitely defeated, but in the American Party Trotskyism is now a grave menace. The Trotskyist outbreak in our Party creates a grave situation for our movement. The renegade Cannon group is concentrating all its energies to bring about a split in our Party. The Cannon group is trying to crystallize its organization throughout the country. The Trotskyist, renegade Cannon has succeeded in splitting away substantial sections of the Party opposition. A number of the members of the Central Executive Committee have joined Cannon. In the Minnesota District the V. R. Dunne-Skoglund group has come out for Trotskyism. In the Chicago a group of Party members, headed by Arne Swaback, has openly embraced Trotskyism. In the Boston District the Trotskyites have now banded themselves into an "independent Communist League" of Dr. Konikov, publishing an openly counter-revolutionary Trotskyist sheet against the Party. In New York, Cleveland, Kansas and in other districts, Trotskyism has also succeeded in recruiting adherents in the ranks of the Party Opposition. An important section of the Opposition among the Finnish members of the Party, under the leadership of Sulkanen and Askeli, accepted the Trotskyist platform, and is now fighting the Party in all non-Party organizations. Many Trotskyist elements, who belong to the Cannon group, are still inside our Party, following the tactics of bor-

ing from within, trying to undermine the prestige of the Central Executive Committee and faith in the Communist International. There is at the same time an increasing cooperation and unification among the Trotskyist anti-Party forces outside the Party. Lore and Cannon, Cannon and Eastman are now working together. The Militant, the Volkszeitung, the Hungarian Trotskyist organ of the expelled, inveterate social democratic Baski, Calverton's Modern Quarterly, Konikow's Bulletin in Boston, the Finnish daily paper, the syndicalist I.W.W. paper Industrialist, are the organs of the joint Trotskyist gang. Unquestionably, there will soon be a veritable unifying common center of all Trotskyist anti-Party elements in the country.

Trotskyism is a growing menace. The likelihood of a concentrated attack against our Party by all the forces of capitalism will be exploited by the Trotskyites to sharpen their onslaught against the Communist Party. The Right danger within our Party is aggravated by the existence of these Trotskyist, inverted Menshevik, counter-revolutionary forces in the neighborhood of our Party.

The Party membership as a whole must resist the Trotskyist menace. To minimize the danger of Trotskyism is to play into the hands of the Trotskyites. Every Communist must rally to the unreserved support of the Party and the Comintern, in order to deliver a decisive blow to the supporters of Trotskyism.

CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN BRAND OF TROTSKYISM

Trotskyism as a real menace came to the American Party in the last stages of its development. Historically Trotskyism was characterized by Lenin as Right deeds covered by left phrases. But in the course of its evolution Trotskyism has covered itself less and less with left phrases and has shown ever clearer its opportunistic core. Comrade Stalin, at the October, 1927, Plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, clearly characterized this evaluation of Trotskyism:

"From Trotskyism to 'Menshevism' is the fundamental question of degeneration—that is the way of the Trotskyites in the last three years."

"The Trotskyites have changed..."

And in his concluding speech at the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin further said:

"Comrade Rakovsky maintains that the opposition is the Left wing of our Party. This would make a cat laugh. Such statements are evidently made to save the conscience of political bankrupts. It has been proven that the opposition is a Menshevik wing of our Party, that the opposition has degenerated into Menshevism, that the opposition has been objectively converted into an instrument of bourgeois elements."

At the same Congress, Comrade Bukharin said:

"The arguments that an ultra-Left wing exists that stands to the left of us, and of which Trotskyism is the embodiment, is exceedingly wrong."

Then the Ninth Plenum of the Comintern characterized Trotskyism in the following way:

"The Trotsky opposition has in all basic questions gone over to the viewpoint of the 'left' lackeys of opportunism and has taken on an open counter-revolutionary character. The Trotskyites, who, under the cover of phrases about loyalty to the revolution and the Soviet Union, slander the Communist International, the Communist Party Soviet Union, and the proletarian dictatorship, whose outer and inner policies they represent in just as lying and distorted fashion as the social democrats, are taking, together with the international social democracy, the course of the overthrow of the Soviet Union."

"All the worst elements of the working class movement, the openly opportunistic elements of the Communist movement, all the little groups of renegades, that were thrown out of the ranks of the Comintern, now rally around the Trotskyist platform of the fight against the Soviet Union, against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and against the Comintern, and play the role of the lowest tools of the international social democracy against the Communists in their struggle to penetrate the broad masses of the working class."

Finally the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International thus estimated Trotskyism:

"The Trotsky group has degenerated to the standpoint of Menshevism in its attitude on program, political and organization questions and has, objectively, become transformed into an organ of struggle against the Soviet power..."

"The Congress considers it superfluous to discuss with enemies of the Comintern the counter-revolutionary political content of the Trotskyist platform, after the combined membership of all Communist Parties has repeatedly and most emphatically rejected the standpoint of the opposition."

In his last speech before the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin characterized the Trotskyites as they appear today in the Soviet Union in the following fashion:

"The 'left' deviation is the shadow of the right deviation. Lenin said—he had the Otsovisks in mind—that the 'Lefts' are also Mensheviks, only inverted Mensheviks. That is entirely correct. The same must also be said of the present-day 'Lefts.' People who incline to Trotskyism, are likewise Rightists, only inverted Rightists, who clothe themselves in left phrases."

Trotskyism is inverted Menshevism. The Trotskyites are inverted Rightists. The Trotskyist brand of "Left" deviation is the shadow of the Right deviation. In its essence it is nothing but a Right opportunistic deviation, which has the same social roots as outright opportunism. Both have as their social basis the petty bourgeois and the labor aristocracy.

Trotskyism, in the history of the Russian Party, appeared as a more or less open ally of Menshevism under the mask of "left" phrases. In some of the Communist Parties, such as Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union, Trotskyism attracted the adherents of some ultra-Leftist groups, like Ruth Fischer, Bordiga, and the remnants of the "Workers Opposition." But as Trotskyism developed, as the Trotskyites changed, the Trotskyist platform became more and more the rallying center of the worst elements of the working class movement, of all openly opportunistic elements within the Communist Parties, and the various groups of renegades outside the ranks of the Comintern. Trotskyism degenerated first to the standpoint of social democracy, and then objectively became an organ of the open counter-revolutionary struggle against the Soviet power, the rankest tool of the social democracy, the instrument of a split of the Communist International.

In America Trotskyism, despite all its left phrases, and mouthing of radical phraseology, never rallied any support from the left. Only the worst, most opportunistic elements in the Party and in the labor movement went over to the camp of Trotskyism. Lore was condemned by the Fifth Congress and the Fifth Plenum of the Comintern as a 2½ Internationalist, and was unanimously expelled by the Fourth Convention of our Party as an inveterate opportunist; Salutsky, the mercenary of trade-union gangsterism; Eastman, who openly puts forward the theory of the revision of Marx and who once supported Woodrow Wilson's imperialist war policies; Askeli, unanimously condemned by the Fourth Convention of our Party for his Right errors; Sulkanen, for years the veritable symbol of the rankest opportunism among the Finnish comrades; Cannon, who resisted the expulsion of Salutsky, brought Eastman into the Party and proposed the expulsion of five thousand Left workers from the Party, because they would not immediately accept the proposals of the Central Executive Committee for the organization of an open party, the same "left" Cannon who was censured by the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, together with Hathaway, because "they failed to maintain the Communist position"; V. R. Dunne, Skoglund, and Hoeglund, Minneapolis, who have been guilty of the worst opportunistic errors in our Party, placing Labor Party discipline above Communist Party discipline, who resisted the line of the Central Executive Committee of fighting the betrayal of Shipstead; Arne Swaback who openly confessed that in the Chicago united front maneuvers he followed the leadership of the officials of the Fitzpatrick A. F. of L. group, who already in August, 1926, stated that the Russian Revolution had ceased to be a source of inspiration for the American labor movement. These are the "left" heroes of the Trotskyist group in the United States. Not one among them in their past ever was guilty of even using left phrases. It is now their first time in their activities in the labor movement that they are trying to cover their ugly right wing nakedness with some rags of left phrases of Trotskyism. All these leading elements of the Trotskyist Cannon-Eastman-Lore group are opportu-

Continued on Page Four

Resolution on Decisions of Sixth World Congress of Communist International

Presented to the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party

By OTTO HUISWOOD, NORMAN TALLENTIRE, WILLIAM WEIN- STONE and HERBERT ZAM and adopted by the Plenary Session of CEC.

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America approves without reservations all the resolutions and decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International and expresses its will to carry out all these resolutions and decisions wholeheartedly and energetically.

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International means a turning point in the life of the Communist movement. The World Congress gave a correct Marxian-Leninist analysis of the world situation and solved the problems before the proletarian revolutionary movement. The analysis of the Congress combatted the illusions about the permanent character of capitalist stabilization and showed how imperialism, which in a number of countries is increasing the forces of production, is developing by the very fact of its technical and organizational progress, tremendous unsurmountable contradictions. The World Congress correctly estimated the Third Period of post-war imperialism as a period of catastrophes, new wars and revolutionary crises. The period is characterized by the intensification of the outer and inner contradictions of the capitalist system.

In this situation it was inevitable that the Congress should place in the foreground the most determined struggle against the imperialist war and against the poisonous pacifism of the social democracy. The Congress correctly emphasized the need for most energetic struggle in all countries to expose the role of social reformism as an unconditional prerequisite for the successful fight against the bourgeoisie and against the imperialist war, and for the realization of the united front of the workers from below.

The adoption of the program of the Communist International by the World Congress marks an event of world historic significance. The program gives a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the whole period.

The program of the Communist International is the program of the world dictatorship of the proletariat and of the establishment of Communism in the whole world. The program is a sure guide in our struggle for the Bolshevization of our Party and for revolutionizing the American working class. It is a magnificent fighting weapon in the hands of the world proletariat.

The colonial question, in other words the struggle for the liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries from imperialist oppression (especially the great Chinese revolution) and the solidarity of the international working class with the oppressed peasant masses of the colonial countries, played a great role in the deliberations of the World Congress. Great headway was made in the solution of the questions of Latin America and the problems of the Negro masses of the United States.

The World Congress manifested the determined will of the working class of the world to defend the USSR, the only fatherland of the proletariat. The congress recorded with satisfaction the economic and political progress of the Soviet Union which under the guidance

of the Bolshevik Party and its Leninist leadership has known how to lead the proletariat thru the difficult conditions of the NEP and the isolation of the Soviet Union by the imperialist nations, to the strengthening of its socialist sector, and by a constant application of energy in the accomplishing of the gigantic work of socialist construction and the building up of the basis of socialism, of heavy industry and the collectivization of agriculture, in maintaining and consolidating the alliance of the proletariat with the poor and middle peasantry.

The World Congress approved the decisions of the ECCI and the CP of the Soviet Union, condemning and uprooting the international Trotskyist opposition.

The victory over Trotskyism and the energetic struggle against right and conciliatory tendencies within the Bolshevik Party were and are pre-conditions for the successes of the brother proletariat of the Soviet Union.

In view of the rapidly growing war danger, the congress justly emphasized the necessity for tightening up the Bolshevik discipline of all Communist parties and unwavering struggle against right opportunist errors. The congress correctly placed the emphasis upon the right danger as the main danger facing the Communist International today.

The Central Executive Committee endorses this view of the congress which has been fully justified by the events after the congress.

The Central Executive Committee endorses the declaration of the Political Committee which endorses the position of the plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party Conference of the Communist Party of Germany in their fight against the right

danger and against all conciliatory attempts to cover up and protect the opportunist elements.

The situation in the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Germany and our brother parties of the Communist International and in the Workers (Communist) Party of America, proves that only by a merciless struggle against the right danger (open opportunism) and Trotskyism (opportunism covered with left phrases) only by the liquidation of the conciliatory tendencies toward opportunism can we forge the various sections of the Communist International into one solidified world party of Communism.

The plenum of the Communist Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party expresses its deep-going conviction that the work of the World Congress will link the Communist International with the broadest proletarian masses more than ever before. The Central Executive Committee instructs all departments of the Central Executive Committee to secure and publish all documents of the 6th Congress so as to make them available to the broadest sections of our Party and for the revolutionary workers.

The Central Executive Committee calls urgently upon all members and all units of the Party to study thoroughly the theses and resolutions of the 6th Congress and to carry out systematically and persistently without the slightest reservations or hesitation all its decisions for the world victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Long live the Communist International!
Hail the work of the Sixth Congress!
Hail the world program of the Communist International!
Long live the proletarian revolution!

Mobilization of the Party for the Struggle Against the Right Danger and Trotskyism

Continued from Previous Page

nists to their core, and their opportunism is even more emphasized by the fact that they picked up Trotskyism in its last, in the most counter-revolutionary stage of its development as their unifying ideology.

In the real class content there is no essential difference between out-and-out, open opportunism and Trotskyism. Both are equally opportunistic, both reflect the pressure of non-working-class, petty-bourgeois, labor-aristocratic elements on our Party. The difference between them is mainly in appearance, methods, and history, and in some demands. Trotskyism is that species of opportunism which is characterized by the following three specific features: (1) ultra-left beginnings, covering its Right deeds with Left phrases, (2) certain special features growing out of the specific conditions of the Russian Revolution; (3) certain international aspects, in that in certain periods of its evolution it attracted some ultra-left elements in the Comintern.

The "made-in-America" brand of outright opportunism does not have these features, but it exhibits its own special characteristics, growing out of the concrete conditions of this country. Among others these characteristics are: (1) Its roots are in the world hegemony of American imperialism; (2) its social basis is the influence of the labor aristocracy and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia upon our party; (3) its nihilistic attitude toward Marxian theory in general of a revisionist evaluation of Marxism. But despite all differences in appearance, in some methods, in their history, it is necessary to emphasize that out-and-out opportunism and Trotskyism are equally opportunistic, and that in many stages of the struggle they may unite, they may form a common front against the Leninist line, against the Comintern, against our Party.

THE OPPOSITION, THE RIGHT DANGER, AND TROTSKYISM

The Foster-Bittelmann opposition refuses to conduct a serious fight against Trotskyism, and conducts only a sham battle against the Right danger. The whole analysis by the Opposition of the world role of American imperialism prevents them from seeing clearly the real sources of the Right danger in our Party. In underestimating the war danger, underestimating the influence of the labor aristocracy, as a source of opportunist poison, basing policies on the already diminishing reserves of American capitalism and neglecting to take adequate consideration of the tremendous surplus profits of American imperialism, which is the basis of the power of social reformism in the ranks of the working class—the whole analysis of the Foster-Bittelmann Opposition prevents them from conducting a systematic successful fight against the Right Danger. The Opposition, which up to recent times included Cannon and which today is the Bittelmann-Foster Group, constitute in the history of the Party, a group afflicted with trade union ideology and with opportunistic inclinations. Now, after they have lost the bulk of their rank-and-file trade-union followers, who have become supporters of the Central Executive Committee, they try to play the role of the "Left" censors of the Party. The Bittelmann-Foster group charges the Central Executive Committee with being the Right wing of the Party.

The Communist International declared that this charge is unfounded. Despite this decision of the highest organ of the Communist movement, the opposition continues to put forward this empty accusation, and tries to distract thereby the attention of the Party from the real right danger and from Trotskyism. It cannot be considered as an accident that the present opposition gave birth to Lore, the first Trotskyite, and to Cannon, the most dangerous Trotskyite, who is trying to split our movement. It cannot be considered as an accident that Cannon's recruiting ground in our Party is in the ranks of the opposition. It cannot be considered as an accident that the whole Minnesota group of V. R. Dunne, Skoglund, and Hedlund, that Swaback and his group, that Askeff, Sulkanen, and all the Finnish right-wingers were integral and leading parts of the Foster-Bittelmann opposition. It cannot be considered as an accident that the opposition withheld from the political committee for several weeks the information about the outright Trotskyist position of Cannon, that they handled the Cannon outbreak of Trotskyism first in their caucus instead of bringing it immediately to the attention of the Political Committee of the Party, that they selected Cannon as their spokesman at the membership meeting of the biggest district of the Party (New York) on October 2nd, altho in their group meeting, held on the same day Cannon had already revealed himself as fighting the Comintern.

There is no consolidated right wing in our Party since the Cannon group left the Party. There are only tendencies toward a right line and there are numerous right errors. The plenum does not charge the Bittelmann-Foster group with being a consolidated right wing group.

The plenum of the Central Executive Committee charges the opposition within the Party that, on the one hand, their whole analysis prevents them from conducting a successful fight against the main danger facing the Party, against outright opportunism; on the other hand, that they show in many respects tendencies towards a tolerant attitude towards the followers of Trotskyism in our ranks. The Plenum of the Central Executive Committee reiterates the statement of the Political Committee, which already protested against any attempt to link up the Foster-Bittelmann opposition with Trotskyism. The Central Executive Committee warns every party comrade against such a mistake. It is to the best interests of the Party to save as many comrades as possible from Trotskyism, and it violates the most essential interests of our movement to drive any comrade into the arms of the Trotskyist group. The Central Executive Committee Plenum emphasizes this with the utmost energy, because of the need of a complete union of all Communist forces in the Party to beat back the counter-revolutionary onslaught of Trotskyism against our Party. At the same time the Central Executive Committee Plenum states that the Foster-Bittelmann opposition does not help in combating Trotskyism organizationally as well as ideologically. The wrong analysis of American imperialism by the opposition, their wrong attitude towards the Communist International and the policy of reservations to the 6th World Congress of the Comintern, the repeated violation of discipline, the perpetuation of factionalism, the demand to print a common platform of the then joint Foster-Bittelmann-Cannon opposition, "The Right Danger in the American Party," simultaneously with the publication of this platform in the Trotskyist organ "The Militant," the charge that the Central Executive Committee is the right wing of the Party—all these policies of the opposition are as many obstacles in combating the right danger, in smashing Trotskyism. The opposition went in its factional blindness even so far as to charge the Central Executive Committee of the Party with being a counter-revolutionary factory.

"These tendencies which constitute the line of the Central Executive Committee of our Party, have the effect of paralyzing the fighting ability of the Party, retarding its activities for developing mass struggle and mass organizations, and hence are weakening the working class and strengthening its enemies."

The meaning of this, which the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee rejects with contempt, is that the Central Executive Committee with its policies is weakening the working class and strengthening the bourgeoisie. If this charge were true, it would be the duty of the opposition to demand the immediate expulsion of the Central Executive Committee. If this charge were true, then it would be the duty of the opposition to concentrate all its forces on the destruction of the Central Executive Committee of the Party instead of fighting the right danger and Trotskyism. It is clear that such analysis by the opposition must inevitably prevent the opposition from conducting effectively the fight against the right danger and against Trotskyism.

Policies of the opposition of reservations to decisions of the World Congress of the Comintern are again one of the factors strengthening the right danger and Trotskyism. Already some insufficiently clear rank and file workers in the Party are using the argument that if it is permissible to have reservations toward World Congress decision of the Comintern on American imperialism and on the American inner party situation, then it must be permissible to maintain reservations on decisions of the Comintern on the problems of building socialism in one country and the inner party situation of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union. The fight against the right danger and Trotskyism cannot be conducted except by following the line of the Communist International without reservations and under the leadership of the Central Executive Committee, which is the legitimate leadership of the Party, elected by the last Party convention, and having the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the entire Party membership. The Foster-Bittelmann opposition is unable to fight the out-and-out right danger, because it is unwilling to turn any fundamental self-criticism against itself, because it is one of the main sources of right errors in our Party, because it accuses the Central Executive Committee as being the right wing. The Foster-Bittelmann opposition is unable to conduct a vigorous struggle against Trotskyism because due to its illusions about the "left" character of Trotskyism it does not recognize clearly the opportunistic core of Trotskyism under the covering left phrases, because with its policy of reservations to Communist International decisions it undermines the faith of the workers in the leadership of the Communist International and its leading party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The opposition's policy of reservations on Comintern decisions supplies the Trotskyist Cannon group with the most dangerous argument that the leadership of the Comintern cannot have a truly Leninist leadership, it must be a right wing leadership, if it does not help to oust the present leadership of the American Party, which is an out-and-out right wing leadership.

TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER AND TROTSKYISM.

The Plenum of the Central Executive Committee considers as one of the main tasks of the pre-convention discussion and of the

convention itself the most thorough-going, systematic discussion and struggle against the right danger, which is the chief menace to the Leninist line of the Party, and of Trotskyism, which threatens with an immediate split of the Party. The discussion must aim at an ideological self-clarification of the Party.

The following basic tasks confront us in connection with the right danger and with the recurrence of Trotskyism in the Party:

1. A broad ideological campaign is necessary against all manifestations of the right danger and against the slightest tolerance of the right danger in the Party. Uncompromising struggle against the socialist party; clear attitude towards the leading role of the Communist Party; a vigorous struggle for the organization of the unorganized; and for new unions; exposure of white chauvinism in our ranks; concentration on factories; drawing of proletarian elements into the leadership of the Party; fight against underestimation of the war danger and pacifist illusions.
2. No tolerance of Trotskyism in the ranks of the Party. The Central Executive Committee Plenum fully endorses the organizational measures taken by the Political Committee and especially the expulsion of Cannon, Swaback, Abern, Schachtman, O'Flaherty, Dunne, Skoglund, Hedlund, Sulkanen and Askeff, from the Party. The Central Executive Committee approves the policy of the Polcom to expel leading and responsible party members and non proletarian elements who consciously adopt the position of Trotskyism and support Cannon, and to try to win them away from Trotskyism and to use the measure of expulsion only as the ultimate step.
3. The Central Executive Committee Plenum instructs all subdivisions of the Party to wage a broad, thorough ideological campaign against Trotskyism.
4. Energetic defense of the Comintern and unreserved acceptance of all its decisions.
5. The frankest, most thorough self-criticism is necessary from the top to the bottom in the Party. The Central Executive Committee Plenum states that the Political Committee did not exercise sufficient self-criticism, and instructs it to take decisive steps in this direction.
6. Merciless struggle against any manifestation of bureaucratism.
7. It is necessary that the Central Executive Committee and the Party as a whole shall make a decisive turn towards building the Party organization on shop nuclei lines and break all resistance to this policy.
8. The Central Executive Committee Plenum fully approves the policy of the Political Committee calling upon the Party to elect rank and file workers from the shops, mills and mines as delegates to the various Party conventions. One of the decisive tasks of the Party convention will be to give a strong impetus to the proletarianization of the Party and its leadership.

14 MILLION FACE DEATH IN CHINA

Communists in Kansu Organize Peasants

SHANGHAI, Dec. 23.—It is estimated here that 2,000,000 Chinese peasants in Kansu province will perish during the coming winter due to famine, heavy taxation and raids by soldiers of the Nanking armies. No relief whatsoever can be expected from the Nanking government, which did not even signify that it was aware of the situation in Kansu until the middle of November, when it was too late to do anything even if so desired.

On the other hand the revolutionary workers and peasants in the province, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, are organizing Soviets and winning more adherents to the Red Flag. It was reported last month that when Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, whose sphere of influence is supposed to extend over Kansu province, sent troops against the revolutionists, the soldiers joined the workers' army.

Feng is at present interested in building a railroad line into Kansu which will enable him to send troops more easily to the far distant province. A group of Belgian bankers are now in Shanghai working on the project.

Beside the 2,000,000 peasants in Kansu who face death by starvation, another 12,000,000 peasants in the Chinese provinces are now living under actual famine conditions. The present famine may be worse than that of 1877-78, when 8,000,000 peasants died.

63 Japanese Workers Trapped in Explosion of Mine; Feared Dead

TOKIO, Japan, Dec. 21.—Sixty-three miners, at work in the Haruto coal mine, near Kushiro, Yezo Island, were trapped underground today by an explosion which shattered the props at all the entrances and shook the surrounding territory for miles around.

Iron Heel of Capitalism Is Shown in "Singing Jailbirds"

In a short preface, Upton Sinclair tells of an occurrence that impelled him to write this play. In 1923, an I. W. W. strike broke out in the harbor of St. Pedro, California. The police threw all the 600 strikers into prison (sunny California is known for its gray, dark prisons). When the strikers refused to discontinue singing their wobbly songs, the minions of law and order closed all the windows of the prison corridor and forced steam into the prison cells. The prisoners kept singing until they fell unconscious from lack of air and heat.

These few lines give a picture of the play and of the I. W. W. at the time when they were a revolutionary organization, though actuated by false revolutionary ideas.

The entire action takes place in prison. From beginning to end it is a sharp struggle between the awakening harbor workers and the tools of the shipbuilding owners' organization. It is class struggle without frills or trimmings! Brutal, murderous subjugation without perfume! The play is raw and naked as is the war between labor and capital in our "democratic" country.

There is not much to tell. The story of the play is short. The district attorney taunts the leader of the strike, "Red Adams." He tries to buy him. He tries to discourage him. When he does not succeed, he breaks him physically. "Red" Adams is thrown into a "hole" in the cellar of the prison, without air, without clothes, in darkness, and hungry. Various hallucinations rush through his fevered brain. He sees himself a free man. He sees his wife who perished, a victim of poverty and lack of medical attention. He struggles hard with himself not to lose his mind entirely.

In his hallucinations, Adams sees a private room in a night club, where a representative of the ship owners disports himself with a woman of easy virtue. A little later his (Adams) comrades appear, and, as in the good old times, they all go to the "Chink" to eat. His dead wife appears and speaks soothingly to him—that she will never leave him. Red Adams, however, is not soothed. He demands a trial, and he gets it—all in illusion that combines actuality and dreams.

After a couple of months' confinement in the stinking, dark hole, Red Adams' physique is broken, but not his mind. He dies bravely. As a rebel, he tells his comrades to sing, and they answer with the strains of the well-known "Warshevianka."

The play has some faults. Sinclair is not a dramatist. The intellectual worth of the wobbles is also not profound. Sinclair utters with Adams' lips his own words, humanitarian generalities, that have no connection with the prison tank. This does not, however, alter the general impression which is entirely a good and helpful one.

The first act, with its mass scene in prison, is carried through with power and rhythm. The end of the act reaches a high, artistic altitude. When the prisoners sing with choked throats their song as they die, an electrical current passes through the audience. It is a proletarian sacrifice in the finest and highest sense of the word. A wealth of revolutionary pathos lies in the courageousness of the herded harbor workers, in the hurrying of their songs into the faces of their oppressors, their only effective, sharp weapon.

Together with the actors on the stage you feel, when the air traps are closed, that the last bit of air has been choked out. Together with them you feel the scalding steam that the guards have forced in to silence the prisoners.

Next to the first act, the third is the best, especially the trial scene. The players do not use any masks, and that makes the thing more human, more alive. The trial scene is played well, rounded out and pointed, grotesque and mixed with a little burlesque. The impression, however, is not weakened on account of this.

It seems that both Sinclair and the directors had laid the greatest weight on the second act. On the shoulders of one player, Grover Burgess, has been placed a colossal burden. He must, through hallucinations, not only reveal bits of the

I. W. W. life-problems, but also their past life with all the bitterness of poverty and failure. The artist, Grover Burgess, puts into the scenes a great deal of power and passion. It is not his fault that the scenes are too long. It is difficult to keep an audience interested for a lengthy period, giving it hallucination after hallucination.

Broadly speaking, the general impression of the acting is favorable. The directors have used a lot of sense in the production, and the actors play simply and naturally. You forget at times that you are in a theatre.

A new note is to let the dead woman speak with sound accompaniment. Another new note is the reverberation of the echo. It gives a better illusion of another world.

With a minimum number of sets, the scenic director (Manual Essman) succeeded in creating a prison with all its horrors. The light effects are excellent in all scenes. One feels that the scenic designer and the director have learned much from the modern European theatre.

"Singing Jailbirds" has been produced in a number of countries, with great success. A vote of thanks is due the New Playwrights group for bringing it to the American stage.

With all its weaknesses as to tone and production, it is a telling revolutionary play, a portrait of the ruling capitalist iron heel in the land of the brave and the free.

We very strongly recommend all our readers to go to see this New Playwrights' production. The leaders of the troupe deserve the patronage of all class-conscious workers.

Whalen Breaks Dicks Who Let the Rothstein Graft Become Known

With a sweep of his sword-like pen, Commissioner Grover Whalen yesterday sliced off an entire department from his police force—the espionage and central raiding force, and demoted its 30 men and three women operatives, from Deputy Chief Inspector Valentine down.

This was Arnold Rothstein's latest-revealed legacy to the police force which protected his billion dollar drug ring so long, but which let him get shot nearly two months ago, and fears to find any of his murderers.

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FIRST MATINEE TODAY 2:30

Ethel Barrymore Thea. 47th St., W. Eway
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Delegates from Many Trades Attend Workers International Relief Shop Conference

MAKE PLANS FOR RELIEF WORK IN FUTURE STRIKES

Shop Committees in Cooperation Pledge

The Shop Delegate Conference for workers relief held last Thursday evening brought a representation of 118 delegates from the following trades: Bakers, hemstitchers, printers, paper box makers, leather goods, underwear workers, grocery clerks, millinery workers, food workers, laundry workers, dressmakers, window cleaners, machinists, show workers, cutters, cloakmakers, structural iron workers, pharmacists, children's dresses, painters and glass bevelers. In addition, there were representatives of the Women's Council, Workmen's Circle branches, the Jewelers Club and the Negro Relief Committee.

The delegates pledged themselves to carry out the program to organize W. I. R. Shop Committees in all shops and factories and to initiate the plan of weekly ten-cent contributions by the workers to create a general relief fund. Through these weekly contributions the W. I. R. will build up a reserve treasury in preparation for future struggles. In the Sully Hat Shop, through the initiative of one of the workers, this plan has already been carried out and \$7.50 was turned in by Sylvia Heller for the past two weeks' collection. Women's Council 5 of Coney Island also contributed \$5.

An executive committee of 30 shop delegates was elected to carry out this industrial work as part of the broad plan for building a mass organization for W. I. R. The delegates to the conference showed enthusiasm for the plan of developing one centralized and permanent relief organization. The shop delegates adopted a resolution to this effect and also endorsed the statement of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League calling for solidarity with the Colombia fruit strikers. A collection of \$15 was taken for the Colombia strikers and in addition the delegates received collection lists to solicit contributions among the workers in the shops for the Colombian struggle as an expression of solidarity with the oppressed and exploited workers suffering under the lash of U. S. imperialism in Latin America.

The Shop Delegate Conference for workers relief laid the basis in the leading industries of New York for work in the immediate future in connection with the struggle of the needle trades workers which looms ahead.

BEAT CARPENTER LOCAL MACHINE LOCAL MACHINE

Progressives Win by Big Majority

Results of the election for business agent of the Carpenters Local 2090, made public Thursday, showed that, John Seidel, the candidate who received the support of the union's progressive members was elected by an overwhelming majority.

A. Berenzi, reactionary henchman of the corrupt Hutchinson machine, flogged with a bang, recording only 60 votes while John Seidel, piled up 665 votes.

The workers of this local were determined, their sentiment before the elections showed, to show their strength to the clique at the helm of the Brotherhood.

The reactionary officialdom of the Carpenters Local 2090 had recently expelled the chairman of the local, Thomas Schneider, because he fought the gang in power and their policies of betrayal of the membership. This as well as the events in their own local also had great bearing on the elections in Local 2090.

When election day came, it was immediately recognized that the progressive workers were consciously determined to prevent any attempts on the part of the reactionaries to tamper with the election machinery.

Philippine Peasants Killed, Injured, Made Homeless by Quake

MANILA, Dec. 23.—One Philippine peasant was killed and an undetermined number injured when a violent earthquake shook the greater part of Mindanao Island yesterday.

The ramshackle, straw huts of the peasants crumbled in the quake like so much paper, leaving many of them homeless, and without means of obtaining food. A steadily developing fire destroyed what was left of their belongings and a great part of their fields have been torn up.

IMPERIALIST DIES. BIRDIGHERA, Italy, Dec. 23.—Field Marshal Count Luigi Cadorna, imperialist general, who commanded the Italian army early in the world war, died here today.

WORKERS CALENDAR

Boston Daily Worker Dance.
A dance will be held on Monday evening, December 24th at the Scenic Auditorium, Berkeley Street, Boston, for the benefit of the Daily Worker. There will be dancing from 8 p. m. until 1 a. m. Admission 50c. Tickets are for sale at Daily Worker Office, Room 203, 33 Causeway St., Boston; Freiheit Office, 14 Harrison Ave., Boston; Chelsea Labor Lyceum, Chelsea; New International Hall, 42 Wrentham St., Roxbury; Lettich Club, 113 Dudley St., Roxbury; Russian Club, 93 Staniford St., Boston; Shapiro's Book Store, 8 Leverett Street, Boston.

Boston Workers School.
BOSTON, Mass.—The Workers School of Boston announces the opening of its school on January 1, 1929. One of the most important courses will be Trade Union Theory and Tactics. Come and learn the problems, the role and the policy of the left wing. You can register now at 33 Causeway St. Each course is \$2.50 per term.

Chicago Lenin Memorial.
The Lenin Memorial meeting in Chicago this year will be held on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 20, at Ashland Auditorium. An especially striking dramatic program is being arranged. Among other features will be presented a stage spectacle entitled "Lenin," which is being adapted from the famous mass spectacle "Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Lenin" by the German dramatist, Hans Lorber. All possible measures are being taken to make this year's Lenin Memorial meeting in Chicago one of the most memorable ever held.

Milwaukee Lenin Memorial.
The Lenin Memorial meeting in Milwaukee will take place on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 20, at the Liberty Hall, Eighth and Walnut Sts. Every effort is being made to make this meeting a success. Sympathetic organizations are urged not to arrange affairs conflicting with this meeting.

Ohio Y. W. L. Dance.
The Big Blowout of the Reds will be given at the Bohemian Hall, Milwaukee, Ohio, on the evening of Dec. 24. This dance is given by the Young Workers League branches in the mining section of Eastern Ohio, and the proceeds go to the school fund for the young miners and steel workers. The school will open on Dec. 26.

Newark Y. W. L. Dance.
The Young Workers (Communist) League will hold its sixth annual dance on Jan. 5, at the Ukrainian Labor Hall, 57 Beacon St., Newark. Tickets are 50c including a free subscription to the Young Worker for three months. All sympathetic organizations are asked not to arrange affairs on the same date and to help us make this affair a success.

New Year's Eve, in Milwaukee.
A New Year's Eve Party for the members of the Milwaukee local of the Party and sympathizers will be given New Year's Eve on Dec. 31, at Party headquarters, 502 National Ave. The affair promises to be a lively one and attendance is expected to break all records. A beautiful hall lamp will be given to the winner of the lucky number. The proceeds will be divided equally for the upkeep of the headquarters and the shop work.

Yearly Milwaukee Banquet.
MILWAUKEE, Wis.—A yearly banquet of the Workers (Communist) Party in Milwaukee will take place on Feb. 2, at Harmony Hall, First and Mineral. An elaborate program is being prepared for this year's event that will bring together hundreds of Party members and sympathizers. A children's banquet is being arranged as a part of the general banquet with the Pioneers providing the program. All sympathetic

organizations are requested to reserve tables for their members and arrangements will be made to sit members of these organizations at special assigned tables.

Philadelphia Liebknecht Meet.
The Young Workers (Communist) League of Philadelphia will hold a Liebknecht Memorial meeting on Jan. 5 at Grand Fraternity Hall, 1226 Arch St.

Philadelphia Camaraderie.
A camaraderie and get-together is being arranged for New Year's Eve by the Young Workers (Communist) League of Philadelphia, to be held at the district headquarters, 1214 Spring Garden St.

Chicago T. U. E. L.
The Chicago section of the Trade Union Educational League will run its 8th annual affair on New Year's Eve, December 31, at Mirror Hall, 1235 North Western Ave., near Division Street.

St. Louis Opens Forum.
An Open Youth Forum holds discussions and debates every Sunday afternoon, 2:30 p. m. to which every one is invited to come. Meetings are held at the Main Public Library, 14th and Olive Streets, at Room No. 2, 2nd floor. Some of the subjects which are arranged, are: Negro Youth in America, Christianity and the Youth, Debate: American Democracy versus Russian Dictatorship, Labor Sports, Abraham Lincoln and the Negro, Washington and 1776, Child Labor. These Open Youth Forums are conducted by the Young Workers (Communist) League of St. Louis.

YWCL New Year's Dance.
FLINT, Mich.—The Young Workers (Communist) Party will give a dance here on Saturday night, Dec. 29, at 8 p. m., at 825 Tilden St. Hall. Refreshments and fun galore, and good music will feature the dance.

Youngstown Workers School.
The Young Workers School of

BRITISH GOV'T SURE OF NICKEL CONTROL IN WAR

New Steps Complete Canadian Merger

TORONTO, Dec. 23.—Complete control of the world's supply of nickel, an important metal for the manufacture of war equipment, was assured, British interests when the stock of the International Nickel Company of New Jersey was transferred to the International Nickel Company of Canada in order to legalize the merger of the International with Mond Nickel.

The proposed merger was first announced a few months ago when Lord Melchett (Sir Albert Mond) together with his brother, Henry Mond, visited New York and from

Youngstown, will hold a New Year's Eve Party on December 31, in the Workers Hall, 369 E. Federal. Everybody invited.

Calif. T. U. E. L.
The Trade Union Educational League of San Francisco, Calif., is giving a New Year's Eve Dance at 212 Market Street. Everybody invited.

Cleveland Y. W. L.
The Young Workers (Communist) League of District 6 will hold a Liebknecht Memorial Mass Meeting on Sunday, January 6, at 2 p. m., at Elyhan Temple, 219 Huron Road, Cleveland, Ohio. Prominent speakers will address the meeting. Admission

there went to Canada to complete details of the merger. The transferring of the stock of the American company to the International was only a matter of form, since the New Jersey Company was largely controlled by British interests.

International Nickel has had virtual control of nickel for years and the plan to merge with the Mond interests only tightens this monopoly and assures the supply and market to the British. Fearing that the United States government would interfere with the British concern in New Jersey and attempt to hinder its activities, the latter has formally sold out to the Canadian firm.

The most important aspect of the merger, however, is the further consolidation of British interests throughout the world in their fight against power of American imperialism. Melchett, leading figure in the combine, is the chief advocate of the plan to trustify all of the British basic industries and its branches abroad in such a form that they can be used most effectively by the English government in case of war. In accordance with this scheme the British iron and steel industry has just recently merged into one of the biggest trusts in the world.

25c. Buy your tickets at the League Headquarters, 2048 E. 4th St., Cleveland.

Baltimore Press Ball.
The Baltimore Daily Worker-Freiheit Carnival Ball will be given Tuesday, December 25, at Tobins Hall, 2250 Reisterstown Road. Admission 50c.

Tickets on Sale at Daily Worker Office, 1117 E. Baltimore St.; Vienna Restaurant, 810 E. Baltimore St.; Galperin's Dairy Products, 2119 W. North Avenue.

Connent I. L. D.
The Connent I. L. D. will give an entertainment on January 5, 1929. All are invited.

MCCOY, ENEMY OF GEN. SANDINO, NEARS WALL ST.

McCoy, Sellers Talk on Nicaraguan "Job"

BALBOA, Canal Zone, Dec. 23.—General Frank McCoy, having finished his Wall Street job in Nicaragua by running Moncada into office with the help of 7,000 U. S. Marines and soldiers, arrived here today on his way to Washington.

While here he will be the guest of Admiral Sellers, commanding the special service squadron, who landed additional sailors in Nicaragua when General Sandino's army and influence became too strong for the safety of the projected United States canal. He will remain with Sellers until Sunday and report to him on how he fulfilled the promises given to Moncada by Sellers in return for betraying the Nicaraguans.

Both refused to make any comment on the Nicaraguan situation until they had first reported to their chiefs in Washington.

ZERO COLD IN PENNSYLVANIA.
JOHNSTOWN, Pa., Dec. 21 (U.P.).—Temperatures of 2 to 10 degrees above zero were reported in many towns in Cambria and Somerset Counties today, the first day of winter.

TRAIN KILLS 400 SHEEP. CARDIFF, Wales, (By Mail).—MAYENCE, Germany, Dec. 21 (U.P.).—A railroad locomotive crashed into a flock of sheep near Wibelach today, killing 400.

The miners at the Llanbradach Collieries will receive a wage cut in a few days, it is reported.

Baltimore, Md.

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- 4—FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM; Tuesday, 9:10 p. m.
- 5—PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM; Wednesday, 8 p. m.
- 6—IMPERIALISM; Wednesday 9:10 p. m.
- 7—ADVANCED MARXIAN ECONOMICS; Tuesday, 9:10 p. m.
- 8—ELEMENTARY ENGLISH; Monday & Wednesday, 8 p. m.
- 9—ADVANCED ENGLISH; Mon. and Wed., 9:10 p. m.

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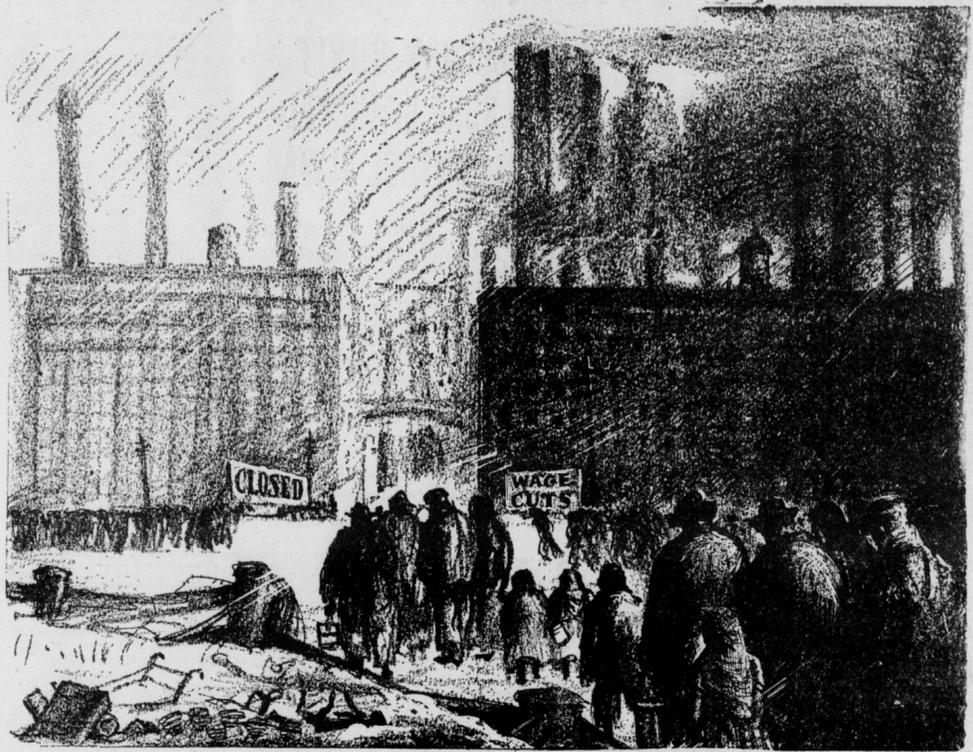
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IN THE WINTER OF PROSPERITY

By Fred Ellis



Misleaders in the American Labor Unions

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Such men as "Skinny" Madden, Sam Parks, Simon O'Donnell and Brindell were highly destructive factors in the labor movement. They poisoned union progress at its source. But upon occasion they had a certain regard for the demands of the workers and sometimes made fights to protect them. This they did in the realization that if they were to be able to advance their own personal interests a basic consideration was that they maintain a strong trade union organization. Consequently, often their unions of skilled or strategically situated workers, were very powerful, usually at the expense of the other trades and the unorganized. But in many places the building trades grafters, in their greed and general spirit of reaction, killed the goose that laid the golden eggs by literally "selling" the unions to the point of their extinction. Philadelphia is such a place.

Frank Feeney.

One of the chief figures in the unsavory history of the Philadelphia trade unions during the past quarter of a century is Frank Feeney. For ten years he was president of the Building Trades Council, and for seven years president of the Central Labor Union. He is now president of the International Union of Elevator Constructors. For two decades he has been a key man in the right wing national machine of the A. F. of L. Within recent months he became a member of the executive council of the National Civic Federation.

Feeney is one of the group of trade union leaders whose influence has contributed towards making Philadelphia one of the weakest trade union centers in the country. They have "peeled" the movement in every conceivable way. Feeney is cynical about his grafting. At the 1914 convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, when Feeney was being tried for disloyalty to the workers, Jim Maurer quoted him as saying:

"Sure I'm a grafter. Whenever you hear that Frank Feeney goes after something you make up your mind he is getting his price. I'm for Frank Feeney."

This misleader of labor maintains his hold on the trade union movement by virtue of his firm seat in the saddle at the head of the Elevator Constructors. He follows a policy of furthering the interests of this little group of skilled workers at the expense of the other related unions, especially the Machinists. This is a common trick of the labor faker.

Feeney has had his hand in every form of betrayal, from running crooked papers to selling out strikes. He was on the payroll of Martin Mulhain, the arch betrayer, who relates the following to show how Feeney earned his pay:

"There was an agitation on to amalgamate the printing trades and that would have been fatal to the employers; that we didn't want; we didn't care how loyal Frank Feeney would be to the typographical union, so long as he prevented the amalgamation, and that is what we put him in to prevent, and it was prevented."

A specialty of Feeney's is capitalist politics. He has long been a labor agent of the republican party, a lieutenant of the reactionaries Quay, Penrose, McNichol, et al in the ranks of the workers. For this, he and his friends have been rewarded from time to time with well-paid political jobs. Of McNichol, an avowed enemy of labor legislation and a supporter of the state constabulary, Feeney said: "So far as my friend Jim McNichol is concerned, let me say to you that I am proud to call him my friend."

In 1905, largely through Feeney's efforts, the Philadelphia unions put up an Independent Labor ticket. Feeney was the candidate for sheriff. Labor, enthusiastic, rallied to the workers' ticket. The Labor Day parade of that year consisted chiefly of floats extolling the labor ticket. But at the eleventh hour Feeney withdrew his name in favor of the republican candidate and induced the new party to endorse the whole republican ticket. This betrayal made Feeney a big cog in the local republican machine.

Feeney has sabotaged various important pieces of labor legislation in Harrisburg. Secretary Quinn of the State Federation of Labor accused him of being responsible for the defeat of the Workmen's Compensation Bill and of facilitating the passage of the State Constabulary Law. In the past quarter of the century every attempt of the workers in Pennsylvania to move forward, on either the economic or political field, has had to confront the opposition of Feeney. That is one reason why their trade unions are in such a demoralized condition and also why Feeney is wealthy, owning a palatial yacht, a large estate, and a summer home in Atlantic City.

James C. Cronin.

Jim Cronin, business agent of the Molders' Union, who at the age of 24 got elected as president of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, was a pal . . . Feeney's and the other building trades crooks, and participated in their union wrecking enterprises. Cronin was a darling of the republican politicians and upon Feeney's recommendation was appointed to the State Industrial Commission, of which he became chairman.

Britain's Latest Conspiracy Against the Soviet Union

Even though the tory imperialist government of Britain is engaged in mobilizing the highest degree of resistance to the new and aggressively insolent turn of American imperialism signalized by the election of Hoover, it still finds time to engage in provocations and armed conspiracies against the Soviet Union. Thus, like the United States government, it fights against the first workers and peasants republic while at the same time carrying on intrigues against its capitalist rivals.

Just as the United States is desperately trying to extend and consolidate its powers in Latin-America, so Britain, in its war preparations, tries to encircle the Soviet Union with bayonets in an effort to isolate and destroy the Bolshevik government. The rebel bands now engaged in waging an attack upon Kabul, capitol of Afghanistan, are bought and paid for mercenaries of Baldwin and Chamberlain, equipped with British arms and munitions. Their purpose is to overthrow the government of Ammanulla, progressive Islamic king of that country and establish in its place a government servile to Britain so that it can create a buffer state against the Soviet Union and obtain a base from which to launch military operations from the south in an eventual war of aggression.

But thus far the Afghanistan government has succeeded in repelling the imperialist hirelings. That Britain is preparing for direct intervention with British troops is indicated by the fact that British planes have been dropping leaflets over the Afghanistan lines threatening intervention in case of "harm befalling British subjects."

This intervention is another source of danger of another world war; a war against the Soviet Union. In such a war the class struggle will be concentrated on an international scale—the fight of the Soviet world to resist the attacks of the capitalist world. In such a fight the Soviet power will have reserve forces among the seething millions of the colonies and among the proletariat of the home countries engaged in the war.

Every resource of the working class and the peasantry of the countries affected should be mobilized to prevent the war on the Soviet Union. But if, in spite of all efforts to prevent it, war against the Soviet Union does come, the capitalist nations will face the mightiest power ever generated in the world, the power of the world proletariat and the colonial peoples of the world, under the leadership of the vanguard of the exploited masses, the Communist International.

In such a war the one demand will be, not fraternization of the soldiers at the front, but wholesale desertion of the imperialist armies to the camp of the Red Army, the army of the workers and peasants. In such a struggle the question will be plainly put: Desert the imperialist armies and with guns in hand go over to the side of the armies defending the Soviet Union. In the imperialist countries themselves the workers will be urged to paralyze the war industries and take advantage of the economic and political crisis to overthrow the imperialist governments and set up Soviet republics.

When the United States, Britain or any other country plays with war, they are only invoking the powers that will eventually destroy them, for just as surely as they dare launch another war just so surely will they face the next stage of the world revolution before they have gone very far.

Prison Depravity

One of the festering sores of the capitalist system is the prison regime. Most criminal laws of capitalist society deal with crimes against property. By far the overwhelming majority of victims of capitalist criminal law are workers deprived of an opportunity to earn a living who were driven to desperation in order to obtain means with which to enable them and those dependent upon them to exist. No prison regime can ever change the economic forces that impel men to violate the laws of private property. And the system in vogue in United States prisons, far from aiding the individual to improve himself physically and mentally, is calculated only to deprave him in every conceivable way.

During the past year there have been a number of desperate prison revolts by prisoners who knew from the outset that their chances of success were hopeless. They simply chose to die fighting rather than endure the fiendishness of the regime.

It is notorious that the food furnished prisoners is vile, that most prisoners emerge from a period of confinement physical wrecks. This systematic destruction of the physical man is accompanied by a warping of their mentality by depriving them of an opportunity to receive literature other than that approved by the ignorant prison chaplains—ordained preachers and priests saturated with the superstition of the dark ages and preaching submissiveness and servility to the chained and helpless victims of capitalism.

Only a few days ago the warden of Auburn prison excluded the Daily Worker. No explanation was given. None was needed. The warden, one of Tammany Al Smith's favorite jailers, is in charge of the prisoners. A paper that so relentlessly exposes the fraud of the late candidate for Wall Street, as well as all other capitalist illusions is dangerous to the ruling clique even of prisons.

One specific reason why our paper is excluded from prisons is the fact that in every prison outbreak we have exposed the loathsome conditions that provoke such outbreaks. While other papers loudly acclaim the frightful massacres of unarmed prisoners by drunken depraved police guards, we defend the heroic and desperate action of the revolters, we explain that no person accused of a crime against property should be regarded as other than a victim of capitalism, that prisons are built not for the big criminals, the big thieves, the oil swindlers, the political grafters, but for the poor exploited workers; in a word they are class institutions.

To be excluded from prisons by the prison keepers and hangmen of capitalism is a tribute to the Daily Worker—one of the many things of which we are proud as we near the Fifth Anniversary of the founding of this revolutionary paper.

All workers, all readers and supporters of our paper should remember that we are known as favorably because of the enemies we have made during the past five years as by the friends we have made. And all those workers who have suffered in capitalist dungeons, or who have relatives or friends or comrades in the fight who have suffered should send in greetings, get organizations to donate to the Daily Worker on this Fifth Anniversary so that we may be able to continue our fight until the time comes that the walls of the torture chambers for the working class fall before the avalanche of the revolution.

Barbusse's New Journal Monde

By SOL AUERBACH

THERE have been journals and magazines vaguely calling themselves journals of proletarian literature, without taking the trouble to formulate that initial clarification and definition of their function and purpose. Some of these journals take on a nebulous and undefined form, launching into their project without first clearly stating their conception of what proletarian art is, what form such an art takes in a bourgeois country. Such journals more often take on a general rebellious tone, rather than a constructive revolutionary one.

For some time Henri Barbusse has been formulating his views of proletarian literature, chiefly in the Moscow journal, "Culture and Revolution." Last June "Monde" made its appearance in Paris, under the direction of Barbusse, and is an attempt to put the editor's views into practice. MONDE has an international circulation and twenty-five of its numbers have already crossed the Atlantic, offering enough material for a balancing of its professed purpose with its actual accomplishments.

MONDE was launched under a favorable breeze which blew strongly in one direction. In the first place Barbusse had already charted the direction in which the ship must go, giving it plenty of motive power in a concise and uncompromising basis for its work. In the second place the writers of the Soviet Union had already chartered a course and were well on their way towards the construction of a proletarian literature in the environment of a proletarian society.

Barbusse's often expressed wish had been to create a magazine that is to present the whole movement of revolutionary proletarian literature to interpret that new man—the worker—as a part of an international revolutionary class struggle to overthrow bourgeois society and replace it by an international chain of Soviets. Such literature in its broad aspects would include the revolutionary struggles of the colonial peoples, the struggle against imperialism, the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries, in fact the whole many-sided and profoundly deep mass movements shaking the foundations of the present society and directed to the construction of a new world.

One of the greatest illusions about proletarian art is that it is conceived by many people in the old sense of a "literary school," with one writer at its head and with one technique and spirit. And it is pointed out that outside of the Soviet Union there is no group of writers which can be definitely called proletarian, that there are not many novels which can be termed proletarian. This is almost the same as saying that there is no revolutionary struggle in the bourgeois and colonial countries, that there is no international working class revolutionary movement. For these movements have already found their expression in literature and it should be precisely the function of such a journal as MONDE, if it is to properly fulfill its function as a proletarian journal, to present this literature of revolution against capitalism.

Henri Barbusse very correctly points out that besides this positive work of laying the foundation for the literature of the future society by presenting and coordinating proletarian literature during the period of revolutionary struggle, such a journal as MONDE professes to be must also carry on a relentless fight against the bourgeoisie in the

Tendency of United Front With Bourgeois Writers Hurts Proletarian Aims

field of culture, combat its pessimism, mysticism, get a stranglehold on its decadence. The bourgeois scribblers, both great and petty, are combatants in the ranks of the enemy, carrying in their writings all the poison of a decaying society. Perhaps the chief reason for not having thus far a clear picture of the rising tide of proletarian revolutionary literature in bourgeois society is the lack of a clear criticism whose principles are based on the revolutionary tenets of the Soviet Union and the working class leaders of the international revolution. Such a criticism can only be based upon the Marxian conception of historical materialism, used as an efficient tool in the appraisal of literature and in directing the efforts of the revolutionary writers.

ONE would then expect that such a journal as MONDE would limit itself to these three main tasks—the presentation of the movement in revolutionary proletarian literature, the function of Marxian critics clarifying for proletarian writers their role, purpose and aims; and a critical analysis of bourgeois literature and art which is bound to lead only to an attack upon them. I say "limit itself"—but one can readily see that the three tasks mentioned above are by no means limitations, but, on the contrary, a field as wide and profound as anyone would desire to tackle.

Perhaps the best contribution that MONDE has made is its intention, which has been better formulated than is usually the case. It is the only magazine I know of in a bourgeois country which has defined its purpose and aim as a proletarian journal with some degree of preciseness and with an appreciation of its tasks. It is not a spontaneous offspring of some nebulous thought on the subject of revolution, but its program, at least as Barbusse expressed it, is definite and revolutionary.

What has it actually done? Has it contented itself with merely formulating a program, or is it actually carrying it out? It has been most successful in this one respect—in actually presenting some proletarian literature of high merit, it has not thus far succeeded in the two remaining tasks. In fact it tends to confusion among the ranks of proletarian writers, when they see criticism of bourgeois writers which lacks all the

backbone of Marxian revolutionary philosophy. The dangerous development of MONDE is towards a united literary front with the best of bourgeois writers. There is absolutely no need for that, and I think it is a mistake, for our own field is much too big, our three tasks are great, and the leadership of such men as Romain Rolland, Upton Sinclair, De Unanimo, Leon Werth and Tagore are to be combatted strongly if we are to have our own revolutionary literature. Instead MONDE accepts writers as collaborators and even points a commending finger at them.

What would best indicate this trend of MONDE towards the liberal bourgeois writers and its illusion that a united front with them can be achieved is the inquest it is now carrying on to ascertain if proletarian literature is possible and if so what is its role. Its inquest posts two questions:

1. Do you believe that artistic and literary production is a purely individual phenomena? Do you think that it should or ought to be the reflection of the main currents which determine the economic and social evolution of humanity?

2. Do you believe in the existence of an art and literature which expresses the aspirations of the working class? Who do you think are its principal representatives?

Aside from the vague and misleading formulation of the second part of the first question—should it not have been, rather, the economic factors which determine social evolution and its main currents?—the very posing of these questions is an admission of uncertainty. It may be answered that the immediate purpose for these questions was to arouse controversy between bourgeois and proletarian critics and thus lead to the further clarification of the proletarian view. It has aroused controversies judging from the numerous answers in Monde and has even broken out into the ever-snooping Parisian bourgeois press. Even the ultra-conservative Temps carried an animated answer by Paul Souday.

By far the most inconsistent aspect of these questions is their bid for a united front with the bourgeois intellectuals. Perhaps the Parisian literary tradition delights in controversy and loves such fights, but to my mind to carry the controversy to those who are known to be the enemies of the working class and its ideology and to open the pages of Monde to these individuals is an entirely wrong conception of the function Monde should be intended to serve. Jean Cocteau, that flip-pant, decadent parlor wit; Waldo Frank, the decadent reviver of decadent romanticism searching closets, castles in Spain and rose gardens; the extreme individualist, De Unanimo; Emile Vandervelde, a traitor to proletarian revolution, they and others like them answer these questions in Monde. What can they tell us about proletarian art and the aspirations of the working class? Their views are separated from ours by a whole society. If the purpose of the inquest is to clarify the purpose of Monde let the proletarian writers and critics clarify it and develop their views by mutual exchange and a mutual fight against the very ones who have been invited to write in Monde.

This united front tactic is the greatest danger to Monde and to its expressed purposes. We can only hope that it will make a sharp change in the direction it is traveling, drop some of its literary salon atmosphere and really devote itself to the execution of the three main tasks of a revolutionary proletarian journal.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN U. S. S. R.

By E. KWIRING.

The past twelve months represented a great step forward on the way to a socialist transformation of the Soviet villages. It is only now that we can fully understand how timely was the slogan of the XV Party Congress, which pointed the way to collective economy in the rural districts. The slogan met with much approval among the peasant masses. During the sowing time last spring the collective movement grew to such dimensions as had not been experienced in past years, extending above all to broad masses of the village poor.

Collective Farms Increase. Suffice it to point out that in the past economic year the number of collective farms was doubled. This tendency among the poor peasants to collaborate on collective farms is in the first place to be explained by the fact that they have been convinced by the collective farms already in existence of the advantages of big agricultural enterprises over small ones, and also by the fact that the material support afforded the collective movement was greater this year than last.

In the press, indications have frequently been published showing the

superiority of harvest yields on the collective farms in comparison with individual farms, so that we can here restrict our lives to a single instance.

In the year 1927 the harvest yield of 1021 collective farms on the one hand, and of the individual peasant farms, on the other, figured as follows:

	Rye	Wheat
In the case of collective farms		
Ural District	67	71
North Caucasus	121	66
Middle Volga District	59	51
Crimea	69	72
In the individual peasant farms		
Ural District	64	55
North Caucasus	82	59
Middle Volga District	42	35
Crimea	62	57

As a result of the extremely poor provision of the poor peasants with agricultural implements by the government, substantial capital investments for the support of the newly formed collective enterprises are required. In this respect great progress was made last year. The collective farms were accorded long-term credits to an extent of \$1 million roubles, which is an increase to more than three times the former

extent. These important capital investments enable the collective farms to increase their area under cultivation very considerably and to augment both the total output and the marketed portion thereof.

This is confirmed to the full by the following figures:

	1926-27	1927-28
Area under cultivation in 1000 hect	876	1700
Total production in millions of roubles	103	189
Commercial quota of output in mill. of r.	35	84

Large State Credits. As we see, the area under cultivation has in one year been doubled, with output increasing in about the same proportion. Absolutely speaking, these figures are naturally still small, but the rapidity of their advance opens a very satisfactory prospect. As regards the estimates for the economic year 1928-29, there is a prospect of no less than 100 million roubles long-term credits, while we hear that the area under cultivation is to be increased to about 3 million hectares and the value of the total output to be raised to 260 million roubles.

To Be Continued