

THE DAILY WORKER FIGHTS For a Workers-Farmers Government To Organize the Unorganized For the 40-Hour Week For a Labor Party

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HOOVER HURRIES TO WASHINGTON TO BUILD NAVY

Row Over Patronage in Congress Threatens to Delay War Plan To Push Kellogg Pact Refuses to Talk About Farm Legislation

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25.—President-elect Hoover today wireless from the Utah that he was not going to stop in Florida but would come directly to Washington. He wants to straighten out the patronage squabble which threatens to interfere with the smooth passage of the two administration war measures, the Kellogg pact against England and against the U.S.S.R., and the bill for fifteen more cruisers.

Change Patronage Plan The announcement has been made in Hoover's name that patronage graft will hereafter be handled by the Republican national committee instead of by the congressmen. The decision threw congressmen into an uproar, and several powerful senators are openly threatening to tie up the important pro-war legislation in retaliation. Just what Hoover's decision on arrival will be is not known.

Several days ago the proponents of the McNary-Haugen bill radioed Hoover, demanding that he state whether he was in favor of it or not. He has failed to answer, and this adds to the tumult, as the plea of leaving it up to Hoover has been used in this congress to avoid action on the fake farm relief bill, which congressmen from the agricultural sections are afraid to take responsibility for.

MINERS' LEADER SCORES SELLOUT

Myerscough Says Mark Uses Scab Contract

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 25.—Thomas Myerscough, secretary treasurer of the Western Pennsylvania district of the National Miners Union today stated that in his opinion the Lewis-Myerscough contract which the United Mine Workers of America is trying to force upon the 55,000 miners of Central Pennsylvania (U. M. W. A. District 2) qualifies Lewis' District president, James Mark, for the status of professional beggar.

"Mark failed to get even the operators' association to take his contract seriously," said Myerscough. "They know the U. M. W. A. hardly exists in this district any longer. All union miners are joining the N. M. U. Mark can not deliver his men into the slavery which this contract provides.

"But Mark is now running around to one operator after another, begging them to accept the contract individually."

"The contract," said Myerscough, "which Mark is asking the Central Penna. coal operators to sign, calls for the usual big reductions, gives them the privilege of doing as they please while it lasts and as they are doing now if they want to, just so Mark and Gilbert get the old check-off."

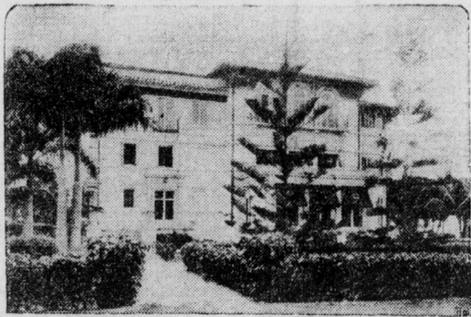
"Frankly I can't see why I should enumerate any more of the 'features' of the so-called contract, because I am convinced that Mark sneaked around some scab mine during the night and took one of the wage cut notices posted up by a scab operator to inform his slaves how much they would get from a certain date on, and then copied same, signed his name to it and then wrote a letter to each individual operator asking that he be allowed in on the pickings to the extent of the check-off at least."

"There are real reasons for this gesture at saving the face (or the carcass) of the U. M. W. A., on the part of Mark, and the chief reason is the fear of the new National Miners Union which is spreading in Central Penna. under the leadership of Charles Killenger and Thomas Rodgers Portage, Pa."

Wide Construction in Leningrad Is Planned

LENINGRAD, (By Mail).—The local Provincial Council of National Economy is intending to give in concessions a series of new enterprises including construction of a factory of typewriters, a factory of dental and surgical instruments, a factory of measuring instruments, production of aluminum from bauxites and other minerals, communal construction, etc.

An Imperialist's Home



The palatial J. C. Penny home on Belle Isle, Miami, Fla., is occupied by Hoover and his friends when he returns from his imperialist tour to Latin America. Here Hoover and his Wall Street friends will plan his reign of imperial tyranny and further suppression of Latin American workers and peasants. Compare this palace with the straw hut of the Latin-American peasant.

Call Textile Workers to Send Greetings to 'Daily'

Pointing out the important role played by the Daily Worker in the struggles of the textile workers of this country, the National Textile Workers Union last night issued an appeal to all mill workers to back the campaign for greetings to the fifth anniversary edition of the "Daily." The appeal, signed by Albert Weisbord, national secretary-treasurer, states:

"No workers know better than the textile workers what the Daily Worker has meant in their struggles. We know the part the 'Daily' played in the New Bedford strike. It was not for nothing that the several hundred copies of the paper that were so eagerly read by the strikers. The Daily Worker was an inexhaustible source of strength, spurring us on, exposing the Textile Council fakery, keeping our fighting spirit alive all the time.

Paterson Strike. "In the Paterson strike it is again the Daily Worker that has become the organ of all militant workers, the real voice of our struggle against the bosses and their allies of the Associated Silk Workers."

"In New England the mill owners are now launching a drive to grind down still further the already miserable wages of the workers. The Daily Worker fights against this drive of the bosses, the Daily Worker exposes their dirty lackeys within the ranks of labor, the Daily Worker helps defend the 662 textile strikers whom the mill owners' courts are now attempting to join in a general campaign to crush the National Textile Workers Union."

Hail "Daily" Anniversary. "Textile workers, your 'Daily' is preparing to celebrate its fifth anniversary. The National Textile Workers Union hails this great occasion. It is the celebration of a paper that is as poor, as oppressed, as uncertain of its economic footing as the workers for whom it fights. Are the textile workers going to be represented in this celebration? They most certainly are."

"The National Textile Workers Union calls upon every textile worker to show his or her appreciation for our fighting proletarian 'Daily' by sending a birthday greeting and a donation, no matter how small, for the special anniversary edition, Jan. 5. And every textile worker should solicit his shopmates and friends for similar greetings and donations. The time is short; we must show the way to workers of other industries by acting at once."

ADMIT DUNCAN TROUPE

To Appear at 'Daily' Birthday Fete Jan. 5

Realizing how flimsy was the pretext for detaining the four young dancers of the Isadora Duncan troupe who arrived here Sunday, the immigration authorities have decided to allow the dancers to enter. They are scheduled to be released from Ellis Island today together with their chaperone, Mme. Elizabeth Missovsky. Each of the dancers will be permitted to remain six months upon the deposition of \$500 bonds.

The immigration authorities originally claimed that the four dancers were to young despite the fact that minors of other dancing and theatrical troupes have always been admitted. The action of the immigration authorities is believed to have been due to the fact that the dancers are coming from the Isadora Duncan School in Moscow and they have come to this country to appear at the fifth anniversary celebration of the Daily Worker, Jan. 5. The release of the four dancers means that all of the famous Isadora Duncan troupe will appear as scheduled at the "Daily" anniversary at Manhattan Opera House, Eighth Ave. and 34th St. The troupe consists of Irma Duncan, adopted daughter and favorite pupil of Isadora, now director of the Duncan School at Moscow, and 25 prize pupils of the school.

The coming of the Isadora Duncan dancers to this country has been hailed as an event of unusual significance by critics of the dance throughout the country. They come here trained in the great classic tradition of Isadora Duncan, and embodying as well the dynamic, revolutionary spirit which Isadora sought for all her life and found at last in the Soviet Union. Their program on Jan. 5 will be appropriate to the celebration of a workingclass institution and will open with an interpretation of the International.

All seats at Manhattan Opera House will be reserved. Tickets are now on sale at the office of the Daily Worker, 26 Union Square.

JOBLESS READY; SOON TO START LONDON MARCH

National Unemployed Workers Committees Plan Parade

T.U.C. Sabotages Trip South Wales Miners to Come Strong

LONDON, Dec. 25.—The arrangement for a national march of unemployed workers upon London under the auspices of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, is progressing with great speed in spite of the persistent sabotage on the part of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and of the officials of the Labor Party.

As the Christmas holidays begin, and-bunk about thanksgiving for the well-being of the king fill the newspapers, Wal. Hannington, who will lead the march, told a meeting of workers here of his experience among the South Wales miners, where he had been busy arranging march committees.

"Never before have I found such terrible poverty existing as at present," he said. "Thousands of men, women and children in the mining villages are sinking deeper and deeper into the morass of destitution and actual starvation."

"The unemployed are waiting for a fighting lead and are ready to respond. Ken enthusiasm is shown for the national march to London. I had splendid meetings and nine new branches of the National Unemployed Workers' Committees Movement were formed."

"Local marchers' organization committees will be formed and a District Marchers' Organization Council will be set up to ensure the men, representing South Wales, who will be taking the road, shall be properly equipped."

While the Baldwin reactionaries are busy sending letters to charity Continued on Page Seven

CALL STRIKE IN BRAZIL BREWERY

Comes After Hoover Visit

SAO PAULO, Brazil, Dec. 25.—On Christmas eve all the workers of Brasilia Brewery, one of the largest in the world, walked out on strike.

The strikers are demanding better working conditions and higher wages. The Brazilian government has declared that it is fortunate that the strike occurred after Hoover had left the country. However, the workers chose an opportune time to strike since the hot weather and Christmas creates a greater beer need.

Red Cross Christmas Stunt Indicates 5,000 Marines in Nicaragua

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25.—Preparations for giving a Red Cross package to each marine stationed in Nicaragua as a Christmas present, has brot to mind the fact that there are still 5,000 marines stationed about the country, holding it for exploitation by the United Fruit Co., and other American firms. There is one marine for every hundred man, woman or child.

The Red Cross package is intended to save the lives and sanity of men, buried in the jungle, watching lonely river fords, etc., trying to interfere with activities of the Nicaraguan army of independence under General Augusto Sandino.

Mexico Moves to Fight Stealing of Colorado River by Boulder Dam

MEXICO CITY, Dec. 25 (UP).—Genaro Estrada, secretary of foreign relations, said today that the government was carefully safeguarding Mexican interests in the question of Colorado water distribution. Estrada said the matter probably would be dealt with by special international commission.

LINCOLN'S DEATH CHAIR WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 25.—Secretary of War Davis is investigating to see whether the chair in which Lincoln was shot, now in the Smithsonian Museum, can not be returned to Mrs. Ford, wife of the manager of Ford's Theatre. She wants to sell it.

CLOAK, DRESS, FUR WORKER GROUPS WILL COME HERE

To Attend Convention of New Needle Trades Union

Gigantic Rally Sunday Proletarian Banquet on Sunday Night

Not only are delegates chosen by cloak, dress and fur workers out of town on their way into New York City to attend the conventions of both these unions at the end of the week, but word has been received by the central office of National Organization Committee of the cloak and dressmakers, and the National Executive Committee of the Furriers, that rank and file members from Boston and Philadelphia are organizing to attend the convention in a body.

Giant Rally. These workers are eager to come and see their respective conventions take up the question of amalgamation, which both bodies will have to ratify formally before the big mass meeting on Sunday. Arrangements for a giant rally in the Lincoln Arena, at 66th and Broadway on Sunday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock are already completed. The arena, seating 12,000, is expected to be crowded by cloak, dress and fur workers.

The cloak and dressmaker' union will open their convention in the New Star Casino, 107th St. and Park Ave., this Friday night, Dec. 28, while the furriers' organization begins its sessions Saturday morning, Dec. 29, in Irving Plaza Hall, 15th St. and Irving Pl.

A banquet, which will be attended by the delegates from all over the U. S. and Canada, is to be held Sunday evening, soon after the close of the mass meeting. The rank and file are called upon to come to what will undoubtedly be one of the most brilliant affairs in the history of needle trades unionism.

After the two conventions endorse the amalgamation of both unions, they will go into united session at New Star Casino on Monday, and it is believed that business before them will require a session on Tuesday.

Resolutions on all the numerous problems attendant on the establishment of such a national organization will come up for discussion and decision.

To Hold Mass Meet. The huge mass meeting in Lincoln Arena will hear official reports on the action of the delegates on the question of amalgamation. The thousands of workers will then set down their own attitude on this vital question.

The conventions mark a turning point in the last two years' history of bitter struggle against overwhelming odds to fight for the existence of their unions. On the ruins of the unions smashed by the attacks of the bosses and the socialist traitors, the workers will at this convention begin building a powerful union which will regain their lost union conditions.

RED POETS HOLD FORTH ON FRIDAY

Big Dance Bacchanal After Readings

Not only will revolutionary poetry be read at the third annual International Red Poets' Night Friday evening, but revolutionary songs will also be on the program. The songs, which will be one of the unique features of the evening, will be sung by Harrison George, of the Daily Worker staff. George will show his versatility by singing in no less than four languages, English, Spanish, Italian and Chinese. In case of emergency it is rumored that he will have a few more languages up his sleeve.

The poetry readings will be preceded by a talk on proletarian literature by Moissaye J. Olgin, editor of The Hammer, who will be chairman of the evening. A list of the poets includes Michael Gold, Joseph Freeman, Martin Ruskak, Henry Reich, Jr., Robert Wolf, James Rorty, Lola Ridge, David Gordon, A. B. Magill, Edwin Rolfe, Langston Hughes, Herman Spector, Martin Feinstein, Moïshe Nadir, H. Leivick, Aron Kutz, A. Pomeranz, H. T. Burlak, and others. H. T. Burlak, J. Sigorich.

Get your tickets now and avoid the rush at the door. You can get them at the business office of the Daily Worker, 26 Union Sq.

Whose MERRY CHRISTMAS?

Woolworth Gifts; "Hurray for Jesus!"

By HARRISON GEORGE Exploring the Christmas of the New York bourgeoisie in its near-up-town haunts, we ventured up Fifth Avenue into the mink-coat, spats and malacca stick region, which begins about 34th Street, Past the Union League Club, home of imbecile Republican millionaires at 39th Street, where doormen speak in whispers, and shaded lights shed a soft glow over octogenarian goundards, we spotted the first top hat at 40th Street.

But we were out to see some "real christians," and entered the Cathedral at 50th and Fifth Avenue, the center of Catholic worship, an enormous and expensive monument to superstition, covering an entire block. Plumb forgot to dip our mit in holy water, just inside. Great nave, held up by fluted columns. High stained glass windows.

Gosh, What a Show! At the far end on a raised place, something like a Gilbert and Sullivan opera was going on under the supervision of Cardinal Hayes, atired in a red dress and lace blouse. Six Chinese mandarins, to judge from their dress, were performing before the high altar, alternately bowing, kneeling, and filing about. All the while intoning sepulchral Latin, which nobody understood, but many listened to semi-hypnotically.

Big Choir of Small Boys About 400-people, petty-bourgeois. Saw one lone worker, blue-shirted, tired looking, come to get his shot of dope.

Piles of printed solicitations here and there, asking \$700,000 as a "Golden Jubilee Offering" to buy a new altar rail, etc. Lots of little locked boxes around the walls: "Offering to the Altar," "Offering and Intentions to St. Anthony." On a side altar a figure that looks exactly like "S." One little box off in the corner: "Offering for the poor? Help of a chance the poor have here. Big American flag hung opposite the high altar. Church and state. Pomp, humbuggery and robbery.

Out on the street again, "Christ in Bethlehem," reads the sign. Bethlehem Steel, maybe. Exclusive shops, customers come by invitation only. Mink coat district. Too bad, most big fish swimming at Palm Beach. What's this? Wyoming Apartment Hotel, Sixth Avenue. Got a front like the U. S. Treasury. Rear Admirals for doormen.

Down to Pennsylvania Hotel. Luxurious foyer. Regiments of bell boys, officered by captains. Want to eat? Grill room in basement. Two dollars cover charge to start with. Dancing from 6:30 to 1:30. Private dining rooms on the mezzanine floor. Tinkling silver, obsequious waiters. Down in the kitchen slaves working 16 hours a day feeding the bourgeoisie who work no hours a day.

The atmosphere oozes wealth. Want theatre tickets? Two agencies here. Beauty specialists. Reduce wadding dowagers' triple-deck chins. Buy bonds here from a broker's office connected with the stock exchange. Hey, boy! How many bonds did you buy out of last week's wages? We float out into the realities of life on 32nd Street. Gimbel's store: "Oriental rugs at unheard-of prices." Right! Never heard of any worker paying \$750 for a piece of carpet 9 feet by 6.

At the Waldorf The dining room of the Waldorf-Astoria at 34th and Fifth Avenue. Why are all the diners old? Symbolic figures of the beef trust, moulting dishes that cost a shop-girl's weekly pay each. Delicacies from the ends of the earth. Female mummies in black and pearl, fingering the silver. Never knew what a day in the shop is like, on your feet Continued on Page Two

Jobless Youth in Line. Number three in line is a young man not more than 21 years old. He wears a fairly new-looking felt hat, a presentable suit and his general appearance is in striking contrast to the bedraggled stiffs in line. His eyes are dull, his skin ashen. What's he doing in the breadline? Well, it's Merry Christmas in the land of Coolidge and Hoover "prosperity."

A block further down is another line outside the Hadley Rescue Mission at 293 Bowery. At 227 Bowery Continued on Page Two

"VISIONS" FOR MINERS

Misleaders Give Poems With Wage Cut

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 25.—Miners' children who will go on short rations and be forced into industry before their time because of the Lewis-Fishwick-Nesbit leadership in this district of the United Mine Workers' of America, were given a booby prize this week in the shape of a book called "Visions," distributed as a Christmas present by the U. M. W. A. to families of miners still forced by the check-off to retain their cards in this company unionized organization. "Visions" is edited by Freda Horner, private secretary of Oscar Ameringer, who is a member of the socialist party, and editor of the official organ of the Lewis machine in this district, a weekly paper called "The Illinois Miner."

By A. B. MAGILL. Christmas came limping along the lower west side of the city yesterday, miserable and ragged, wheezing and panting along Ninth and Tenth Aves., 16th, 17th, 13th Sts., into the homes of dock workers, into the dingy dwellings of Spanish-speaking slaves of the National Biscuit Company that stands at Ninth Ave. and 14th St.

Walk up dark, trembling staircases and knock on the door and a frightened face will look out at you. Somewhere a cheap phonograph will be playing the big hit of three years ago. Children will be playing on the floor, their carefully washed holiday clothes already soiled, their new ten-cent toys already broken.

The father will be lying on the bed sunk in sleep. He is resting up for an entire year of exhausting toil. The mother will be washing the dishes after the Christmas meal. For weeks they had saved and stinted for this day. Now it was over, leaving the same old misery. "Merry Christmas!"

Furnished-Room Life. Workers without families, living in furnished rooms in decaying houses, celebrate Christmas by going to the movies if they aren't broke, by smoking, reading the papers and sleeping. They eat their meals in cheap restaurants which are also celebrating Christmas by jimmying up prices. A coffee pot on Eighth Ave. announces a Christmas dinner for 90 cents. The same dinner costs 60 ordinarily.

Walk over to the east side and you find some more Christmas. Christmas has come to the Bowery with the usual floral decorations—breadlines. Ragged Bowery stiffs, chronic breadliners, mingle with workers out of jobs and starving, waiting long hours outside of missions, Salvation Army headquarters and other helters of god, waiting to get a few ounces of so-called food and a ton of religion boloney flavored with Christmas "cheer" fresh from the tap.

Down-and-Outers. Merry Christmas! The merry Christmas of the down-and-outers, dumped on the garbage-heap of capitalism. The Bowery swarms with them, walking the streets, their hands in their pockets, walking nowhere, just killing time. Evidently not such a merry Christmas. Outside of Zero's Tub at 12 St. Marks Pl. stands a Christmas tree. Mr. Zero is another one of those charitable gentlemen who try to keep the workers' minds 100 percent pure. Charity pays, the bosses find. Inside the hall the down-and-outers wait in line. A "charitable" lady dressed in white lets in a few at a time who are given a bowl of soup and a cup of coffee for a nickel. Lucky stiffs! They actually own a nickel.

Those who don't, wait further down outside of Holy Name Mission at 319 Bowery. At 5:30 the line reaches around the corner nearly half way towards Second Ave. At 6 o'clock the men begin to file in to get their bowl of slop. An hour later they are lulled into insensibility with a free Christmas sermon.

Continued on Page Seven

BOLIVIA BOMBS PARAGUAY ARMY; USES AIRPLANES

Letter to "Mediation" Committee Allows Reparations Talk

Text Not Made Public Answers Questionnaire Means to Prolong War

BULLETIN. ASUNCION, Paraguay, Dec. 25.—Orders were issued by the government today for demobilization of the forces called to the colors during the present crisis. The demobilization was made possible, it was explained, by the acceptance of the mediation offer of the Pan-American Conference at Washington. There is no order yet by the Bolivian government to demobilize, and foreign experts here say that the Paraguayan government is taking a desperate risk in its attempt to prove it is not the aggressor in this conflict.

BUENOS AIRES, Dec. 25 (UP).—The Asuncion correspondent of the newspaper La Prensa reported the receipt today of an official dispatch which stated that Bolivian airplanes flew over Paraguayan troops in recent clashes and dropped four bombs.

One of the bombs, according to the dispatch, exploded but caused no damage. The Bolivians, according to the La Prensa dispatch, also used machine guns upon Paraguayan forts and troops, but no casualties resulted. The unexploded bombs were reported to have been delivered to President Jose Guggiarra of Paraguay yesterday.

Note Received. WASHINGTON, Dec. 25.—Bolivia, after several days' delay, has answered the questionnaire of the Pan-American Conference "for Conciliation and Arbitration" in a way that seems, from the guarded comments made upon it by the diplomats who have read it, to practically follow the line of the Bolivian note five days ago, and to agree to "arbitration" by a committee of the U. S. controlled conference of the question of Paraguay's paying an indemnity for losses sustained by Bolivia during the Bolivian attack on Paraguayan forts recently, but to deny arbitration of the question of ownership of the Gran Chaco.

Draft Protocol. An extraordinary session of the special mediation committee was called for 3 p. m. today to consider the Bolivian and Paraguayan answers. After reading the Bolivian answer, Chairman Maura of Chile agreed with Diez de Medina, Bolivian minister, that it was a favorable document.

After termination of the meeting of the full committee, the Bolivian Continued on Page Seven

POWERS ENSLAVE CHINA WORKERS

Coolie Traffic With the Colonies Exposed

SHANGHAI, Dec. 25.—That virtual enslavement of Chinese coolies by foreign capitalists and a slave trade with colonies are actually in existence today under the Nanjing regime was revealed when two Chinese gunboats were ordered to stop a Spanish ship bearing Chinese workers for service on the Spanish island of Fernando Po.

The Spanish ship is expected to come down the Yang-tse River and make for the colony of Spanish Guinea on the West African Coast. The ship arrived at Tientsin some time ago, where an effort was made to conscript coolies for work in the tropics, but the attempt was unsuccessful. The ship then went to Tsing-tao, where because of the Japanese occupation and the corruption of the Kuomintang officials, a British firm managed to conscript 3,000 Chinese workers, either by force or lying. They were assembled at a barracks at Tsing-tao.

The drafting of the workers permitted to continue by the Cyst officials who received large fees. Conditions in Fernando Po, of the enslaved workers are so taken, are so notoriously bad, as the colonies of other powers, as rica, although they pay for the Chinese traffic, will United Negro workers to go to the Spanish are compe hinese by force.

LETTER OF EXECUTIVE OF THE COMINTERN TO THE AMERICAN PARTY

November 21, 1928.

To the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America:

Dear Comrades: The Political Secretariat has had before it the "Daily Worker" of October 2, containing four documents, including a lengthy statement issued in the name of the Central Executive Committee, headed "The Comintern Decision on the American Question."

The Political Secretariat draws the attention of the C. E. C. to the misleading statements contained in the declaration of the C. E. C. In this declaration the C. E. C. does not put clearly before the Party membership the decisions of the World Congress, its criticism of the Right mistakes of the American Party and the proposals for enlarging the proletarian content of its leadership.

The most characteristic example of this is seen in the following statement contained in your declaration:

"The Opposition has put forward the demand that the Congress should send an Open Letter of criticism to our Party and change its leadership. This demand has been rejected. The Congress has not done this—this is an expression of confidence in the Central Executive Committee. The Comintern is continuing its policy of supporting politically the present Party leadership."

This formulation could easily lead to the interpretation that the Congress has expressly declared its confidence in the majority, in contrast to the minority. But this is not so. The Congress refrained from expressing its opinion in favor of one group or the other. On this question nowhere is there to be found anything in the decisions of the Congress.

The Political Secretariat in its letter of Sept. 7, 1928, acted in accordance with Congress decisions in declaring:

"The Political Secretariat is of the opinion that the charge against the majority of the Central Committee of the Party of representing a Right line is unfounded. The Political Secretariat does not want to imply hereby that some errors, among them Right errors, have not been committed by one side as well as by the other side; it thinks, however, that this, as well as other contentious questions of the Party, can be best examined and decided at the next Party Congress of the Workers Party of America."

The Congress emphasized that the Right danger is the main danger for the American Party. The next Party Congress must investigate the objective sources of the Right danger and the struggle against it, discussing all Party problems from the standpoint of the struggle against the Right danger inside the Party and the social reformist influence among the workers.

The Political Secretariat fears that the various limitations stipulated for the discussion in your declaration, particularly in view of the present situation in your Party, could lead in practice to a false interpretation and inadmissible restriction upon freedom of discussion. The Political Secretariat decided in its session of Nov. 12 that: "There should be complete freedom of discussion within the limits of the decisions of the C. I. and the Party statutes."

Moreover, the Political Secretariat deems it necessary to declare that it will defend the minority from any organizational measures directed against it during the course of the discussion.

To insure a sufficient period of time for discussion the Political Secretariat further decided:

"The Party leadership is recommended to postpone the Party Congress till February, 1929, and to open the Party discussion in the beginning of December of this year."

By postponing the Party Congress the Political Secretariat desires to give the whole membership an ample opportunity to examine and thoroughly discuss all the problems concerning the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

With Communist greetings,
SECRETARY OF THE C. E. C. I.

Declaration of Central Executive Committee on the Comintern Letter of Nov. 21, to the C.E.C.

Declaration of the Central Executive Committee of the Comintern Letter of Nov. 21 to the Central Executive Committee:

The Political Secretariat of the Comintern has sent a letter to the Central Executive Committee of the Party. This letter is published elsewhere in this issue of the Daily Worker. The Central Executive Committee is taking the liberty of presenting this letter not only to the Central Committee members but also to the entire Party membership in order to keep it adequately informed and to help every Party member secure a proper understanding of the relations between the Party and the Communist International.

The Central Executive Committee accepts and endorses without reservations the criticism of the Communist International contained in this letter.

The last Plenum of the Central Committee endorsed this entire letter without reservations. The Foster-Bittelman Opposition, however, refused to vote for the motion to endorse without reservations, this Comintern letter.

The Political Secretariat of the Comintern is correct in stating that the Central Committee declaration of Oct. 2 had formulations which were not sufficiently clear and sharp and were, therefore, misleading. In this declaration the Central Executive Committee did not place with sufficient emphasis the criticism of the Right mistakes in the Party and the pressing need for the speediest enlargement of the "proletarian content" of the Party's leadership.

The Central Executive Committee regrets the impression of self-praise given in its declaration of Oct. 2.

We fully accept the criticism of the Comintern and declare that the Communist International is correct in stating that at the Sixth World Congress no action was taken toward giving an estimation of the previous or present groups as groups in the American Party. The Party's errors and achievements were estimated solely from the viewpoint of the Party as a Party, as a section of the Communist International. It is in this light that the World Congress declared:

"The Workers (Communist) Party of America has displayed more lively activity and has taken advantage of the symptoms of crisis in American industry and the growth of unemployment (caused by the extremely rapid rise in the organic composition of capital and the development of the technique of production). A number of stubborn and fierce class battles (primarily the

miners' strike) found in the Communist Party a stalwart leader. The campaign against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was also conducted under the leadership of the Party, within which is observed a slackening of the long standing factional struggle. While recording successes, however, reference must be made to a number of Right mistakes committed in connection with the socialist party; to the fact that the Party has not with sufficient energy conducted work for the organization of the unorganized, and to the fact that it fails to carry on a sufficiently impressive struggle, against the predatory policy of the United States in Latin America. These mistakes, however, cannot be ascribed exclusively to the majority leadership."

This estimation of the Party, its work, its errors and its tasks was given by the World Congress of the Communist International and must serve as the guiding line for the entire Party.

The Central Executive Committee welcomes the Comintern's reaffirmation in its last letter of the following decision made by the Political Secretariat of the Communist International on Sept. 7:

"The Political Secretariat is of the opinion that the charge against the Majority of the Central Executive Committee of the Party of representing a Right line is unfounded. The Political Secretariat does not want to imply thereby that some errors, among them Right errors, have not been committed by one side as well as by the other side; it thinks, however, that this, as well as other contentious questions of the Party can be best examined and decided at the next Party Congress of the Workers Party of America."

This decision is in full accord with the line of the Sixth World Congress toward the Workers (Communist) Party, as shown by the following declaration in the Nov. 21 letter of the Political Secretariat of the Comintern:

"The Political Secretariat in its letter of Sept. 7, 1928, acted in accordance with the Congress decision in making the above declaration."

The Central Committee is of the opinion that all these decisions: (1) The World Congress Thesis on the United States, (2) The Political Secretariat decision of Sept. 7, (3) The Political Secretariat letter of Nov. 21, together constitute the line of the Comintern for the American Party and that the unreserved acceptance of all of these decisions by the entire Party would go a long way toward com-

pleting the unification of our ranks. In this connection it is very unfortunate that the Foster-Bittelman Opposition entertains reservations to all three of these Communist International documents.

The Central Executive Committee has acknowledged and corrected the error it committed in its October 2nd statement in not taking up sufficiently the manifestations of the Right danger in our Party. Since then, in the Party discussion to date, the various Central Committee declarations (Nov. 16, Dec. 3, Dec. 7), the recent Party Plenum resolutions and decisions, have had as their central feature the investigation of "the objective source of the Right danger" and the mobilization for an energetic struggle against "The Right danger inside our Party and the social reformist influence among the workers." The Central Committee holds that the main danger before the Workers (Communist) Party is the Right danger.

We are in full accord with the proposal of the Political Secretariat for "complete freedom of discussion within the limits of the decisions of the Comintern and the Party statutes." On November 14, two weeks before the Convention Call was issued, the Central Executive Committee had adopted this policy as shown in the following decision of the Political Committee:

"The Political Committee desires to organize the freest possible discussion throughout the whole Party, giving full possibilities to the Minority to present their viewpoint before the entire Party membership and gives all guarantees for fair and adequate arrangements in all matters concerning the Party convention. "That the discussion be conducted on the freest possible basis giving all possible opportunities to comrades in Opposition to the Central Committee solely limited by the statutes of the Comintern and within the principles of Communism."

In practice the Central Committee has gone even further than the measure provided for by the Comintern letter of Nov. 21. Not only has the Opposition been permitted "complete freedom of discussion within the limits of the decisions of the Comintern" but the Opposition has been granted the right to express its views even against the decisions of the Comintern World Congress on such basic questions as the estimation of the world role of American imperialism, of the perspectives for mass struggles in the United States.

We are likewise in full agreement with the recommendation of the E. C. C. I. for the holding of the Party convention in February. In order to secure sufficient time for Party discussion and to give the whole membership adequate opportunity to examine the problems

confronting our Party, the Political Committee has unanimously agreed to advance the convention date from Jan. 6 to Feb. 1 and to open the discussion on Dec. 1.

The Central Committee assures the Comintern that no organizational measures are being taken or were even contemplated being taken, during the course of the discussion.

The Central Committee assures the Comintern and the entire Party membership that in accepting without reservation this justified criticism of its mistakes it will not stop short merely at correcting these errors, but will redouble its efforts to make impossible the recurrence of such errors.

Comrades! The Opposition in its thesis has hailed the November 21 letter of the Communist International Political Secretariat as a new decision at variance with the Congress decision and with the Communist International Political Secretariat decision of Sept. 7 on the American Party. If that were so, then let the Opposition make clear to the membership why it refuses to drop its reservations to this C. I. letter of Nov. 21, as well as to the C. I. Congress and Sept. 7 C. I. Political Secretariat decisions on the American questions? The entire membership must put the following questions to the Opposition:

Why do you comrades of the Foster-Bittelman Opposition persist in having reservations to all Communist International decisions?

The Central Committee appeals to the Foster-Bittelman Opposition to change its present course of continually maintaining reservations towards Communist International decisions and to accept this letter of the Communist International, as well as all other decisions, without any reservations whatsoever. The Central Committee calls upon the entire Party membership, the supporters of the Foster-Bittelman Opposition, as well as the supporters of the Central Committee, to accept and endorse this letter and all other decisions of the Comintern without any reservations.

For a full and unreserved acceptance of Comintern decisions! For an energetic execution of all decisions of the Communist International!

For merciless self-criticism of errors of the Central Committee and the Party as a whole! For a unified mass Communist Party!

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
Workers (Communist) Party of America.

TWO MORE U. S. LINES CUT RATE

War to Drive Britain From Cuba Continues

The only other two American lines operating passenger ships thru the winter between New York and Havana have cut their fares to equal those of the Ward Line, and thus take part in the competition backed by the U. S. shipping board, intended to drive British shipping from this part of the seas.

The shipping board last week initiated a war to the death against British shipping on this run when it loaned the government steamer President Roosevelt to the Ward line, and the latter at once cut its Havana fare to about \$25 below that of the British-owned Cunard line.

U. S. Challenges

At the time this was done, the head of the shipping board declared publicly that this was "an American run" and that British ships would not be allowed on it. This is considered another battle in the general commercial and economic conflict between British and American imperialism, and a long step towards military conflict.

The two American lines added to the struggle are the United Fruit Co., which runs to Havana weekly with the steamers Ulua, Tolosa and Pastores, and the Munson line which runs the Monomar.

The Cunard line had not cut its fares to meet U. S. competition today, but Sir T. Ashley Sparks, American director of the Cunard, intimated yesterday that it might do so soon.

Two Dictators Signify Unity of Bloody Terror

CARACAS, Venezuela, Dec. 25.—The bloody dictator of Venezuela, Gomez, has recognized his blood-relation, General Primo de Rivera, dictator of Spain.

He has signified the unity of Spanish and Venezuelan terror and dollars by awarding the Grand Cord of the Order of the Liberator upon the Spanish dictator.

ENGLISH MILL WAGE CUT. LONDON, (By Mail).—W. and J. Slingsby, cotton manufacturers of Carleton, have reduced the wages of the 300 operatives there 10 per cent.

Whose Merry Christmas?

By HARRISON GEORGE
(Continued from Page One)
12 hours, with a floor boss bullying you for fifteen dollars a week.

Well, what of it? Did not Morgan tell Frank P. Walsh once, on the witness stand of the Industrial Relations Commission: "If a man works for me for \$10 a week, and that's all he can get, that's all he deserves." Right! But if he wants to get more he must organize and fight like hell.

End of a Perfect Day! Sure thing! Up at Ziegfeld's after dinner, bourgeois eats "dinner" in the evening, differing in time, place, quantity and quality, from the noon "dinner" of the workers, they go to see Edna Ferber's "Show Boat." Flo guarantees his beauties. Six dollars and sixty cents a seat. Curtain!

Radio Workers' Ass'n in Dance at Stuyvesant Casino This Saturday

When the Wizz Manufacturing Company attempted to lengthen the hours of its badly exploited employees, the workers spontaneously united and successfully resisted this new encroachment by their bosses. This united group formed the nucleus of what is now the Radio Workers' Association of Greater New York, which is conducting an intensive organizational drive among the unorganized radio workers in this city and its vicinity.

This new union is launching its drive in an industry which has already acquired reputation for paying fabulous profits to the coupon clippers at its head. "This piling up of gold by the bosses," said the organizer of the association yesterday, "is possible only because of the severe and continued exploitation of the unorganized factory workers. In scattered groups they are defenseless and cannot hope to fight the million dollar corporations. As they are they must accept their miserable conditions. The Radio Workers' Association holds out to them the promise of a powerful union, one that will be able to dictate demands for more pay, better conditions."

This Saturday at Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St. and Second Ave., the Association will hold a unity social for all radio workers. There will be a snappy jazz band, a free raffle for a gold watch, and a great variety of entertainment.

W. I. R. to Give Movie Benefit Performance This Sunday Afternoon

By A. B. MAGIL
(Continued from Page One)

is the Salvation Army mission and another line. A sign announces a full-course Christmas dinner from 2 to 5, then a Christmas sermon by Rev. John R. Henry, pastor, then a Christmas tree party, then... back again to the old hopeless life.

It was Christmas in New York City yesterday. Deluded workers tried to kid themselves into happy dreams and a holiday mood. Today they face again the reality of wage-cut, speed-up, long hours, no money to pay the grocer, no rent for the landlord, sickness, misery and all the other blessings of the capitalist god.

Merry Christmas? Merry Christmas, hell!

USSR RADIO TIMEPIECE

Regulates Clocks, Watches from Center

SMOLENSK, U.S.S.R. (By Mail).—All clocks can now register the correct hour and where previously hundreds of church bells could be heard minutes apart in tsarist Russia, now all steeple clocks will do up their hours in unison.

This is made possible by the invention of a young mechanic in Rostov, named Zlotnikov, who has devised a radio-clock which can control all other clocks properly adapted to it. One can imagine this radio-clock placed in one of the old steeples of the Kremlin in Moscow, regulating thousands of clocks in public institutions, private homes and even small pocket watches and wrist watches.

All clocks and watches, properly adjusted to respond to the central radio-clock, will show an absolutely exact and synchronized time.

Soviet Gas Fountain in Kokand Increases

KOKAND, U. S. S. R. (By Mail).—The powerful fountain of gas which burst recently in the oil works in Kokand is still gushing plentifully. At present the fountain gives about 170,000 cubic meters of gas daily.

We demand the immediate recognition of Soviet Union by the United States government!

5th Anniversary Celebration

Daily Worker

at

MANHATTAN OPERA HOUSE

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JANUARY 5, 1929



ISADORA DUNCAN DANCERS

From Moscow, Soviet Russia, in program of Revolutionary Dances—Symphony Orchestra

Speakers: JAY LOVESTONE, WM. Z. FOSTER, BOB MINOR and others

Admission: \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50. All Seats Reserved. On sale at The Daily Worker Office, 26 Union Square, New York.

3rd ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL RED POETS' NIGHT

DANCE-BAGGIANAL

Manhattan Lyceum
66 E. 4th St.

75c

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

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 Russak,
- Edwin Rolfe,
- David Gordon,
- Lola Ridge,
- Arturo Giovannitti,
- Moishe Nadir,
- H. Leivick,
- T. Tsiang,
- many others.

which means that the revolutionary poets of various nationalities appear December 28 read from their work.

THESES OF C. E. C. OF WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

On the Economic and Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party

HEADLONG TO THE NEW WORLD WAR.

The most outstanding feature of the recent development of the international situation determining the course of the policies of the United States is the unprecedented rapid growth of Anglo-American antagonism. The menace of a second world war is looming up bigger than ever before since 1914. The many-sided antagonism on all fronts between Great Britain and the United States of America is today the axis of the imperialist world situation just as the antagonism between Germany and Great Britain was in 1914. A whole series of events have proved the absolute correctness of the analysis of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International:

"The transference of the economic center of capitalism from Europe to America and the growing efforts of Europe, now recovered and trusted to liberate herself from the economic domination of the United States... cannot but lead in the final analysis to another explosion."

The tremendous growth of the power of American imperialism, the all-round technical revolution which is taking place in the United States, the acceleration of the development of the monopolistic tendencies of capitalism in America bring into bold relief the growing disproportion between the economic growth and power of American imperialism and its "lack" of colonies and its "insufficient" military preparedness. The economic decline of British imperialism is in sharp contrast with the political power of the British Empire, with its huge colonial monopoly. The final struggle between the two imperialist giants to "solve" this disproportion is inevitable and can only be consummated by the one means capitalism knows to solve its contradictions—by force, by war.

The export of American capital was and is the basis for European stabilization of capitalism. The investment of billions of American capital in Europe have proved to be veritable dragon-teeth for American imperialism; sown, they spring up in the form of a harvest of renewed technique, increased trustification, growth of armaments of the European powers directed against American imperialism.

The Anglo-French alliance was renewed, uniting the biggest navy on the seas with the biggest army in the world, directed first and foremost against the most powerful American imperialism. Great Britain and Japan get together in an agreement over China which turns its edge not only against the Soviet Union but also against the United States. A new attempt, more intensive than ever before, is being made to rearrange reparations and international debts, in order to bring about a united front of all imperialist debtor powers against the world creditor, the United States. Tariff conflicts are arising everywhere. The United States government is making preparations to increase its already high tariff, which is one of the most aggressive weapons of American imperialism against its competitors. Under the pretext of "safeguarding" weak industries Great Britain is gradually introducing a protective tariff system. There is a reappearance of the tariff quarrel between America and France.

United States imperialism is taking decisive steps toward a complete domination of Latin America. The conquest of the Chinese market plays a growing role in the reckoning of American imperialism. The recognition of the bloody Nanking government of the Chinese bourgeoisie is not only a blow directed against Great Britain and Japan but aims especially at subduing the workers' and peasants' revolution in China, which is slowly but surely gathering its forces. The growing resistance against the domination of British imperialism is shown by maturing forces of the colonial revolution in India.

The bulwark of the proletarian world revolution, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, is making big headway in building up Socialism, in the realization of industrialization, in the collectivization of agriculture, in its cultural reorganization. At the same time the counter-revolutionary, imperialist forces are everywhere preparing for an attack against the Workers' Republic: the exposure of the French military plots with Poland and the Balkans; the formation of the Anglo-German bankers' committee for a financial boycott of the Soviet Union; the statement of Kellogg against the recognition of Soviet Russia; the international campaign of wild rumors and slanders about peasant revolts; Ukrainian secession, and Party split in the Soviet Union. The international labor movement shows a marked tendency of the swinging of the masses to the left; at the same time a moving to the right of the reformist trade-union bureaucracy and renegade social democracy. In America the tendency toward the complete transformation of the American Federation of Labor into an important war machine of American imperialism has become an accomplished fact. The A. F. of L. serves today as the model for the whole capitalist world as a machine to poison the minds of the working class. The tendency toward the complete transformation of the socialist party of America into a petty-bourgeois organization has now become an accomplished fact. Despite its ebb and flow, unemployment remains a permanent, chronic phenomenon, an organic defect of world imperialism.

The "conservative landslide," the big temporary victory of finance capital achieved by the election of Hoover, marks a turning point in the life of American imperialism. The "Hoover era" means the consummation of gigantic war plans, the unheard-of growth of imperialist antagonisms, hostility towards the Soviet Union, the final attempt to complete the conquest of Latin America, arousing the growing resistance of the Latin American people, increased attempts at financial penetration and partition of China, increased bribing of the labor aristocracy, and increased attacks against the working class. The "new Hooverian age" means the tremendous growth of general capitalist reaction, the sharpening of outer and inner contradictions, the sharpening of the class struggle, the growing discontent and resistance of the proletarian masses.

THE UNITED STATES STRUGGLE FOR COMPLETE WORLD HEGEMONY

1. The Sharpening of Anglo-American Antagonism. Nothing characterizes more clearly the whole imperialist world situation than the sharpening and deepening of the struggle between British and American imperialism. This fight for the domination of the world occupies the central place in the whole capitalist world situation. The struggle for the redistribution of the world market, of the colonies, of the sources of raw material, and of military means is going on feverishly in every corner of the world on every issue. Rubber, cotton, oil are playing the principal role in this fight. The British-American oil struggle is the bitterest war of competition ever known in the history of imperialism. The newly revived struggle over reparations and inter-allied debts is first and foremost a struggle between British and American imperialism. Great Britain endeavors to expose the United States in its real role as the Uncle Snylock of the world. America tries to arouse "moral indignation" against the European governments which are arming themselves with America's money. Great Britain is making desperate efforts to keep up with the United States in the export of capital. But American imperialism is crowding out Great Britain in every section of the world from Latin America to Poland and the Balkans. Great Britain is suffering the heaviest losses in its influence and trade in Latin America. The United States is paying increased attention to Africa, invades even India, and weakens increasingly the chain which links the Dominions to the British Empire. Canada is already virtually an American possession. The struggle for Australia has only begun.

An increasingly furious race for bigger navies and more powerful armaments is developing on the basis of the economic rivalries. Since the failure of the Geneva conference naval competition between Great Britain and the United States and between the second rank of the great powers—Japan, France, Italy—is on the order of the day. America, with her newly won economic supremacy, wants to overthrow Great Britain's naval supremacy. Blow follows blow in this struggle. The Anglo-French naval accord against the United States was answered by the American note, which is unquestionably the sharpest diplomatic document since the world war. The tenth anniversary of the Armistice was celebrated by Coolidge with the sharpest war speech of recent years. The speech was justly characterized as an "ultimatum to Europe," and this imperialist ultimatum was backed up by the statement of the General Board of the Navy declaring for the most complete policies of naval preparedness. The Naval Board proclaimed the principle of an American navy second to none, but Coolidge's speech went even one step further, demanding the biggest navy for America. Coolidge's last message and last budget submitted to Congress—a worthy crown to the presidential career of the president-strikebreaker—pleads for the most powerful air fleet and contains the hugest appropriations for the army, navy, and aviation.

Submitted by Comrades Gitlow, Lovestone and Pepper.

Adopted by the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee, December 19, 1928.

SUMMARY OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE THESES

"Headlong to the new world war"—this is the keynote of the thesis of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party.

The main features of the thesis are as follows:

1. The United States struggles for complete world hegemony.

1. The sharpening of Anglo-American antagonisms.
2. Attempts at subjugation of Latin America.
3. Fight for the Far-Eastern markets.

2. The delayed economic crisis.

1. The industrial revolution in the South.
2. Intensified exploitation of Latin America.
3. Increased foreign trade with Europe.

3. Structural changes in American economy.

The most important trends analyzed here are: technical revolution; electrification; transformation of transportation; establishment of new industries; capitalist offensive against the workers; accumulation, concentration and centralization of capital; competition between industries; development of two kinds of profit; installment selling in the retail trade and hand to mouth buying in the wholesale trade; organization of the world trade apparatus; extension of finance capital; trustification of banking; growing rentier class.

4. Organic chronic unemployment.

Simultaneously the big imperialist robber powers are erecting a smoke-screen of pacifist phrases, "good-will" speeches, get-together meetings, treaties of "friendship." The League of Nations continues to fulfill its historic mission of deceiving the toiling masses, constituting, under the pretext of an instrument of peace, the tool of the interests of British imperialism. The Kellogg Pact is the American counterpart of the European League of Nations. The Kellogg Pact is the most infamous world-historic fact: it is the quintessence of bourgeois pacifism, which—varying Marx's words—is the modern "opium of the people." Under the cover of the pacifist smoke-screen there are already being formed new alliances of the imperialist powers for the coming world war. The Anglo-French alliance is supplemented by an Anglo-Japanese agreement. The United States is trying to mobilize her vassal states, the puppet governments of Latin America. The struggle is already on to win the support of Germany. The fight on the reparations question is to no small extent a fight for enlisting the revived German imperialism as an ally. The much-vaunted English-American "cooperation" belongs to the past. The jingoist dream of the blood brotherhood of the big English-speaking nations has been replaced by a sober awakening to open hostility. The common English language serves not as a bond but as a means of clearer expression of imperialist antagonism. The old pacifist babble that "war is unthinkable" between the "Anglo-Saxon" nations is replaced by open war talk, which shows that the jingo imperialist elements of both countries are doing nothing but thinking about war. In answer to Coolidge's preposterous ultimatum to Europe the British capitalist press already compares him to Kaiser Wilhelm; and Field-Marshal Robertson already likens America's present attitude to that of Germany in 1914. Anglo-American rivalry has already manifested itself as a tendency during the last few years, but now this basic antagonism of the imperialist world appears without any camouflage in open hostility in the sharpest possible form. United States imperialism plays the most aggressive role in this struggle. It fights not only for a navy second to none but for the largest navy in the world. It fights now openly for the supremacy of the seas. It aims at the destruction of the British Empire. The growing power of American imperialism is today the greatest menace for the world. It is the first and foremost factor for a new world war. It leads inevitably to the greatest catastrophe.

2. Attempt at Subjugation of Latin America. United States imperialism is concentrating its efforts on consummating a complete economic and political domination over the Latin-American countries. It is wiping out in an increasing degree all foreign competition from Latin America. It uses all means of imperialist brutality and bribery to break down the resistance of the nationalist movements in the Latin-American countries. It is attempting to turn Latin America into an outpost of American imperialism against other imperialist powers. Large sections of Latin America are already colonies and semi-colonies of the United States, but the new aggressive policy of United States imperialism attempts to transform Latin America as a whole into colonial hinterland of American capitalism. The Monroe Doctrine, which serves to keep out competition of other imperialist powers from Latin America, is being supplemented by the new "Hoover doctrine," which is the cloak for the complete conquest of Latin America.

A wide range of methods is being used by United States imperialism to accomplish its domination; brazenly open military occupation, setting up of puppet governments, deals with the native bourgeoisie or with parts of the native bourgeoisie, bribing through loans, increased investments, supervision of elections, open interventions, virtual annexations, complete annexations, Pan-American conferences (including those of the Pan-American Federation of Labor) to forge all American countries together under the leadership of the United States against Europe. United States imperialism is persistently and rapidly pushing out the economic and political influence of Great Britain from Latin America, and is assuming more and more a monopolistic position in expropriating the natural resources of Latin America. Hoover's Latin-American tour is the summing up of the new aggressive policies of United States imperialism toward Latin America.

Hand in hand with the growth of United States aggressiveness in Latin America goes the growth there of the forces of mass resistance. The governments and political parties of the national bourgeoisie in the Latin-American countries are making in an increasing degree compromises with United States imperialism. In many cases the governments are but open agencies of United States capitalism. But even those national governments which have not yet sold out to Washington manifest an attitude of vacillation and cowardice and betray in a growing degree not only the interests of the workers and peasants but the national independence of the Latin-American countries. The selling out by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Latin-American governments increase the independent fight of the workers and peasants. Workers' organizations, peasants' leagues, student leagues, branches of the Anti-Imperialist League spring up everywhere. Sandino's small but heroic army still holds out against 7,000 marines of United States imperialism equipped with the most up-to-date killing machinery after more than a year and one-half of fighting. The struggle of the Communist Parties in Latin America is gaining momentum. The Communist Parties of Cuba and Paraguay, the socialist party of Ecuador, the revolutionary socialist party of Colombia, joined the ranks of the Communist International at the recent Sixth World Congress. The brave strike struggle of the 30,000

5. The Hoover election—a victory of capitalist reaction.

1. Class relations on the eve of the elections.
2. Relations of the political parties.
3. Causes of the Hoover victory.
4. Outstanding features of the political struggle and the resistance of mass forces, the trend of radicalization.
5. Changing class basis and function of parties.

6. State capitalistic tendencies.

7. The fraud of capitalist "conquest of poverty."

8. Military preparedness and pacifism.

9. Fight against social reformism and for a mass Communist Party.

10. Problems, achievements, shortcomings, and tasks of the Party.

Under this chapter the following subjects are analyzed: organization of the unorganized and trade union work; election campaign; struggle against social reformism, work among the Negroes; labor party; unemployment; work among farmers; Party organization; ideological level; work among women; Young Workers League; Labor Defense; Cooperatives; Party Unity.

11. Struggle against the Right danger and Trotskyism.

12. Contradictions of American capitalism—outlook for struggle and the Party's basic line. Need for Party unity.

Colombian fruit workers—their determined resistance against the joint attempts of the American United Fruit Company and the troops of the Colombian Government, the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations in Latin America, and the protests against Hoover's imperialist visit—are other signs of the growing spirit of militancy and resistance. The concentrated attempt of United States imperialism to transform Latin America into the hinterland of American capitalism is setting into motion powerful forces against United States imperialism, forces of the nationalist movements of the 80,000,000 people of Latin America, forces of the workers and peasants. United States imperialism, in increasing its power by the conquest of Latin America, is itself creating the forces which help to undermine the very foundations of its power. The most recent clash between the so many times "definitely defeated" Sandino, the bloody struggles in Magdalena Province of Colombia, the armed clash between Bolivia and Paraguay—manifest clearly the actual presence of imperialist "colonial" war as well as the increasing danger of World War growing out of the aggressive policies of United States imperialism.

3. Fight for the Far-Eastern Markets. The conquest of the Chinese market is the foremost aim of American imperialism in the Far East. A combination of direct military intervention for the partition of China and cooperation with the Chinese bourgeoisie is the main feature of the policies of American imperialism in China today. The concentrated struggle of all imperialist powers against each other, the united struggle of all imperialist powers against American imperialism, the regroupings of alliances—Anglo-Japanese agreement against the United States, but American-Japanese understanding for the financial penetration of Manchuria—characterize the various maneuvers of the imperialist powers. United States recognition of the Nanking government, which is covered from top to bottom with the blood of the Chinese workers and peasants, the appointment of American economic and financial experts and advisors, aim to secure a growing share of China's markets and raw materials for American capitalism.

In the Philippines American exploitation is rapidly growing. The open military rule of General Wood is being replaced by the Stimson Plan, which is based upon the bribing of the upper stratum of the native bourgeoisie. The general policy is the dropping of all bars to American imperialism, the abolition and annulment of the land restriction law, the establishment of huge rubber plantations, the incorporation of the native bourgeoisie in the imperialist system—these are the newest "achievements" of American capitalism.

But, on the other hand, there is a growing movement of protest against the increasing penetration of the Philippines by American imperialism and the betrayal of the cause of Philippine independence by the native bourgeoisie. There is a growing cooperation between the revolutionary movement led by the Communists in the Philippines and the forces of the Chinese Revolution and the Red International of Labor Unions.

THE DELAYED ECONOMIC CRISIS

The spokesmen of American capitalism boast about the "invincibility" of American prosperity. A whole series of theories are being put forward to "explain" the "miraculous secret" of American capitalism, which in the midst of an ebb and flow of prosperity and crisis in the other capitalist countries is able to maintain its uninterrupted prosperity. "Theoreticians" of American capitalism are even going so far as to assert that conscious measures of trustified capital, planned interventions of the Federal Reserve Bank, "high wages" can prevent the recurrence of industrial crises. The crisis which would put at least a temporary end to American prosperity has already been due for quite a long period. But it has been delayed, though by no means prevented as apologists of imperialism maintain. It is necessary to give an account of the reasons for this delay.

The 1920-21 crisis, which shook the foundations of American capitalism, was followed by a period of prosperity, which lasted from 1921 to 1924. Then, in the middle of 1924, there followed a short-lived depression, which was replaced by renewed prosperity, which lasted from the second half of 1924 until the middle of 1927. Then a depression set in. The resolution of the May, 1928, plenum of the CEC gave the following evaluation of the depression:

"Though the depression gives every evidence of continuing for some time and though there are many indications of the tendency to deepen the present depression and develop an industrial crisis, there are insufficient facts at hand to indicate today that we are facing a crisis of the dimensions of the 1921 crisis."

But at the time the May Plenum resolution was written the depression had already reached its bottom and a new upward trend had begun. Since March, 1928, the volume of production has been steadily increasing. The depression did not develop immediately into a crisis, but was transformed into a new wave of prosperity. But it would be wrong to say that it is an all-around prosperity. The coal and textile industries are still lagging behind. Agriculture is in many respects in bad shape. But the fact remains that the 1927 depression did not develop into an industrial crisis. The crisis has been delayed, but, despite all the babble of the capitalist theoreticians and bankers, the crisis has not been prevented, and the recent breakdown of the New York Stock Exchange is perhaps the first storm signal of the new devastating cyclone.

The following three reasons are mainly responsible for the delaying of the crisis:

1. The chief reason is the rapid industrialization of the South.
2. Intensified exploitation of Latin America.
3. Increased foreign trade with Europe.

1. The industrial revolution in the South. The extremely rapid industrialization of the South—which has been going on for the last score of years, but which very recently is being accelerated with an unprecedented speed—is first and foremost responsible for the delaying of the industrial crisis. The industrial revolution in the South, which amounts to the creation of a new Ruhr of America, was not sufficiently evaluated by those analyses which predicted the early coming of the crisis. The industrialization of the South worked in the following three ways:

1. It created an outlet for the "export" of capital from the northern capitalist centers of the United States.
2. It opened up a tremendous market of 40,000,000 population for manufactured products of the trusts of the northeast.
3. Based on cheap labor and water power, a most modern large-scale industry has been established in the South which has increased the competitive capacity of the United States in the world market.

The first period of the industrialization of the South assumed the character of developing an extensive light industry, first of all textile. The present, second period is of a different character. Its main feature is the building up of heavy industries—coal, oil, potash, electrical power, machinery, especially heavy transmission machinery. The significance of the industrial revolution in the South can be correctly estimated only if the former "colonial" character of the South is taken into proper consideration. Before the industrial revolution the Solid South—with its Negro share-croppers, half-feudal, half-slave conditions, big plantation owners, its political system still bearing the earmarks of the period of slavery—constituted virtually a colony within the body of the United States of America. (Large sections, which are not touched by the new industrial revolution, still have in many respects a colonial status, despite the fact that they are embodied within the most powerful imperialist country in the world.)

The industrialization of the northeast of the United States was based on coal and steam. The new industrial revolution in the South is based on water power and electricity. The industrialization of the northeast assumed the form of building individual factories, and only in a later stage of development did company towns, mill cities, mining camps crystallize around the plants. The industrial revolution in the South starts out with the building of whole factory towns, mill villages, and industrial cities.

Glorified company towns for the workers with all the sophistications of the most modern methods of exploitation and complete tax-exemption for the capitalists—this is the situation in the industrialized South. Cities, advertising, offer to new industries: "ample American labor; freedom from strikes." The American-Plan, open-shop conference, held November 15-17, 1928, emphasized proudly: "The South is a mighty bulwark in defense of the American open shop."

A new working class has been created in the South, almost entirely American, English-speaking. The eastern division of native-born and foreign-born labor is replaced in the South by a division between Negro and white workers. The capitalists are doing everything to intensify prejudices against the Negroes in the minds of the white workers. The proletariat of the South receives the lowest wages, works the longest hours, is enslaved in every respect. The last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at New Orleans, started a fake organizational drive to embrace the workers of the South. The labor bureaucracy will never seriously tackle the question of the organization of the South, which is one of the biggest problems for the American working class. The first effect on the American working class of the industrialization of the South—the shifting of the center of the coal and textile production to the South—was the breakdown of union conditions in the older central coal fields and the endless series of wage cuts for the textile workers in New England. But this is only the first effect. In the long run the industrialization of the South, the creation of a huge, new proletariat in the Southern section of the country will strengthen immensely the power of the American working class and will play a decisive role in the overthrow of American capitalism.

2. Intensified exploitation of Latin America. The second cause of the delaying of the crisis has been the increased exploitation of Latin America by the United States. Recent developments have shown an unprecedented opening-up of the Latin-American countries, which are becoming increasingly integral parts of the world market. The direct effect of this on the economic conditions of the United States were:

1. Possibilities for an unprecedented increase of export of capital.
2. Rapid growth of export of industrial commodities.

The growth of the export trade to the Latin-American countries has had all the greater effect on the economic situation of the United States because it consists first of all of manufactured goods, in a much larger degree than the United States exports to Europe. The export of United States capital to Latin America is characterized by the following two features:

1. It is directed more and more to corporation investments and not to State loans. In other words, it flows into production and not to cover expenses of armaments or armies.

2. It does not serve to establish manufacturing, but is invested in the opening up of natural resources (minerals, oil, etc.) In other words, it does not create a competing manufacturing industry. Quite the contrary: it opens the way for the export of United States manufactured commodities.

3. Increased foreign trade with Europe. The present relative stabilization of Europe has been achieved by American capital and is maintained by further American capital export. Stabilization of European currencies was completed through the recent export of over \$500,000,000 gold. The reestablishment of the gold basis of European currencies increases the possibilities of purchasing manufactured commodities of the United States by the European countries.

These three factors have been mainly responsible for the prolongation of the present industrial prosperity, for the liquidation of the 1927 depression, and for the delaying of the crisis. These factors have made possible the opening up of new markets to keep pace with increased production—despite the tremendous growth of the forces of production, the general increase in the productive capacity of American industries, the intensive rationalization and speed-up, and the continual introduction of improved labor-saving machinery and other devices of mass production.

The opening up of the South as a new market and place for capital investment, the growth of the Latin-American market, the possibilities of an increased export to Europe, show that American capitalism has not yet exhausted all its reserves, that it has been able to overcome, temporarily, the shrinkage of the home market and to increase extensively its hold on the world market. The crisis has been delayed, but it has not been prevented.

The present prosperity itself creates the factors which will precipitate the crisis: the wild stock exchange speculation, which is reaching its climax in the "Hoover boom"; the wide extension of credit; the "sick" industries, like coal and textile, which already suffer a crisis of growth; the very extension of installment buying, which will make the crisis when it comes deeper and more general; the very industrialization of the South, which, with its powerful growth of forces of production, will be one of the most effective competing factors; the disproportion between production and consumption, which is part of the general anarchy, of the general disproportion of the various branches of capitalist production; the gap between industry and agriculture, which is still wide and is getting wider, despite the technical progress in agriculture; consumption limitations of the toiling farmers and workers; the increased competition of foreign powers in every corner of the world market—all these factors work together to contract the market for American imperialism and to bring about the next crisis.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN AMERICAN ECONOMY

Deep-going structural changes are taking place in the capitalist system of America. These changes are partly the results of the structural changes in the world system of capitalism, of the shifting of the economic center of the world from Europe to the United States; partly they grow out of the inherent inner contradictions of American capitalism. The most important features of these structural changes in American economy are the following:

A powerful technical revolution is taking place in the United States.

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U. S. Imperialist War Flames in Latin America; Imperialist World War Threatens

(Continued From Preceding Page)

States, a tremendous rationalization, an increase in the forces of production, which in its effects can be compared to a second industrial revolution.

Electrification.—The erection of super-power plants; extension of public utilities. Not only in economies but in politics public utilities play today the same dominating role railroads played in the first industrial revolution.

Development and Transformation of Transportation.—New railroad lines; electrification of railroads; the tremendous development of autobus traffic—autobus mileage already exceeds railroad mileage; inland waterways; commercial air traffic; combination of air and railroad lines.

Establishment of New Industries. like the chemical and artificial silk industry; intensified methods of utilizing coal and oil; the extension of all methods of mass production from isolated industries to all industries; mechanization and intensification of agriculture; shifting of industries to sources of raw material or power; industrial use of agricultural products.

Capitalist Offensive Against the Workers.—To lower the standard of living of the working class, to wipe out the last remnants of trade unionism, to degrade the workers into tools of capitalist rationalization; increased exploitation of labor everywhere through a whole system of speed-up, stop-watch group piece-work, bonus system, efficiency engineering, conveyor travelling-belt system, wage cuts, injunctions, spy system, open-shop drive, company unions, trade union capitalism.

Accumulation, Concentration and centralization of Capital is taking place at a greater tempo than in any other capitalist country. Unceasing trustification in the form of mergers not only in individual corporations into trusts, but of the largest trusts into gigantic super-trusts, investment trusts. Trustification of production goes hand in hand with the trustification of communication and transportation. Growing extension of rationalization and trustification in the field of distribution, which amounts to a revolution in the methods of distribution in the form of chain stores and chain department stores.

New Kind of Competition.—Not so much within the individual industries as between the industries, steel vs. lumber; electricity and oil vs. coal; aluminum vs. iron; rayon vs. silk.

The development of two kinds of rate of profit—a lower rate for small undertakings and a higher rate for the large trusts, as brought out in bold relief by the last income tax figures or corporations.

Installment selling in retail trade and hand-to-mouth buying in wholesale trade.—Hand-to-mouth buying was made possible by the recent acceleration of methods of communication and transport.

One of the most significant features of the present economic life of the United States is the organization of a world trade apparatus (branches of American banks and manufacturing assembly plants) in all countries.

The basic tendency of the present-day economy of the United States is the extension of finance capital in the form of trustification of banking, establishment of branch banks of national banks, the entrance of industries into banking, the appearance of industrial corporations on the stock exchanges as money-lenders, the tremendous growth of insurance, the factory-owned banks, investment trusts, the organization of coordinated export bodies competing with European and international trusts and cartels.

The development of a growing rentier class through the wider distribution of stock ownership, extension of ownership of bonds, and of participation in the profits of foreign investments, as well as of participation in the speculation on the stock exchange. A growing stratum of parasites is thereby created completely divorced from production, reaching out from the most powerful bankers into the ranks of the labor aristocracy, building the class backbone of the new aggressive imperialist policies of the United States.

ORGANIC, CHRONIC UNEMPLOYMENT.

The very technical revolution, organizational progress and rationalization of American industry is responsible for the creation of a new organic, chronic, unemployment. The development of new machinery, the increased productivity of labor becomes under capitalist conditions a source of growing unemployment. The introduction of new machines has been decreasing the number of workers. The opening up of new markets cannot keep pace with the speedy development of technique. The introduction of machinery makes the skill of the workers superfluous. Unskilled workers can take the place of the skilled. The time of apprenticeship is being greatly shortened. Young workers and even children can take the place of adults. A growing number of women are entering into industry.

Mass production with its murderous competition is ruining the lower middle class and is driving its members as workers into the industries. Monopoly capitalism is ruining the farmers and is forcing them to sell their labor power as industrial workers in the city. Mass production opens up hitherto backward agrarian regions industrially. The large-scale industrialization of the South has driven hundreds of thousands of Negroes into industry. Despite all prohibition of immigration there is an annual influx of hundreds of thousands of workers from other countries.

Under present capitalist conditions it is inevitable that there should be a constant industrial reserve army of jobless. The new feature of the present unemployment consists in the fact that even in times of prosperity industry is unable to absorb the unemployed, that hand in hand with the powerful increase of production there goes on a diminution in the amount of labor power employed by capital in industry. The present unemployment has two sources: the lesser one is a remnant of the 1927 depression; the major one is the present prosperity itself, which creates a state of "chronic and increasing unemployment" and is giving us a "permanent jobless class" (Secretary of Labor Davis).

In many basic industries the number of workers employed is not only relatively but absolutely decreasing. It is unclear today whether this tendency will further develop uninterrupted or will be checked by new extensions of markets for American capitalism. Capitalism is able to regulate this process to a certain degree. Prohibition of immigration to America, possibilities of emigration from America to other younger capitalist or semi-capitalist countries may put a temporary end to the tendency of diminishing the absolute numbers of the working class.

The charge that the analysis which takes into consideration the facts of permanent unemployment, the absolute decrease in the numbers of the working class in America, leads to opportunism is absolutely unfounded. Millions of workers permanently unemployed, out of the process of production—that does not mean the complete elimination of the working class, does not mean the solution of the problems of capitalism on a capitalist basis. It does not mean harmonious development, but it does mean bringing nearer the revolutionary situation. The workers who are thrown out from the process of production, even if they do not produce, are still proletarian elements, who will resist starvation. The "creeping paralysis" of chronic, organic unemployment leads to a growing resistance on the part of the workers which will not permit that capitalism shall push out the bulk of the working class from the process of production, leads to an increasing sharpness of the class struggle, and will be an important factor in crystallizing the class-consciousness of the American working class.

THE HOOVER ELECTION—A VICTORY OF CAPITALIST REACTION.

The 1928 election marks a new era in the imperialist domestic and foreign policies of the United States. Increased reaction at home, increased aggressiveness in the world market—this is the outcome of the elections. The following were the main features of the relations of the classes on the eve of the 1928 elections:

1. Complete hegemony of finance capital over the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Not only the various strata of the bourgeoisie, but also the bulk of the farmers, the petty bourgeoisie, and the labor aristocracy accepted the leadership of finance capital to a greater degree than before 1921. Within the bourgeoisie a growing stratum of capitalists depending on interest from exported capital, and finance capital appeared as the leader of the imperialist policies of the country.

2. Decline of the traditional, numerically important political role of the farmers, due to the steady but rapid decrease in number of the agricultural population and to the decrease in economic importance of agriculture in the life of the country.

3. In relation to the increased power of finance capital, of trustified industries, the working class, as a class, entered more weakly into the political arena than in 1924. The working class in 1928 is less homogeneous and less organized than in the immediate post-war period. The following factors are responsible for this: the widened gap between the labor aristocracy and the proletariat proper; the influx of new elements into the working class—such as Negroes, ruined farmers, Mexicans, new foreign immigration from Europe—creating new temporary divisions in the ranks of the working class; the organized sections of the working class, faced with the new super-trusts, have grown weaker, due to its craft unions and to the growth of the state capitalist tendencies of the government; at the same time the overwhelming majority of the working class is unorganized, espe-

cially in the basic industries; recently formed new unions small and weak. Although a steady growth in the vitality of the class-conscious section of the working class can be observed, this was not yet big enough to upset the effects of the eight years of relatively continuous prosperity. The depressions in 1924 and 1927 were too short-lived to undermine the influence of social-reformism upon the working class.

4. Changing class relations in the South.—The penetration of the South by capitalism, its rapid industrial development, has established a modern industrial bourgeoisie in the South which is replacing the old ruling class, the plantation-owners, the latter merging with the former. A new industrial working class was called into life in the South. Deep-going changes have taken place in the life of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie of the South, brought about by the newly developed capitalist conditions.

The above class relations reflected themselves in the following way in the political situation and in the relations of the various political parties and factors:

1. The republican party appeared in the political arena as the party par excellence of finance capital. The republican party machinery was completely merged with the business machinery of big capital. The significance of Hoover's very nomination was the fact that it expressed the perfect blending of capitalist apparatus and political machine. Hoover's nomination was an expression of the deep-going rationalization—the putting of the efficiency expert, the champion of the open shop, the exponent of intensified struggle for the conquest of the world market, at the head of the executive committee of the trust, the United States government. The nomination of Hoover, who never before held an elective office, manifests the growth of the executive branch of the government, and exposes it all the more clearly as the open agent of finance capital. The campaign issues of the republican party constituted the platform of finance capital; unceasing prosperity, aggressive imperialist expansion; extremely high tariff; prohibition as part of capitalist rationalization; "farm relief" in the form of the creation of a farm board with a revolving fund, in order to draw the farmers more completely under the domination of finance capital, the fake slogan about the "conquest of poverty" (progress from the full dinner pail to the full garage).

2. The democratic party had never before been so completely and so openly under the domination of big capital as in 1928. Tammany Hall, the organization of petty-bourgeois grafting, was transformed into the organization of big-bourgeois corruption. A section of the biggest manufacturers and bankers (Raskob, DuPont, Sabin, etc.) constituted the new leadership of the democratic party. The campaign policies of the democratic party were the following: breaking with the oldest democratic tradition and coming out for high tariff; open advocacy of imperialist relations; taking essentially the same attitude toward the water-power trust, farm relief and immigration as the republican party; on prohibition representing the other capitalist side of the issue, taking a stand against it, because it tends to break down "law and order." The policies of the democratic party had never before been so deeply permeated with the interests of finance capital as in 1928, and the democratic party had never received such a large amount of financial and moral support from big capital as in the last elections. The nomination of Al Smith marked the shift of power in the democratic party from the southern plantation-owners to the northern capitalists.

3. Unlike 1924 no third openly capitalist party appeared in the 1928 elections.—All the so-called "rebels" went back meekly into the two big capitalist parties, despite the fact that both the republicans and democrats were more frankly reactionary in 1928 than they were in 1924. The so-called "progressives" (Borah, Brookhart, Wheeler, LaFollette, etc.) showed the picture of a complete and miserable surrender to the biggest finance capitalists.

4. There was no labor party movement on a mass scale on foot in 1928, and there was a manifestation of complete political bankruptcy of the farmer-labor parties.

5. The American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods, which are under the full domination of the labor aristocracy, appeared more reactionary than in 1924, when they supported LaFollette's third party. In 1928 they were almost equally divided between the two capitalist parties. The official trade-union movement, under the leadership of the most treacherous and corrupt labor bureaucracy, did not show any signs of an independent political force, and even as an agent of the bourgeoisie played a diminished role. Their platform contained only one plank: class collaboration.

6. The Socialist Party showed the effects of its all-around and complete transformation into a petty-bourgeois party. The leadership of the Socialist Party shifted into the hands of middle-class intellectuals, wiping out all remnants of working-class traditions: in place of Debs, Norman Thomas. The Socialist Party did not present any challenge to capitalism. Its platform was restricted to the shallowest reforms. It officially dropped the meaning and even the word of proletarian class struggle. It replaced it with rank pacifism and with empty amendments, aimed at the peaceful transformation of the bourgeois constitution. The whole "fight" of the Socialist Party centered around the extension of state capitalism. It dropped the slogan claim to the 1920 Debs vote which represented in a large measure a working-class protest against the war and against the effects of the war, and officially declared itself the heir of the 1924 petty-bourgeois LaFollette vote.

7. The Workers (Communist) Party of America was the only force in the election campaign representing the interests of the working class, putting forward openly the program of the overthrow of capitalism. Its platform was the platform of the class struggle. It fought the whole election fight in the sign of the struggle: Class against Class. It raised the basic issues of the present situation: the struggle against imperialist war, the abolition of wage slavery, the fight against the oppression of the Negroes, uncompromising war on social reformism, the exposure of fake capitalist democracy, and the defense of Soviet Union. The Communist Party was the only party which had as its banner-bearers members of the working class.

The main causes for the big victory of republican reaction can be enumerated as follows:

1. A considerable improvement in the economic situation of the country during the last few months which strengthened the illusions of the masses as to "Republican prosperity."

2. The effects of the industrialization of the South, which made it possible for the republicans to break into the Solid South, hitherto the undisputed domain of the democrats, and under the reign of a virtual one-party system. The plantation-owner's fear of the Negro masses had kept the democratic party in power as the undisputed political ruler of the South for the past two generations. For the first time since the Civil War the republican party carried Florida, Virginia, Texas and North Carolina, and also received a large vote in the other Southern States. The new, modern industrial bourgeoisie of the South went over to the republicans. It was not without significance that the first action of Hoover on November 7th was: letter of thanks to the editor of the *Manufacturers Record*, the official organ of the Southern industrial bourgeoisie. At the same time, as a paradox of political life—the mass discontent of the Southern petty-bourgeoisie, which suffers under the new capitalist conditions turned the impetus of its discontent against the traditional ruling party of the South and went over, under the leadership of the medieval forces of the Methodist Church and the Ku Klux Klan, to the republicans, to the party of the trusts, of finance capital.

3. The partial liquidation of the agricultural crisis and the growth of the purchasing power of the farmers, which in 1920-21 was 95 per cent of what it had been before the war, and in July, 1928, 95 per cent.

4. The tremendous pressure exercised by the manufacturers and other employers on the workers in favor of the republican party. Manufacturers even organized factory committees embracing hundreds of thousands of workers as their political machinery for Hoover.

5. The superior organization and finances of the republicans as compared with the democratic party.

6. The direct and increased participation of the state apparatus on the side of the republican party.

7. The ability of the republican party to mobilize the forces of the Protestant Church and the Ku Klux Klan.

The big temporary victory of capitalist reaction, "the conservative landslide," is characterized and emphasized by the following features of this victory:

1. No ruling party had ever received so many votes, ever been able to mobilize such large masses for participation in the elections and on the basis of strengthening parliamentary illusions as did the republican party of finance capital. The republican party, and especially its conservative elements, has a better hold on both houses of congress than formerly. The so-called "balance of power" of the "progressive" group, composed of "liberal" elements of both republican and democratic parties, no longer exists.

2. The democratic party had never received such a big vote, despite the fact that it had never been so indistinguishable from the republican party and had never appeared so openly as a pro-capitalist party as in the last election.

3. The victory of capitalist reaction is brought into bold relief by the fact that no capitalist third party challenged the monopoly of the two-party system, that no labor party appeared on the scene, that the Farmer-Labor parties had lost their political independence, and that there was a general flowing back of the masses of workers and poor farmers into the capitalist parties.

4. While the number of workers who consciously voted for the revolutionary party of their class—the Workers (Communist) Party—was larger than ever before, nevertheless the proportion of the total votes in the 1928 elections, for the parties claiming to be representative of the working class (the socialist party in reality a petty capitalist party, and the Workers (Communist) Party—the sole party of the working class) has not been so small since 1904.

5. The unquestionably existing discontent which is growing in many sections of the working class, and even some sections of the poorest farmers did not assume sufficient class consciousness to break thru the framework of the two-party system. The big election vote for the democratic party showed the existence of a large vote of discontent. This discontent has not yet assumed the character of a radicalization. In considering the attitude of the workers in the elections, attention must be given to the fact that parliamentary elections do not mirror the actual sentiments and moods of the proletarian sections of the working class. Millions of foreign-born and Negro workers and farmers are disfranchised and their anti-capitalist attitude did not appear in the vote at all. Terror of the employers forced many workers to vote against their own conviction for the capitalist parties. Wholesale theft is also a factor of import in lowering the vote recorded for the revolutionary party. Consequently the extent of process of radicalization in the depths of the proletarian masses could not find expression in the election vote.

The stubborn economic struggles of the miners, textile and needle trades workers, are a more adequate evidence of the amount of radicalization which, though not yet politically crystallized, not yet national and general, is, however, the most promising sign of the growing class consciousness of important sections of the working class.

6. The reactionary character of the domination of finance capital was emphasized by the big role which bigotry, religion, and the churches played in the elections.

The Hoover election reveals the changing class basis of the various political parties and points out certain changes in their role and function.

The republican party, which since the Civil War had been a coalition of eastern capitalists and western farmers under the hegemony of the capitalists, mustered in the 1928 elections the support of Eastern capitalists, the Western farmers, the new industrial bourgeoisie of the South, and the petty bourgeoisie in the rural sections and small towns. The victory of the "regular" party machines over the "rebels," over the various genuine and staged "farm revolts" means a more complete domination of the republican party by finance capital than ever before.

The democratic party had been, since the Civil War, a coalition of the Southern plantation-owners and the petty bourgeoisie of the big cities of the East, in whose wake marched the bulk of the labor aristocracy as organized and led by the American Federation of Labor. Today the democratic party shows essential changes. It is today under the leadership of a section of the big Eastern capital. And if the republican party got the support of the petty bourgeoisie of the small towns, the democratic party was able to line up the petty bourgeoisie of the big Eastern cities (a comparison of votes shows that in the big cities Al Smith got comparatively many more votes than in the national average). The democratic party got an essential part of the farmer vote in the north-west, which means an increased support of the lowest stratum of the farmers of that region. It lost a big portion of the South, though it retained those states where the Negroes form the bulk, or are near to being the majority, of the population, and where the fear of the Negroes by the white ruling class is still strong enough to bar the progress of the republican party.

The 1928 elections show the reign of the infamous two-party system in full swing. The American bourgeoisie is still able to utilize the two-party system—which is "one of the most powerful methods of preventing the foundation of an independent labor, that is, genuine socialist, party" (Lenin)—to bar the crystallization of class-consciousness in the bulk of the working class.

There has never been so little differentiation between the two big capitalist parties. The lack of any real differences in policies is a powerful force for the disintegration of the two-party system, but we must emphasize that the forces making for the continuation of the coalition of the various classes within the old parties (in both under the hegemony of the capitalists) are today still strong enough to prevent the immediate breakdown of the two-party system. The Roosevelt attempt in 1912 succeeded in shaking up the two-party system, but the World War brought about the collapse of this effort. The LaFollette third-party movement in 1924 was able to mobilize large masses, but was terminated by the strengthened world hegemony position of the United States. The inevitable sharpening of the class antagonisms and the next crisis will break up the present coalition of classes. The petty bourgeoisie, the farmers, and, first of all, the masses of workers will no longer be willing to accept the political leadership of finance capital, and that will produce the disruption of the two-party system.

The 1928 elections show that the Farmer-Labor parties of the Northwest—which were blocs of different classes (well-to-do and poor farmers, city petty-bourgeoisie and workers, under the leadership of petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois elements)—had lost all significance for the working class and had become petty-bourgeois tools in the hands of the capitalists.

The Socialist Party—which in the past attracted the adherence of the class-conscious section of the workers of the cities and a considerable portion of the poorest farmers—has now lost the farmers completely, and has lost the largest portion of its working class following. On the other hand, it has gained a certain amount of support among the small business men and especially among the professionals and clericals of the big cities. It is of great significance that after the elections this party dropped its last pretenses of being a socialist party. It new leader, Norman Thomas, stated clearly that the socialist party no longer appeals to the labor movement but rather to the "liberal" elements in the republican and democratic parties, and even went so far as to propose to change the party name either to "liberal" or "progressive."

To sum up: The election of Hoover means that trustified capital, throwing away all its former veils and subterfuges, has taken the helm of the government openly and frankly into its own hands. The big, though temporary victory of capitalist reaction leads to an unprecedented increase of imperialist aggressiveness, to a vehement struggle for a greater share of the world market.

The determined attempt of United States imperialism to complete the conquest of Latin America has, since Hoover's election, already assumed much sharper and more vicious forms, as evidenced by Hoover's trip, the Cumberland plan for the permanent occupation of Nicaragua, the plans to build a Nicaraguan canal, the new class' with Sandino's troops, the bloody suppression of the Colombia strike by Pan-American conference at Washington, the role of the United States in the Bolivia-Paraguay conflict.

The antagonisms between America and Europe, and especially between America and Great Britain, have already been sharpened to an unheard-of degree since the Hoover election. Coolidge's ultimatum to Europe was answered by a new attempt to form alliances of the various European powers against the United States, to shift the blame for the burden of reparations to America. The big navy program is being consummated.

The basic tendency of merging the business and government apparatus will be strengthened by the forces which are represented by Hoover. Hoover will now complete the job, and will transform the whole governmental apparatus into a board of directorates of the super-trusts.

Trustification and rationalization will go ahead with greater speed. Already there are proposals before congress to empower the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant railroad mergers, plans to revise the Sherman Act, which already today is being used not for the prevention but for the promotion of the organization of trusts. The high protective tariff will go through a general upward revision.

There will be a definite change in the direction of the export of capital, lessening the amount of export of capital to Europe and concentrating to a greater degree on Latin America and Asia.

The industrialization of the South will be accelerated by conscious policies of the Federal Government.

There will be a sharper attack against the workers. The open-shop drive will assume more of a national character. The New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L., which took place after Hoover's election, already shows the A. F. of L. as a completed military machine in the service of capitalism and against the working class.

A sharpening of imperialist relations, a more aggressive militaristic policy, which brings the war danger nearer than ever before since 1914, and a sharpening of inner class relations, growing reaction against the working class—this is the perspective for the near future.

But the tremendous triumph of capitalist reaction is only temporary. It already contains an increasing resistance against itself.

The increased fighting mood of the working class is emphasized by the fact that, though the votes of the Socialist Party were reduced to one-fourth of their former number, the Workers (Communist) Party was able to increase its votes considerably, despite all the persecutions, despite stealing of votes, breaking-up of its meetings, jailing of its speakers and organizers and candidates. The source of the Communist votes in 1928 was to a greater extent the industrial proletariat than it was in 1924. The bulk of the votes the Party received came from the industrial centers. The Communist vote was cast on the basis of an uncompromising, revolutionary election cam-

paign. Every Communist vote meant a vote for the overthrow of capitalism, for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The past struggles of the miners, the textile and needle trade workers, will be followed by new strike struggles in these and other industries. The forces of the new unionism will grow in this struggle against wage-cuts and speed-up, and will serve as a mass basis for a future labor party.

Those Negro city masses (Chicago and New York) who voted for the democratic party, breaking with their republican traditions and issuing the slogan: "To Hell with the Republican Party," tomorrow will take the second step and will say: "To Hell with all pitiful parties."

The resistance of the peoples of Latin America and of the other colonies to United States imperialism will grow. The jailing of revolutionary workers to prevent mass demonstrations against Hoover, the foremost representative of American imperialism, and the anti-imperialist strike in Colombia are but a few signs of this increased resistance.

The resistance of the European states to the world hegemony of the United States is a process of steady increase and is arousing powerful forces against American imperialism.

The Hoover election—the big reactionary victory of finance capital—is an index of the sharpening outer and inner conflicts on the whole front, will itself serve in its turn as a means of deepening the antagonisms of the world imperialist system and the class conflicts within the United States, and is a big step on the road towards the catastrophe.

STATE-CAPITALIST TENDENCIES.

One of the basic trends of present-day American imperialism is the crystallization of state capitalist tendencies: Proposals to extend the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission; government subsidy for the development of a merchant marine; establishment of a new farm board with a huge revolving fund; increased intervention of the Federal Reserve Bank in the financial life of the country; the Hoover plan to establish a \$3,000,000,000 reserve fund, with the pretext to check unemployment, in reality to increase the grip of the trustified state apparatus on the economic life of the country; flood control; big subsidy to aviation; plans to construct an inland waterway canal system; the pending bills about Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam; the contemplated Coal Board; the increased hold of the State department on foreign loans, as manifested by the threat of Coolidge to stop export of capital to Europe.

The trustification of industry, finance, communications and distribution goes hand in hand with the merger of business and government apparatus, with the trustification of the state machinery. This process is going on in most of the imperialist countries, but it is developing more rapidly and thoroughly in America than in almost any other country.

Hoover's election as president symbolizes and increases all these state capitalist tendencies. The Magazine of Wall Street expressed the class meaning of Hoover's election from the point of view of the capitalists in a classic way:

"A business nation at last has a business chief. . . . No hard-boiled business directorate could have chosen more sagaciously. . . . Political and business leadership are united in the Chief Executive of the nation."

Trustification and concentration of business and state apparatus means, on the one hand, an increased possibility of bribing large sections of the labor aristocracy; on the other hand, that every strike, every act of resistance of the workers meets not only the individual trusts, but the power of the whole bourgeoisie, the power of the state. In other words, it tends to assume a political character. The crystallization of state capitalist tendencies is one of the most important factors bringing about a deepening and sharpening of the class struggle within the United States and increasing the effectiveness and aggressiveness of American imperialism abroad.

THE "CONQUEST OF POVERTY."

"Prosperity" was the main weapon of the master class in the 1928 election campaign. Hoover promised the "final triumph over poverty," the "vanishing of the poor-house," "the day when poverty will be driven from the nation." The capitalist "prosperity" propaganda undoubtedly is effective on a large scale and comes to a head in the proposal to set aside three billion dollars for the construction of public works during periods of depression in order to "make unemployment on a large scale impossible."

The Hoover scheme tries to foster the illusion that unemployment and industrial crises can be prevented under capitalism. Actually, the Hoover scheme means only the intensification of the basic contradictions of capitalism growing out of mass production and mass underconsumption. It means only a further strengthening of the governmental strike-breaking machinery. It will only serve to strengthen the tendency towards the merging of the apparatus of big business with the government under the guise of government supervision of the construction of public works in such periods when the working class organizations and the workers themselves are up against it in the worst way—in the periods of depression.

The spokesmen of the capitalists have been propagating the notion that because of special "peculiar" democratic development of American capitalism (increasing ownership of automobiles, radios, homes, diffusion of stock ownership, union-management, co-operation, profit sharing schemes) mass production can wipe out poverty under capitalism, the workers can be transformed into capitalists and the standard of living of the whole American working class can be bourgeoisified. This whole theory is but a glorification of capitalism and through developing the myth of general high wages in the United States, the growth of savings and life insurance of the workers and the so-called American general high standard of living, it helps to prevent the crystallization of their class ideology and organization and to enslave the workers completely.

High wages are restricted to the labor aristocracy. The growth of savings and life insurance of workers is offset by the lack of social legislation (sickness, old age, unemployment) in the United States. The standard of living of the American working class is today higher than that of the European working class. The American working class today occupies a privileged position. In no country in the world is there such a broad labor aristocracy as in the United States. America's labor aristocracy is the labor aristocracy within the labor aristocracy of the whole world. But in no country on earth is there such a gap between the labor aristocracy (native, high wages, political rights, privileged positions in industry) and the real proletariat (relatively low wages, foreign born, disfranchised politically, doing the dirty and hard work in industry). The skilled layer which is sharing in the superprofits of the imperialists and which has been bourgeoisified even materially, should not be confused with the whole proletariat. The labor aristocracy and the reactionary and the reactionary trade union bureaucracy with its ideology of social reformism still dominate the American labor movement, but it is a fact that America also has a genuine proletariat in the steel, coal, textile and other company towns, in these veritable centers of modern industrial feudalism, living in slums, tenements, in segregation like the Negro masses, subject to the dictation of capitalist tyranny. Poverty is a mass phenomenon in the depths of the American proletariat.

The slogan for the "conquest of poverty" is a capitalist fraud. Poverty can be conquered only by the Communist society. In no country in the world are workers used up so rapidly or age so quickly, as in the United States. Millions of exploited children and young workers are only additional evidence of the falsity of the whole theory of "capitalist workers." The oppression and degradation suffered by the great mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers at the hands of the increasingly centralized state power, with its tremendous bureaucracy and militarism, is growing. "Prosperity" means the taking away of the most elementary rights of the bulk of the working class, the right to strike, picket, freedom of speech and assembly, through court decisions, injunctions and the use of military forces.

Though the whole American working class is as a class politically under-developed and is in a large measure ideologically bourgeoisified, it would be a dangerously erroneous conclusion to say that the whole American working class is materially bourgeoisified. The material bourgeoisification is limited primarily to the upper stratum of the labor aristocracy, and it is not an absolute, a fixed quantity; it changes with economic conditions and even a relatively small reduction of the standard of living of the American workers—not at all to the level of the other capitalist countries—can serve as the basis for the further wider radicalization of the workers, for the shaking of the bourgeois influence on the working class—and further development of great mass struggles.

The reactionary trade union bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party leadership are not only accepting, but energetically supporting the whole system of the corruption of the labor aristocracy of imperialism. These "labor" defenders of American capitalism are propagandizing the "Americanization of labor" as an antidote to Bolshevism. The whole theory and practice of class collaboration of the Socialists and the reactionary trade union bureaucracy, is based

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Communist Party Must Organize the Unorganized, Unskilled and Negro Workers

(Continued From Preceding Page)

on the "prosperity" in which the labor aristocracy shares but which for the working class as a whole is illusory.

The Party must do everything to expose the fraud of the capitalist "prosperity" propaganda which saps the militancy and life of the working class. The Party must engage much more than it has in the past in making clear to the workers their sufferings under capitalism, the daily heavy casualties in industry through accidents and deaths, the severe sufferings of the great mass of the workers are subject to in the slums through infection, strike breaking and ruling class violence. The Party must make clear to the workers the sham and fraud of capitalist "prosperity" and on the basis of the concrete effects of American capitalism, show that poverty can be conquered only through the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the building up of Socialism.

MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AND PACIFISM

The American bourgeoisie are feverishly and openly preparing for the impending imperialist war. These gigantic war preparations manifest themselves in the following main ways:

1. Military, naval and aerial preparedness on a greater scale than at any time before when the country was not actually at war. Witness the Armistice Day speech of Coolidge; the statement of policy "for a navy second to none" issued by the General Naval Board; the report of Gen. Fries on the Chemical War preparations; the proposal of Major-Gen. Summerall for further strengthening of the standing army and reserves; the proposed new Nicaraguan Canal to supplement the Panama Canal; the development of a powerful subsidized merchant marine; the extension of military training in the schools and the development of Reserve Officers Training Corps; and last but not least the Coolidge program to appropriate about 140 million dollars for aviation next year.

2. The militarization of industry and the mechanization of the military forces: The American war staff is studying the mechanization of the army. Under the National Defense Act industry is being reorganized with a view towards the swiftest mobilization for operation on a war basis. The A. F. of L. machinery has already been pledged to serve as an integral part of the imperialist war machinery. It has already endorsed the big navy program and the demand of the American Legion for conscription.

3. The rapid integration of the State apparatus with the biggest business apparatus is being consciously fostered with a view towards war efficiency.

4. Intensified repression of workers: The preparation of a national anti-strike law by the American Bar Association is an essential war preparation measure.

5. Redoubled drive to extend control over certain raw material resources, to make the U. S. fully independent in the event of war—rubber in the Philippines.

6. Pacifism and Jingoism. The ideological preparation of war assumes two forms: Jingoism and Pacifism. Jingoism is fostered by well planned country-wide tours, of admirals and generals, supported by the biggest chains of capitalist newspapers. The A. F. of L. is one of the most poisonous sources of spreading jingoist propaganda. There is an official pacifist offensive of the government as part and parcel of the general preparedness of war: the Havana and the present Washington Pan-American conferences, the renewed attempt to consider American entry into the World Court, the Hoover "good-will" tour, the infamous Kellogg Pact; such manoeuvres as that of Congressman Britten, head of the House Naval Committee and a notorious "big navy" man, to secure an "understanding" with Great Britain.

These pacifist manoeuvres of the imperialists are further helped along by the pacifist efforts of churches, various liberal organizations and the Socialist Party, today the most contemptible and dangerous source of pacifism, which now favors the Kellogg Pact, American entry into the League of Nations, and all sorts of plans and conferences for the Limitation of Armaments.

Thus there flow two streams of poison against the workers; jingoism and pacifism—both weapons in the arsenal of the imperialists preparing for war. At the same time, there is to be noted a growing persecution of the Communists and all fighting workers who dare at all to voice their protest against the war measures or against this propaganda.

THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL REFORMISM—THE STRUGGLE FOR A MASS COMMUNIST PARTY

On the whole, the American working class is less developed politically than the working classes of the other big capitalist countries. The bulk of the American working class has not yet been broken away from the parties of the big bourgeoisie. "The American working class is the most conservative working class in the world" (Bukharin). A very small proportion of the workers (some of the skilled elements) is organized and the leadership of the organized trade union movement is the most reactionary trade union leadership in the world. The ideology of the trade union bureaucracy and their Socialist Party co-workers is definitely bourgeois and is an expression of the rank and file social reformism. The social basis of this ideology is the world hegemony of American imperialism, the huge amount of superprofits extorted by it from all sections of the world, the broad stratum of labor aristocracy which still enjoys its privileges. American social reformism with its manifold schemes of class collaboration is today the model of all imperialists the world over and for their Social Democratic lackeys, who try to pattern them in order to paralyze the class struggle. The ideology and organization of social reformism is the most dangerous obstacle to the development of a mass Communist Party. We must fight it ruthlessly in order to hasten the development of a mass Communist Party in the United States. It is necessary to destroy the ideological base of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and their Socialist partners.

Recent years have witnessed important changes in the composition and structure of the working class. Immediately after the World War, there was noticeable a marked development towards working class homogeneity because of the then developing trend towards reducing the gap between the skilled and unskilled, the shutting off of immigration, the leveling process in wages, and the increasing strikebreaking role of the centralized government even against the labor aristocracy. Under these conditions the trade unions grew quickly, the labor party movement assumed a mass basis, great national mass strikes (railroad, textile, coal) were manifestations of this rising working class solidarity and resistance to the bourgeoisie.

The basic tendency towards the homogeneity of the American working class remains, but this basic trend does not move in a straight line or in a continuous upward curve. On the contrary, the trend has its ups and downs. Within the last five years, several factors have contributed for counteracting somewhat this basic trend and, for the present, making against homogeneity amongst the working class.

These factors are: entrance of hundreds of thousands of foreign-born workers as immigrants (especially from Mexico and other Latin-American countries); influx of Negro workers from the South to the Northern industries; bankrupt farmers migrating into industrial centers; gap between wage levels of skilled and unskilled workers growing bigger. Temporarily the influx of these new elements means a decrease of homogeneity of the working class.

As a result of this change composition of the working class significant changes took place in the labor movement: the shifting of the leadership of the organized section of the labor movement to the right; the merging of the apparatus of the trade union bureaucracy with the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie; most intensive and varied forms of class collaboration. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy is today an instrument of the bourgeoisie against the working class with its policies of preventing the workers from using the strike weapon; for union management-cooperation schemes, semi-company unions, anti-labor party "non-partisan" policies; complete endorsement of all war schemes of American imperialism as evidenced in the last A. F. of L. convention endorsing Hoover's fraudulent three billion dollar unemployment proposal and the big navy plan of the government, the demand for the restriction of immigration of Latin-American workers and the complete accord with the American Legion's military program.

The trade union movement is facing today the crisis of its life. The terrific open shop drive of the bourgeoisie and the treachery of the labor bureaucracy, drove millions of members out of the unions, mostly unskilled workers who joined during the war. The sweeping trustification movement, the intensified rationalization, the new methods of struggle of the employers, the close bond between the trade union bureaucracy and the big capitalists, the increasing interference of the capitalist government in the most elementary economic struggles against the workers, brought about the crisis of the trade union movement and decreased the number of organized workers considerably. The upward trend of imperialism, the narrowing down of the trade union movement and the close working together of the trade union leadership with the bourgeoisie, made for the labor party movement being nationally on a very low ebb.

It is under these conditions that the American bourgeoisie dared launch their present heavy attacks upon the standard of living (wage cuts, speed up), on the most elementary rights; on the organizations of the working class. However, the bourgeoisie did not succeed in crushing the resistance of the ranks of the workers; particularly in the ranks of the great mass of unorganized, signs of resistance to the capitalist offensive have been multiplying. Passaic, Colorado,

mining struggle, needle trades conflict, Haverhill, Flint, Canton, New Bedford, the recent coal strikes in Kentucky, Wyoming, etc.

The decisive defeat of the United Mine Workers of America means the breaking of the proletarian backbone of the present official trade union movement. It means still further, narrowing the base of the A. F. of L. Nothing can be expected from any section of the trade union bureaucracy in the interests of the working class. The more the capitalists will attack the workers, the more the trade union bureaucracy will betray them. The more the need for organizing the unorganized and the readiness of the unorganized masses to respond, the more the leaders of the labor aristocracy will try to undermine all efforts and to paralyze the movement for organizing the workers. The Socialist Party is only another section of the capitalist enemy's front against the proletariat. The narrow craft trade unions, robbed of their proletarian base, are today less representative than ever of the aspirations and needs of the working class. The Party must meet the new conditions, must counteract most energetically all social reformism, all social democratic, all opportunist influences and elements in the ranks of the working class. This is a prerequisite for success in our fight for building a Mass Communist Party. The decisive orientation of the Party must be away from the labor aristocracy and towards the real proletarian masses. The Party must not only be ready to meet the needs of the great bulk of the American working class, the semi-skilled and unskilled, whose resistance to capitalist aggression, speed up, effects of rationalization, wage cuts, against the growing power of trustified capital, is increasing and is bound to increase further, but must especially stimulate the desires of these masses for struggle and work to deepen the most elementary struggles with a view of preparing the workers for more decisive class battles to be led by the Communist Party. The emergence of the new union movement, the National Miners Union, the National Textile Workers Union, the amalgamation of various needle trades organizations into one union, is the most promising sign of new aspects of the struggles of the American working class. The face of the Party must be sharply turned in the direction of the organization of the unorganized, to building new unions in the heavy industries among the real proletarian millions of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers and Negro masses.

PROBLEMS, ACHIEVEMENTS, SHORTCOMINGS AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

1. The Imperialist War Danger. The anti-war activities of the Party have increased since the last convention (anti-war meetings, demonstrations against shipment of marines, against Hoover's tour, beginning of work among the armed forces, attempts of coordination of our anti-imperialist work with the Latin American Parties) but are not sufficient. The Party was not able to mobilize large masses because it did not always react in time, did not concentrate sufficiently on the Latin American problems. The Party showed an attitude of provincialism and insufficient attention to the anti-imperialist League. In the main, the Party was able to uproot pacifist ideology from its own slogans, statements, and articles but remnants of pacifism still manifest themselves. A number of serious right errors have been made: pacifist mistakes ("Stop the Flow of Blood in Nicaragua"—Gomez; "We Welcome Our Boys of the Fleet But Do Not Shoot the Nicaraguans"—California District; "Agitate for the Slogan 'Against the Building of More Cruisers.'"—Bittelman; plea of guilty in the Washington demonstration last Spring—Gomez). Incorrect understanding of American imperialism and underestimation of the powers of resistance of the Latin American peoples (Nearing). Characterizing Colombia strike in a legalistic way, as a strike "to uphold the law of the land" (Bittelman).

Tasks

1. To place the struggle against imperialist war danger and the defense of the Soviet Union in the center of all activities of the Party.
2. Coordination of our anti-imperialist work with the Communist Parties of Latin America, Canada, China and Great Britain.
3. The strengthening of the Anti Imperialist Department of the CEC.
4. Increasing the support of the Party for the anti-Imperialist League.
5. Systematic fight against the jingoist and pacifist propaganda of the A. F. of L., Socialist Party, liberals, churches.
6. More frequent and better prepared street demonstrations.
7. Mobilization of the Party fractions in the trade unions to combat the pro-imperialist policies of the trade union bureaucracy.
8. Extension of the Party's work in the armed forces.
9. The emphasis of defeatist slogans coming to a head in the slogan of turning the next imperialist war into a civil war.

- II. Organization of the Unorganized and Trade Union Work. The trade union work has absorbed the greatest resources and the attention of the Party in organizing the unorganized, strike leadership and strike relief. Our central driving force and guiding perspective has been to organize the unorganized masses. The Party has been the "stalwart leader of fierce mass struggles." (Thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern). The most outstanding campaign waged by the Party in its trade union work was the building up of a powerful left wing in the United Mine Workers of America and the participation in the organization of the new National Miners Union. Despite unheard government terrorism, a substantial gain in Party membership as well as an improvement in the social composition can be registered in the Districts located in the coal fields. The bulk of the striking textile workers in New Bedford, Fall River, Pawtucket, Paterson, were under the leadership of the Textile Mill Committees, under the influence of the Party. The new National Textile Workers Union is already showing considerable vitality despite unprecedented persecution by the government. The prolonged needle trades struggle which has been going on against the united forces of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party bureaucracy has entered upon a new stage through the building of one industrial union by the amalgamation of the cloakmakers, dressmakers and furriers. The Railroad Conference held on June 3, 1928, was one of the best conferences organized by the left wing in the American trade union movement. In the automobile and rubber industries, the Party has been renewing its efforts to lay the foundation for the organization of the unorganized. Though the first National TUEL Conference held in several years is to be noted during this period, the TUEL did not make sufficient progress and the left wing in the A. F. of L. unions did not make headway.

A number of serious mistakes, among them many right errors, were committed by the Party in its trade union work. These mistakes are of the following types:

1. Hesitancy in organizing the unorganized, particularly delay in throwing full forces into mining work.
2. Insufficient attention to developing an effective strong Trade Union Department and apparatus.
3. Serious neglect of direction of the trade union fractions from the center.
4. A wrong reaction to the correct policy of the Party in laying the greatest emphasis on organizing the unorganized and building new unions. The tendency to neglect the work in the already existing unions.
5. Remnants of craft ideology (needle trades).
6. Capitulation before difficulties (Chicago, Boston needle trades).
7. Opposition to the inclusion of the use of the term "class struggle" in the preamble of the new unions (Swabeck, Foster, Jakira, Weisbord; Jakira immediately Foster and Weisbord at the December 1928 Plenum, admitted this mistake).
8. Impermissible use of injunctions of bourgeois courts in trade union struggles (Boston District Secretariat).
9. Insufficient effort to draw the Party membership into trade unions.
10. Insufficient emphasis on political issues in strike movements.

The Main Tasks Confronting the Party are:

1. The organization of the unorganized is the basic historical task of the Party. The whole future of the Party as a mass Party is tied up with this work. Extensive campaigns must be developed especially in the steel, automobile, industries and among the packinghouse workers.
2. Help the speediest consolidation of the new miners, textile and needle trades unions on a mass scale.
3. Building up the left wing in the reactionary trade unions, as an auxiliary instrument in carrying out the task of organizing the unorganized. The Party cannot abandon to the bureaucracy the three million organized workers.
4. Strengthening and reorganizing the T.U.E.L. to adapt it to its new tasks to make it able to link up the left wing movement in the reactionary trade unions with the new militant unions and to lend further co-ordination to the new union movement itself.
5. The Party must assume leadership in all struggles of the workers against wage cuts, speed-up, effects of rationalization and must make every attempt to develop such struggles.
6. To uproot the influence of social reformism in the trade

unions. To fight against all schemes of class collaboration, to destroy the influence of the A. F. of L. and socialist party bureaucracy.

7. To link up all strike struggles with the political slogans of the Party and especially with our fight against imperialist war danger.

8. To bring the whole Party membership into the trade unions, to build up an efficient trade union Party apparatus and extend the network of Communist Party fractions in all trade unions.

9. To mobilize the entire Party for the energetic execution of the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R. I. L. U.

III. The Election Campaign. Though the biggest campaign ever waged by the Party, the 1928 election campaign did not show a sufficiently great increase of the Communist vote. Because of the disfranchisement of the many millions of foreign born workers and Negro masses, the Communist vote does not express the range of the political influence of the Party. The following features characterize the significance of the election campaign in reaching out to the masses and in bringing the Communist program to the working class:

1. Getting on the ballot in 34 states as compared with 14 states in 1924.

2. The National Nominating Convention, which was the first one of its kind held by the Party.

3. The substantial increase in the Communist vote despite huge theft, especially in the coal and textile centers, and the improved character of the vote which came this year unlike 1924, from the most industrial states; the increased role of the factory nuclei and nuclei papers in the campaign.

4. The Party's going South for the first time, the prominent part played by Negro comrades in the election, and the increased attention given by the Party as a whole to the Negro problem in the election campaign.

5. The resistance of the Party membership to the wide persecution and interference with and disruption of our meetings, the reaching of many thousands of new workers by the Party with its millions of leaflets, pamphlets, and other campaign literature, the gain in new membership thru the election campaign.

6. The effect that the Party appeared in the election campaign not only as the spokesman of the working class but the champion of the struggle for the liberation of the colonies against American imperialism and for the liberation of the Negro race.

7. The ideological advancement expressed in the fact of the election platform of 1928 being truly Communist, having as its key note "class against class," as against the opportunistic platform of 1924, with its slogan for immediate nationalization and workers' control of capitalist industries.

8. The fact that the campaign was linked up with the struggle of the workers against wage cuts, speed-up, unemployment, was based especially on the strike struggles of the miners, textile and needle trades and had as its central issue the struggle against imperialist war danger.

9. The fact that the full Communist program of overthrowing capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat played a prominent role in the whole propaganda of the Party and that based on the clear Communist character of the campaign, every Communist vote was the expression of a truly revolutionary working class sentiment.

The election campaign shows some serious shortcomings and errors.

1. The inability of the Party to get those working class masses who followed the Party's strike leadership, to accept its political leadership.
 2. Insufficient attention to draw the membership of the new unions into the election campaign (needle trades leadership of New York).
 3. Lack of everyday detail work in the campaign.
 4. Insufficiency of Party forces primarily due to the fact that so large a number of leading comrades were dispatched to the World Congress of the Comintern, and cases of extreme incompetency on the part of certain functionaries (Carlson, Bloomfield and the expelled O'Flaherty).
 5. A series of right wing opportunistic errors: the unauthorized non-Communist instructions for gathering signatures (Coddick); organizing symposiums on our own platform, inviting bourgeois parties (New York Women's Committee); capitulation before difficulties, failing to get on the ballot (Levin, California); the open letter to the State Committee of the Socialist Party (Levin, Calif.).
- Based on the lessons of the recent election campaign, the following tasks confront the Party:
1. More systematic everyday detailed work.
 2. Base the whole election campaign in an increased degree on the factories, mills and shops.
 3. To show more clearly the face of the Party in trade union and other mass activities.
 4. To utilize more local issues.
 5. To concentrate more on the industrial centers of the country.
 6. To utilize in a fuller extent the Party and especially the Party language press.

- IV. Fight Against Social Reformism. The complete transformation of the A. F. of L. into an agency of American imperialism places in the forefront of the tasks of the entire Party the struggle against the ideology of social reformism of the labor aristocracy which tends to poison the whole working class. The complete transformation of the socialist party into a petty bourgeois party, places before us the task of waging a merciless campaign against the social democratic forces. The Central Executive Committee has unreservedly accepted the criticism of the Communist International of the errors of the Party and the Central Executive Committee have made in its attitude towards the socialist party prior to the Sixth World Congress: The Panken election (New York District Executive Committee and Central Executive Committee); open letter to the National Committee of the Socialist Party (Central Executive Committee); Bearak case (Boston District); open letter to the Socialist Party officials at Reading, Pa., (Benjamin, who later corrected his error, Bittelman approval); proposal to refrain from opposition to the Socialist Party in municipal election (Shklar); proposal for united front with the Socialist Party on Sacco-Vanzetti anniversary (Kraska-Miller). In full acceptance of energetic measures, ideologically and organizationally, to sharpen and intensify the Party's struggle against all manifestations of reformism. The last election campaign has shown that the socialist party, though it has led heavily in votes, is still a sufficiently important element to be contended with as a poisonous force among the workers.

Emphasis must be laid on the need of sharpening the Party's critical attitude towards the so-called centrist and middle group elements in the trade union movement. These bearers of reformist illusions must not only be exposed but must be fought organizationally in the trade unions and in all working class organizations.

- V. Negro Work. In the main, the Party cannot be satisfied with its work among the Negroes. But since the last convention and especially since the criticism of the Party by the Sixth Communist International Congress, some headway has been made in the Party's Negro work: the establishment of the Negro Department; full time Negro organizers in a number of Districts; the regular appearance of the Negro Champion; the increase in Negro members; the prominent part played by Negro comrades in the election campaign; contacts established with Negro workers especially in the South; energetic fight against white chauvinism.

A number of serious right errors have been made in our Negro work; insufficient leadership by the Central Executive Committee; underestimation of the Negro work; white chauvinism in the ranks of the Party, especially in the South; surrender to white chauvinism in Detroit (Goetz); weakness of Party membership among the Negroes and weak Communist cadre and insufficient proletarian Negro forces attracted to our Party; an un-Communist attitude towards the church among some of the leading Negro comrades (Moore).

A decisive turn in the policies of the Party towards the Negro work is necessary.

1. The attitude of underestimating the Negro work must be combated vigorously, the work among the Negroes is not to be considered as a special task of the Negro comrades but it is the task of the entire Party. The Party must appear as the unhesitatingly energetic champion of the oppressed Negro race.
2. The industrialization of the south, the concentration of a huge Negro population in the big cities, the creation of a Negro industrial proletariat in the basic industries on a mass scale, makes the organization of the Negro workers who are overwhelmingly unorganized and constitute a large section of the overorganized masses, one of our basic tasks of the Party.
3. The Party must establish a base among the Negro tenant farmers, share croppers, and agricultural workers, in the south, forming organizations of these significant sections of the Negro population.

4. A merciless struggle shall be conducted against all remnants of white chauvinism in our Party ranks as well as in the ranks of the working class as a whole.

5. The maximum effort should be made toward developing an effective Communist Party cadre among the Negro workers; increased emphasis should be placed on drawing proletarian forces into the Party.

6. While maintaining as its central slogan the struggle for the full racial, social, political equality of the Negro race, the Party must take every necessary ideological measure to give the membership an adequate understanding of the basis of the Comintern decision on the question of national self-determination of the Negroes and the Party as a whole must come out as the advocate of this slogan.

7. The Party must fight for the leadership by the Negro proletariat of all race movements.

- VI. Proletarianization of the Party and its Leadership. The social composition of the Party and its leadership is not satisfactory. The instruction given by the Comintern congress must give a decisive impetus to the proletarianization of the Party and its leadership. Only a true proletarian composition of the Party membership and the leading bodies of the Party can constitute a sufficient guarantee against bureaucratism and against the influence of social reformism in the ranks of the Party. The Party must be much more firmly rooted in the huge factories of the basic heavy industries. A far larger proportion of the membership of our Party must consist of workers in such industries as coal, mining, automobile, steel, railroad, packinghouse, etc., than we have to date. This improvement in social composition must also be reflected in the improved social composition of the Party leadership. From top to bottom, proletarian forces, workers from the factories, must be drawn much more into all executive and leading committees of the Party in every Party section, every subdivision of the Party apparatus from the nuclei up and from the Central Executive Committee down.

7. Labor Party. Though the labor party movement played practically no role in the election campaign and organizationally is weaker than it has been in many years, yet our Party must continue its efforts to help develop the labor party in the United States as an important next step in the direction of the development of a political consciousness of the American working class. The contradictions between the lack of mass basis for a labor party and the needs of our labor party propaganda was the source of many and some times dangerous opportunist errors: resistance in the Minnesota district to the Central Executive Committee's decision to fight Shipstead (V. R. Dunne, Skoglund, etc.); the proposal to form labor party clubs based on individual membership in Pennsylvania (Bittelman); "The Labor Party is only hope of working class" (Daily Worker); substitution of labor party for Communist Party (Raymond's article); labor party discipline vs. Communist Party discipline (V. R. Dunne); Central Executive Committee's unclear formulation of the Workers Party relations to the labor party in the February thesis.

In its labor party policy the Party must be guided by the following lines:

1. The question of organizing a labor party shall be tied up with the organization of the unorganized, the future of a labor party, to a large extent, be determined by the progress of new unionism.
2. In addition to the trade unions, the labor party should be based on the factory, mill, shop and mining committees of the unorganized workers.
3. Today the labor party can be organized only thru a merciless fight against the A. F. of L. and socialist party bureaucracy.
4. At this moment the character of the labor party slogan is more of propaganda than of immediate action.
5. No individual membership for the labor party; all policies aiming to form labor party clubs based on individual members are to be rejected.
6. In all our work for the labor party we must emphasize its limitations as against the role of the Communist Party as the only possible leader in the victorious proletarian revolution.
7. Not the slightest concession is to be permitted in the way of giving up the distinct independent existence of the Communist Party and its right of criticism within the labor party movement.

- VIII. Unemployment. The organic chronic unemployment which shows the tendency of embracing ever larger sections of the industrial working class, the crystallization of a permanently unemployed industrial reserve army of capitalism and its radicalizing effects on the working class, must serve as the basis for increased activities of our Party. The present reduction of that phase of unemployment which follows out of the 1927 depression has made the formation of special organizations of the unemployed very difficult. At present it is the task of the Party to popularize its unemployment program, to grasp every opportunity to combat the three billion dollar Hoover plan and to lay the basis for future mass organizations of the unemployed.

- IX. Work Among the Farmers. The partial liquidation of the agricultural crisis slowed down the activities of the Party among the farmers. The Party lost many of its most valuable connections in the poorer farmers' movement by the migration of large sections of the poorest farmers to the cities. The Party and the Central Executive Committee as a whole paid insufficient attention to the agricultural work which has been largely sectional in the northwest. The Party must strengthen the agrarian department and above all must take immediate steps after the convention for the preparation of an agrarian program. The work in this field should be more national than it has been to date. Great emphasis must be laid on work among the Negro tenants and share croppers. Organization of the working farm hands into unions should be attempted. The transformation of the United Farmer into a mass paper.

- X. The Party Organization. The general condition of the Party organization is unsatisfactory: poor social composition; lack of shop nuclei; insufficient number of shop papers; lack of centralization; lack of emergency apparatus; right wing errors manifested in certain districts in the form of resistance to the formation of shop nuclei (Connecticut, California); remnants of language federation ideology. Despite these shortcomings there has been a strengthening of the Party organization: increasing dues payments in face of severe unemployment and prolonged strike movements; for the first time the Party has more members than any time since it was reorganized; an improved functioning of the Party apparatus as a whole; the strengthening of the district organizations; increased participation of certain language fractions in the general party work; more frequent publication of the "Party Organizer"; strengthened Party center; penetration of additional factories by shop units and publication of new factory papers.

The question of improving the party organization is one of the most vital questions facing the party today. Not only in the light of the increasing demands made upon the party apparatus because of the numerous varied activities, but especially in view of the sharpening war danger. A special thesis should be prepared for the convention on organization problems. The keynote of this thesis must be:

1. A decisive turn toward the factories, establishment of the party organization based on the industrial proletariat in the basic industries, thereby also improving the party composition in the direction of proletarianization;
2. The improvement of systematic building up of the party apparatus, departments and the party organizations, nuclei, fraction bureaus, section executives, district executives, etc. Closer contact between higher committees and the lower committees on the one hand thru the full utilization of party democracy, combating of tendencies toward bureaucratism, and on the other hand through greater centralization politically and organizationally;
3. The working out in detail of methods to improve the Party's propaganda and agitation activities, in winning over the masses, in transforming the political and trade union influence of the party into organizational strength and the building of the Party in connection with the mass campaigns of the party;
4. Strengthening of the party fractions in the trade unions and in mass organizations;
5. Increased systematic attention to the drawing in of native American workers especially those in heavy industries;
6. The hastening of the building of an emergency apparatus.

- XI. Ideological Level. One of the basic shortcomings of the party is the low level of its ideology. Advance of the Communist ideology of the party since the last convention can however, be registered in certain instances; some improvement of the party press (Daily Worker) and the monthly theoretical organ; increasing influence of the Workers School; success of the Party's first National Training School; the establishment of district schools; the effective ideological work in the Trotsky discussion a year ago.

The main tasks in this field are: strengthening the Agitprop Department; improving our methods of mass agitation and propaganda.

Continued on Next Page

Demand Complete Unity of Communists Against Right Danger and Trotskyism

(Continued From Preceding Page)

ganda; further improving and strengthening of the Party press (Daily Worker) and publications; to transform the Daily Worker into a true leading organ of the Party and a mass spokesman of the American working class; systematized study of the work of Marx and Lenin; more energetic efforts in drawing the mass of Party members into an understanding of the Party's tasks; broad ideological campaign against the Right danger and Trotskyism.

XII. Work Among Women. The establishment of a Women's Department nationally and in some districts, has lent a certain impetus to the Party's participating in and leading the struggles of the working women but on the whole the department and the work of the Party generally among working women is still very weak. There is a general underestimation of the importance of the work among women in the Party which must be overcome. The Party has to combat a certain attitude which manifests itself in emphasizing the organization among housewives at the expense of the work among factory women. In some districts the Women's Committees are of an insufficiently proletarian character. (New York).

XIII. Young Workers League. The Young Workers League has participated as a distinct force in the mass struggles of the workers (mining, textile). There is a decisive reorientation in the work of the League toward the proletarian youth as against the former student and clerical orientation of the since then expelled former leadership (Abern, Schachtman, Mass, Edwards, Borgeson, Carlson). Effective results were achieved by the League in its anti-militarist and anti-imperialist work which, however, must be further strengthened. The whole Party must increase its support and direction given to the Young Workers League. It is the duty of the party to combat the opportunistic attitude displayed in underestimating the role of the youth and the work of the League.

XIV. Labor Defense. The failure of the Party fraction in the I. L. D. to help develop it into a mass organization must be registered. Especially there should be noted in this respect the failure to build district organizations.

The most dangerous error here is the development of a special attitude of "I.L.D.ism" (Cannon-Abern), holding this as something distinct from the general Party work, and in certain respects even above it. Insufficient emphasis has been laid here on basing this work on the organizations of the workers and on the shops. A serious Right error is also to be noted in the proposal to make the Party the tail of the liberals in the Money campaign (Wagenknecht).

XV. Cooperatives. The Party has achieved some results in its being able to mobilize left wing forces for a sharp struggle against the Right wing in the Cooperative League of America, but at the same time we must note certain serious Right errors manifesting themselves in the Party's cooperative work.

1. Failure to at all stages in the development of the cooperative movement to tie it up organically with the labor struggles, struggle of the workers in the unions, etc.
2. Tendency toward the development of producers cooperatives as a substitute for struggle within the trade unions.
3. Failure to define the limitations of building cooperatives.
4. Tendency for development of "cooperative Communists" placing the interests of individual cooperators above the interests of the Party.

XVI. Party Unity: The Sixth Party Convention must take energetic measures to bring about the unification of the Party. The Party must make a decisive effort to carry out the instruction of the Comintern World Congress, "The most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to the factional strife." There is no principle basis today for the continuation of the factional struggle in the Party. For Trotskyists, there is no room in the Party. Permanent factionalism is incompatible with Communist Party organization. The present international situation, the growing menace of war, the sharpening attacks of the bourgeoisie against the Party and the working class, especially necessitates the unhesitating, fullest compliance of the entire Party with the decision of the Sixth World Congress for the "absolute subordination of the minority to the majority." At the same time it is necessary to bring about an extension of Party democracy, to promote political discussions, exercise thoroughgoing self-criticism, and uproot bureaucratism.

THE RIGHT DANGER AND TROTSKYISM.

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

At the same time though Trotskyism is defeated in the leading parties of the Comintern, it raises its head in the American Party menacing the Leninist line and unity of the Party.

The Right danger has its roots in the partial stabilization of capitalism and in the influence of social democracy, and trade union bureaucracy. At all times a menace to the workers revolutionary party, the Right danger becomes, at a time of threatening imperialist world war, the greatest and most urgent of all dangers. In the United States the Right danger is especially serious because our Party has not yet gone through a revolutionary struggle, because of the present strength of American imperialism, the corruption of the labor aristocracy, the reformist ideology of so large a section of the working class, and the general political backwardness of the working class.

The outstanding types of expression of the Right danger in the Workers (Communist) Party since the last convention are: Certain forms of legalism, a tolerant attitude to the socialist party; passivity in strikes or even outright refusal to take leadership; an underestimation or a nihilistic attitude towards the national question and the struggle of the colonial peoples and an underestimation of the Negro work; white chauvinism; a static attitude on the trade union question; wrong attitude toward the labor party; an underestimation of war danger and manifestation of pacifism; insufficient proletarianization; capitulation before difficulties; lack of faith in the Party; attitude of reservations of the Communist International; lack of internationalism; indifference and even hostility to theory.

Cannon's acceptance of Trotskyism is very dangerous because the recurrence of this social-democratic ideology parading under cover of left phrases is deeply rooted in the objective conditions—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 the Party.

The Party is at a turning point in its life, in the process of passing from mere propaganda organization to a political party of action. The Party has become the leader of working class mass activities. This creates new problems and new difficulties for the Party. Some sections of the Party have been unable to adapt themselves to this sharp turn.

It is precisely for this reason that the platform of Trotskyism in the United States today is serving as the rallying point of all opportunist elements within and all groups of renegades outside of our Party. The complete destruction of Trotskyism in our Party can be realized only through an uncompromising, energetic fight not only against Trotskyism but against every manifestation of the open Right danger, through merciless self-criticism of all mistakes made by the Central Committee and by the Party as a whole.

The line of the Party is based on an unequalled recognition of the fact that the Right danger is the chief danger today in our Party as well as in the rest of the Comintern. Hence the endorsement by the Central Executive Committee of 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.

Under its present leadership, the American Party has been in the forefront of the fight against Trotskyism from the very moment it reared its head in the Comintern. This fight against Trotskyism has been bound up with the fight against out and out opportunism and Right wing policies. It has been an unbroken fight, ranging from the expulsion of such crass opportunists as Salutsky, Lore, Eastman; such notorious Right wingers as Sulkanev, Askell and Company to such a conscious, malignant enemy of the left forces in the Party as Cannon, now a blatant and militant Trotskyist.

The convention must take all decisive measures to sharpen the fight against both dangers—against the open Right danger and against Trotskyist opportunism.

The convention decides to take all necessary ideological and organizational steps to root out every manifestation of the Right danger, the slightest tolerance of the Right danger and every vestige of Trotskyism. The convention decides to enforce vigorously all decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. Communist unity must be maintained as the guarantee for an energetic fight against the Right danger and Trotskyism. Unity on the basis of the unreserved acceptance of all decisions of the Comintern is the best guarantee for a successful fight against the Right danger and Trotskyist opportunism.

CONTRADICTIONS OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM—THE OUTLOOK FOR STRUGGLE AND THE PARTY'S BASIC LINE.

The Party convention endorses the position of the Central Executive Committee which repudiates all notions that American capitalism is unassailable, that American imperialism is invincible. The

Central Executive Committee rejects without the slightest hesitation any viewpoint which tends toward a fatalistic attitude towards or conception of the present power of American imperialism. There is no room in our Party for those holding a pessimistic view. There is no room in our ranks for those who do not see the developing bases for sharp struggles in the United States. The Party roundly condemns any policy or line based on blindness to or minimizing of the multiplying evidences of working class resistance to capitalist exploitation and oppression. Those who maintain clearly or vaguely that American capitalism is not subject to the basic contradictions undermining international capitalism, or who give the slightest credence to the spurious bourgeois theory that American capitalism is so powerful and so "healthy" that the American workers are immune from the propaganda of the class struggle, from Communist influence, are maintaining a position entirely at variance with the line of the Party.

Those who are overawed by the bourgeoisifying factors retarding the development of class consciousness on a national scale amongst the American workers, are basing themselves on temporary and superficial phenomena and are against the basic lines of the Party. Those who do not see the increasing bases for Party work, the increasing opportunities for the development of a mass Communist Party in the United States, have no place in our membership. Any conception which directly or indirectly lends the slightest support to the notion that the fate which befell the socialist labor party, the socialist party and the I. W. W., awaits our Party, is a non-Communist conception, the entertaining of which is incompatible with Party membership.

What is the outlook for the class war and the role of the Party therein? What is our perspective?

Though American imperialism is still on the upgrade, it would be a major, fatal mistake not to see the basic contradictions of American capitalism, not to see those factors which are bound to create serious complications for American imperialism. The Party convention emphasizes that despite all the outward appearances of towering strength of American capitalism in the eyes of superficial observers, the contradictions of American imperialism are being intensified and not solved. Chief among these contradictions are:

1. The election of Hoover marks a sharp turn in the increasingly aggressive imperialist policies of the United States. But these very aggressive imperialist policies are bringing on in their train numerous complications in world politics. All these complications are bound to have their reflex in the inner situation of the country, in the relations between the classes, in the class war in the United States. The conflicts resulting from these outer contradictions can only serve to sharpen the class war at home, to intensify the inner contradictions of American imperialism. The very fact that American imperialism is continuing to push back British imperialism on every front, insures an increasing rivalry for the world market, for capital and commodities; increasing naval and military competition between the British and Yankee imperialists. The increasing resistance to American imperialism by British and other imperialist powers, means sharper attacks against the workers at home by the American bourgeoisie. The increasing domination by United States imperialism over the Latin American masses brings about a rising resistance on the part of the Latin American masses against United States imperialism, and the sharpened attacks on the workers in the United States inevitably brings about increasing mass resistance by the workers.

The increasingly aggressive participation of the United States in world politics, necessitates the building up of a huge navy, army and merchant marine. The maintenance of a huge war machine, a gigantic strike-breaking apparatus, can be realized only through increasing taxation and growing oppression, further making for a tendency of large sections of the workers, working farmers and even certain petty bourgeois elements resisting imperialist aggressiveness.

2. Though American capitalism has for the present succeeded in delaying a deep-going crisis, the last economic depression has already created many important complications for the bourgeoisie. Many important industries suffer from large excess productive capacities. The intensive installment buying system, on which American "prosperity" is based to an extent, is only a mortgage on the future purchasing power of the workers and exploited farmers, and though this system may for a time serve as a factor for deferring an economic crisis, once the crisis is on, will become only an aggravating force. The very technical and organization progress of the industries calls for partial crises in the attempt to intensify rationalization (textile, shoe, mining, etc.) and thus important sections of the working class are stirred to resistance against the capitalist drive.

Mass production is producing murderous mass competition. The technical revolution in the United States is only a further source of mass unemployment. Prolonged unemployment means intense suffering to the bulk of the workers, especially because in America there is no social insurance. Prolonged unemployment will bring serious grief to the households of millions of workers based largely on installment buying.

3. The first violent stage of the agricultural crisis has been liquidated by the ruination of hundreds of thousands of farmers and through the driving of millions of the farming population into the cities. But fundamentally the agricultural crisis is not over. The basic reason for the agricultural crisis is the existence of the monopolistic trusts on the one hand—a trustification movement is going on with terrific speed today—and the unorganized, the atomized status of the relatively technically backward farmers on the other hand. Despite recent growth of mechanization of American agriculture, the gap between the technical development of the manufacturing industries and agricultural remains, because of the more rapid rate of progress by the former. The resulting process of expropriation of large masses of the poorer farmers inevitably makes for greater resistance by these masses to bourgeois rule. The chronic agricultural crisis is consequently undermining the most important social foundation for allies of capitalist reaction, is destroying the illusions about the "independent farmers," is turning tenants into veritable peasants and is, thru this helping to develop a powerful mass reserve and valuable allies for the proletariat in its decisive struggle against capitalism.

4. The industrialization of the South will serve to awaken new sources of resistance to capitalist exploitation. It means an expropriation of additional rural masses, a pauperization of great masses of Negroes, a proletarianization of new large sections of the population. The creation of this new powerful industrial center in the United States will bring new unemployment, more wage cuts and general insecurity of life for hundreds of thousands of workers in New England and in other sections of the land.

5. Further proletarianization: With the tremendous accumulation of capital in the United States, there is proceeding a terrific concentration of ownership and centralization of operation. Capital is increasingly flowing into constantly fewer hands. Additional sections of the broad masses are being proletarianized. Example: Farmers, Negroes. This process develops a greater, a more powerful proletarian army to give final battle to the bourgeoisie.

6. The centralization and the bureaucratization of the United States government is making constant headway.

The increasing strike-breaking role of the government is one of the most powerful factors making for the radicalization of the American workers. The manifold tendencies of a special type of state capitalism manifesting themselves in the United States to an increasing extent are forces helping to turn the struggles of the working class more than ever before directly against the state and thus helping to deepen and give an increasingly political basis to the everyday struggles of the working class.

7. The existence of the Soviet Union: The very existence of the Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union is another limitation of paramount importance to the growth of American imperialism. The existence of the Soviet Union serves as a source of inspiration to the forces of the proletarian revolution gathering in other countries and to the forces of resistance to imperialist aggression in the colonies.

8. Likewise the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries constitute another limiting force to the upward development of American imperialism. The struggle for the liberation of the oppressed Negro race, the growth of the national movement of the Negro people for realization of the national self-determination of the Negroes to the establishment of a Negro republic in the South will help undermine one of the most important pillars of American imperialism.

9. The existence of the Communist Party is bound to play a role of decisive importance. The existence and growth of a conscious disciplined Party of proletarian revolutionists following the path of Leninism, is a factor of decisive importance in the limitation of the growth of American imperialism, in the mobilization of the working class and its allies for the overthrow of American capitalism.

10. The star of American capitalism is still ascending, but American capitalism is part and parcel of world capitalism which has already entered into the last, the declining stage of its development. As America becomes ever more a country exporting industrial commodities, it becomes increasingly dependent upon the world market. This subjects it ever more deeply and extensively to all economic and political complications of international capitalism. The United States is becoming increasingly a country of exporting capital. Thus the United States is living more and more at the expense of other coun-

tries. Coincident with and as a consequence of this growing phenomenon of capital export, we have stagnation and parasitism becoming more evident on a growing scale.

11. Last but not least, American imperialism will not be able to bribe broad sections of the working class for many more years. United States imperialism is not the sole workshop of the world as Great Britain was for decades. There are other mighty imperialist powers limiting the expansion of American imperialism, competing with it on every front. Thus the menace of a new imperialist war is looming up ever bigger on the horizon; a war which will prove a catastrophe to international capitalism, a war which through the existence of the Communist International will be turned into civil war. The very present strength of American imperialism generates contradictions in American capitalism—conflicts and antagonisms in the entire bourgeois world. The sharpening contradictions of American imperialism are opening up before us manifold opportunities for struggle against the bourgeoisie, for developing a mass Communist Party, for mobilizing the working class for the destruction of American imperialism.

The Party must turn full face to the most exploited sections of the American proletariat, which is the main body of the working class in the United States.

The efforts of the American ruling class to solve the present contradictions by further pressure on the toiling masses at home and intensified imperialist exploitation abroad, is calling forth bitter

OCTOBER PLOUGHS DEEP IN THE VILLAGE

By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS.

THAT hectic night in November with the alarm that Kerensky and the wild division was moving up on Petrograd. The factory whistles shrieking the tocsin to war. Out of the shops and slums march long lines of slanting bayonets, women with rifles, boys with picks and spades. Freezing blush cozes into their shoes, winds from the Baltic chill their bones. But in their veins burns a crusading fire and they push on to the front. They plunge forward into the black copse against hidden foes. They stand up to the charging Cossacks and tear them from their horses. Into the ears of their dying comrades they whisper, "Peace is coming! Power is ours!" Magnificent the rise of the poor and exploited with arms in their hands fighting for power and winning it.

Now in the villages a sight not less magnificent—the poor and exploited using the power that was won.

One sees the poor mujik, one time serf of the landlord, plowing with his own horses the land he once ploughed for the landlord, reaping for himself the fields he once reaped for another. One sees illiterate with joy illuminated faces making the once all-so-mysterious books yield up their secrets to them. "The czar only wanted us to plow and pay taxes. He put bandages on our eyes. The Soviet took them off and now we can see!" One sees the batrak (barefoot) now rising to self-esteem, a member of a union writing contracts. This is from a batrak's letter to me: "In the old days when we came to the koolak (hardist) for work, we had to kneel with caps off and often got only a kick. If he said 'come tomorrow' we thought it great luck. If he lent me one pood of rye we had to pay him two. Then

resentment of the masses. Strike movements and readiness for organized struggle among large sections of the workers must follow. The magnificent fight put up by the coal miners, the heroic resistance of the textile workers, are evidence of the potential militancy in the ranks of the American workers. Our Party must be prepared ideologically and organizationally not only to respond to this situation but to organize and lead the workers in the impending mass struggles for the overthrow of capitalism.

In the period of rising working class struggles, the Party must make it one of its central objectives to expose and defeat the trade union reactionaries, the socialist party leaders, the reformists of all kinds, the propagandists and apologists of capitalist prosperity, all of whom aim to paralyze the militancy and readiness of the workers to struggle, to chain the workers to capitalism. Social reformism, social democracy, and their reflex in our midst, Trotskyist opportunism and outright opportunism, must be fought with the maximum resource and vigor at the Party's command.

In the face of the sharpening war danger, in the face of the increasing attacks of the capitalists, in view of the new period of working class struggle that we are entering, the unity of all Communist forces, the complete unification of the Party was never more necessary and never more imperative than it is today.

On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist International, the Party will go forward to becoming a mass Bolshevik Party.

operatives and unions and machine arts. Then working with armored cars; now with tractors. Then with the Soviets chiefly as political forums; now as organs of economic reconstruction. Then with the slogan, "Take over the land!" now, "Organize the land! Plow it deep!" Then destroying the old order; now building the new society. Then initiating the revolution; now deepening, widening, extending, consolidating it, everywhere.

Everywhere! That is what makes the experience of these years so impressive. The astounding universality of the new phenomena. I have not entered a mountain ool or Cossack stanitsa or a forest hamlet or straggle of houses on a far off river without feeling the pulse of the revolution. In the "deafest" village, in the furthest flung outpost on the distant frontiers, it is at work.

It is still October. Only with new implements and new strategy, to meet the new situation. Then, thrusting guns into the hands of the masses; now, books and papers. Then, enlisting the masses into regiments and Red Guards; now, in co-

Reprinted by courtesy of "The Labor Defender."

LIFE AND DEATH OF A RUMANIAN COMMUNIST

(Red Aid Press Service)

BERLIN, (By Mail).—After a long and serious illness the Rumanian Communist, Konstantin Ivanus, died in the Virchow sanatorium in Berlin.

Ivanus was a carpenter of peasant origin. Always standing with the radical wing of the labor movement, shortly after the war he joined the illegally existing Communist groups. Since 1921 he was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Rumania, and of the central council of the carpenters' union.

The trust of the labor movement, especially of the wood workers, and of the peasantry, in Ivanus, was great. He was arrested in 1924. Again released. Arrested again in 1925, he was sentenced to two years in prison in the process against the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party. In this process the workers and peasants from the forest regions stood by his side. They made their statements and refused to take the religious oath at the trial.

Ivanus already had diseased lungs when he began to serve his term. The previous arrests, the hunger and thirst strikes which he had been thru, had ruined his health and eaten away his lungs. He was imprisoned in a sick man. The hellish punishment system of the Rumanian prisons did the rest. In 1927 Ivanus was released from jail very seriously sick.

The Red Aid section of Berlin-Brandenburg, which had adopted the persecuted workers of Rumania, invited Comrade Ivanus to come to Berlin and seek a cure here. His joy was indescribable when he came to Berlin and felt the care given him and his two children by the Red Aid organization. Everything was done to receive the courageous fighter of the working class. In vain! The best care could not repair what was destroyed in the hell of Rumanian class justice.

Konstantin Ivanus is dead. Again Rumanian torture with its Siguranza has done its work. Again one of the best fighters of the labor movement is physically destroyed.

It is a question here not of a single case, not of one instance of persecution, but of a complete system which aims at the destruction and death of all revolutionary fighters.

The change of government in Rumania has brought with it no change in this respect. The pompous reports of the lifting of the censorship and of military rule, which are meant to arouse the impression that in Rumania the course of the white terror would be left behind, are all bluffs. The Rumanian papers now appear, as always, with the stamp "censored," the processes against the revolutionary trade unions continue before the military courts as before. The trial against the 30 workers and intellectuals of Galatz, which is seen to begin, is to come before the martial tribunal; the process against Stefanov and comrades, which has been delayed from day to day, is also to come up before the military court.

There still sit in the prisons and cells of Rumania many revolutionary fighters whose life and health are being destroyed there.

Konstantin Ivanus is dead. His death must be a bugle call to the workers of the world. The workers of the world must fight side



KONSTANTIN IVANUS

"Singing Jailbirds" to Be Given for Working Women Saturday at Provincetown Saturday

Workingmen and women of New York can see the best of New Playwrights productions, "Singing Jailbirds," and at the same time help build the New York Working Women's Federation, by attending the performance of the play on Saturday night, Dec. 29, at the Provincetown Playhouse, 123 MacDougal St.

"Singing Jailbirds" has been hailed by many proletarian critics as the best play which the Playwrights Theatre has produced, and advise every worker to see it. The proceeds of Saturday night's performance will be used for the further building of the Working Women's Federation, which is sorely in need of funds to continue its important work. Tickets can be obtained at 26-28 Union Square, Room 202.

Upton Sinclair's "Singing Jailbirds" will be given at a benefit for the New York Working Women's Federation this Saturday evening. The proceeds of this performance will go towards the building of a militant working women's organization, one of the purposes of which will be the prevention of the murder of working class leaders as portrayed in the Sinclair play.

Tickets for the performance may be obtained either at the box office of the Provincetown Playhouse, 133 MacDougal St., or at Room 202, Workers Center, 26 Union Square. CALL SCAB A SCAB, JAILED. BARRY, England (By Mail) — Four dock strikers are in jail, in connection with the recent strike of riggers and dockers. They are charged with calling a strikebreaker a "backlog."

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C. I. Congress Decisions on Trotskyism

The Daily Worker herewith prints the decisions of the recent 6th World Congress of the Communist International on the international Menshevist Opposition. The attention of its readers is drawn to the timeliness of these decisions in connection with the active campaign the Workers (Communist) Party is waging against the American exponents of Trotskyism—Cannon and his fellow renegades.

Decision in the Case of Trotsky, Sapranov, etc.

Having examined the declaration of Trotsky, Sapranov and other members of the Opposition expelled from the C. P. S. U. and now applying for reinstatement, the VI. World Congress of the C. I. resolves:

1. The World Congress fully approves the decision of the XV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U. and the resolution of the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. concerning the incompatibility of adherence to the Trotskyist Opposition and the propaganda of its views with the membership of the Bolshevik Party. In its views on questions of the programme, policy and organization the Trotskyist group has sunk to the position of Menshevism and objectively has become an organ of struggle against the Soviet Power. Therefore, their expulsion from the C. P. S. U. was proper and inevitable.

2. The declaration submitted by the expelled members to the World Congress is fresh proof that Trotsky and the handful of his followers who, unlike the overwhelming majority of the former opposition, refuse to submit to the conditions laid down by the XV. Party Congress, are continuing their struggle, their disruptive work and their slanderous campaign against the C. P. S. U. and the proletarian dictatorship. The Congress considers it superfluous to discuss with the enemies of the C. I. the counter-revolutionary political content of the Trotskyist platform, after the mass of the membership of all the Communist Parties has repeatedly and resolutely rejected their point of view.

3. The VI. World Congress endorses the decision of the XV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U. on the expulsion of the Trotskyists. It is of the opinion that the measures taken subsequently against the leaders of the opposition were dictated entirely by revolutionary necessity and rejects the application of Trotsky, Radek, Sapranov and the other expelled members for reinstatement in the Party.

Decision in the Case of Maslow and Ruth Fischer

After having examined the communication received from Maslow and Ruth Fischer, dated August 23, 1928, the VI. World Congress resolves:

1. The World Congress endorses all the decisions passed by meetings of the Plenum and of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. and also by the Communist Party of Germany concerning the Maslow-Ruth Fischer Trotskyist group.

2. The whole of the counter-revolutionary, splitting activities of the leaders of this group preclude all confidence in the sincerity of their declarations, and show that they

are neither willing nor able to become Bolshevik fighters in the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany.

3. The World Congress therefore resolves to reject the application for reinstatement made by Maslow and Ruth Fischer and to pass on to next business.

4. At the same time the World Congress approves the declarations made by the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany that the way back to the C. P. of Germany shall be kept open for all workers expelled from the Party on account of their adherence to the Trotskyist groups, providing that they break with Maslow, Ruth Fischer and the other renegades of Communism and will unreservedly submit to all the decisions of the Communist Party of Germany and of the Communist International.

Resolution on the Case of Suzanne Girault and Others.

Suzanne Girault, expelled from the Communist Party of France for her profoundly anti-Communist conduct and for her factional activities, together with a small group that published the Opposition organ "Leninist Unity," has made application, jointly with a number of her political friends, for re-instatement in the Party.

In view of the fact that Suzanne Girault and her political friends continue stubbornly to adhere to their former oppositional political platform, refuse to admit their errors and deviations and to condemn the international factional struggle carried on by the Opposition, and particularly in view of their refusal to admit the correctness of the decisions of the VIII. and IX. Plenums of the E. C. C. I. and the XV. Congress of the C. P. S. U., which have been endorsed by the present Congress, the VI. Congress rejects the application for re-instatement submitted by Suzanne Girault and her fellow members of the "Leninist Unity" group.

The VI. World Congress also rejects the application of the Treint group as well as that of the "Class War" group, which continue to adhere to the platform of Trotskyism.

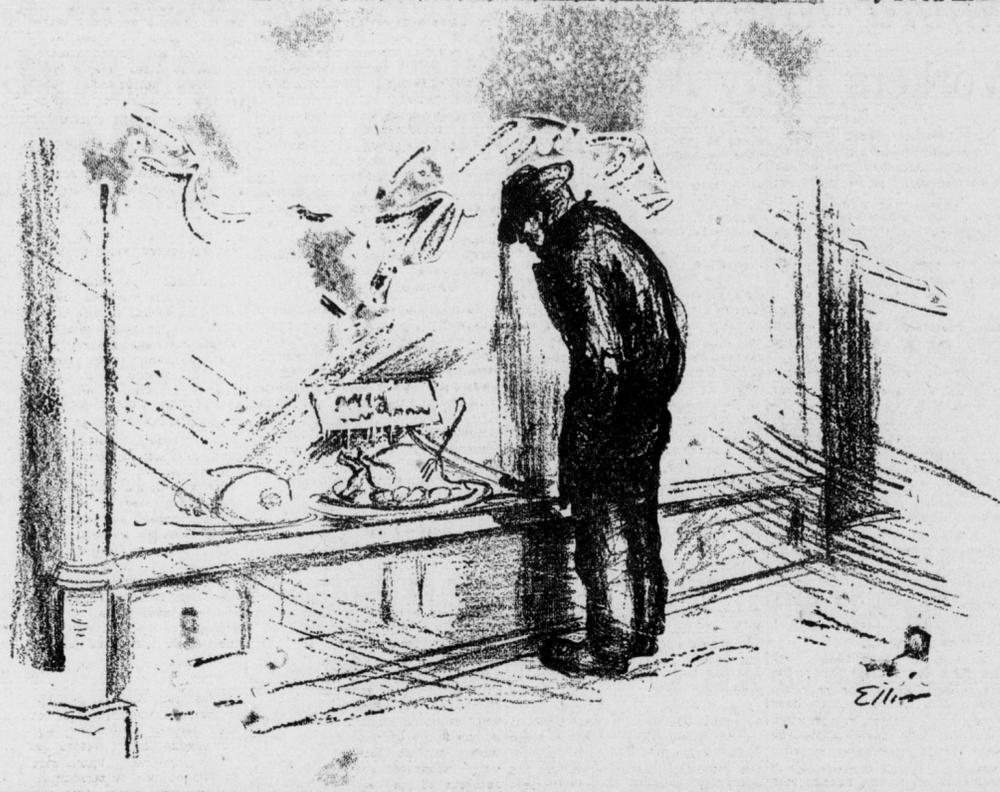
Nowadays, wars are increasingly wars of machinery and raw materials. The growing resistance to American imperialism in Latin-America, must be smashed, to pave the way for further enslavement. We all know of the "Big Stick" policy of Roosevelt. When Hoover goes down for "peace and friendship," he is going down for exploitation and war. Wall Street is already thinking of active mobilization of all its resources against Latin-America and against Europe. In Europe, it is meeting stronger and stronger competition. The screws must therefore be tightened in Latin America.

This brazen and monumental gall of the American imperialists, shown in the Hoover trip to Latin-America, comes to a head in Coolidge's Armistice Day declaration, which was a threat and a sharp warning to the imperialist competitors of the United States. With lightning rapidity followed the declaration of policy of the United States Naval Board, and Baldwin's shrinking before the champion of Wall Street. Lord Allenby, speaking before the West Point Cadets, declared: "If America and Great Britain stand next to each other, no one in the world can touch them."

But what the Lord conqueror of Jerusalem forgot to say is, that America and Great Britain are "touching" each other, and here is where the conflict is sharpest. The present situation marks a new turn, a very sharp turn in the aggressive role of American imperialism. This is of world-wide significance.

From "The 1928 Elections," by Jay Lovestone in the December issue of "The Communist."

"CHRISTMAS CHEER"



By Fred Ellis

Open Shop Gas Firm's Bribery of Labor Faker

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
Continued

McCarthy's clique were corrupt and reactionary. They fought against everything progressive in the unions. They were primarily responsible for putting Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings in jail and keeping them there. In this historic case their decisive influence has always been on the side of the employers. But with all their reaction they at least had sense enough to maintain strong unions, which the especially favorable local situation as well as their monopolistic combinations with the employers made easy.

About 18 months after the strike a legislative committee investigating the corruption used to defeat the Water Power Act in the interests of the great corporations uncovered a \$10,000 bribe given to McCarthy by the notorious Pacific Gas and Electric Co. This finished McCarthy. He was forced to resign his position in the Building Trades Council. The employers had used him as long as he was of value to them and then cast him aside.

The A. F. of L. and Graft. Towards all this corruption and graft the general policy in the trade unions has been to pass it over in silence. The false argument is made that if it is exposed it will injure the labor movement. This idea is carefully propagated by the reactionary officialdom, and large numbers of the rank and file are deceived by it. As for the grafters themselves, they interpret this policy of silence as giving them a free hand to carry on their destructive activities.

Rarely has the labor bureaucracy itself taken the initiative in exposing the corrupt leaders. Usually this is done by the employers and after they have been so exposed by the employers the unions sometimes expel them. Otherwise the whole practice of grafting on the workers and employers is tolerated and condoned. The disease of corruption goes on untreated. A search of the "History, Encyclopedia, and Reference Book of A. F. of L.," bring forth on page 161 the following lone action taken on the question of bribery by the A. F. of L.:

"Bribe-taking—(1903, p. 202). An isolated case of bribe-taking does not warrant the conclusion that dishonesty on the part of the officers of organized labor prevails. On the contrary, we are convinced that the representatives of organized labor are by far the most reliable, honest, and trustworthy of any walk of life."

The reason for this failure to attack the grafters is plain. The right wing machine in the A. F. of L. bases itself, and has for a generation, upon the most corrupt and reactionary elements in the labor movement. One-third of the membership of the A. F. of L. belongs to the building trades unions, where corruption is at its worst. Their delegations at A. F. of L. conventions are solidly reactionary. Their leaders, in combination with the bourbon heads of the printing trades and the miners' unions, form the body of the reactionary A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

To Be Continued

Plan Int'l Musical Exhibition in USSR

MOSCOW. (By Mail).—The All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Abroad has decided to organize an international musical festival in the USSR.

It is proposed also to organize exchange of laureates with Poland and to organize a series of reports of Soviet music in Berlin. Besides that the society is trying to organize an exchange of music teachers with abroad.

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists

(Note: We print today the third installment of the resolution adopted by the 6th Congress of the Communist International on the war danger, entitled, "The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists." Publication of this and the other theses of the Congress will continue till all have appeared.—EDITOR.)

14. In addition to the task of combating pacifism and frivolous "revolutionary" phrasemongering in the struggle against imperialist war, the Communists are faced with a number of other fundamental agitational and educational tasks. These are:

Basic Tasks.
a) To expose in proper time, the sophistries and catch-words by which the bourgeoisie and social-democracy try to justify war. The principal slogan advanced by the latter, even in the present day, is the slogan of "national defense." The war against China in 1927 revealed the true significance of slogans like "protection of life and property," "protection of trade," "protection of the flag," etc.

In the last imperialist war, the allies made use of the slogan "Fight against Prussian militarism," while the central powers used the slogan "Fight against Czarism"; both sides using the respective slogans to mobilize the masses for war. In a future war between Italy and France, or Yugoslavia, the same purpose will be served by the slogan "Fight against reactionary fascism," for the bourgeoisie in the latter countries will take advantage of the anti-fascist sentiments of the masses of the people to justify imperialist war.

On the other hand, fascism justifies its imperialist war policies by the catch-words "over-population," "natural necessity for expansion," etc. The Communist Parties have hitherto paid insufficient attention to the duty of refuting these sophistries.

Lenin on Party's Tasks.
b) "It is essential again and again, and as concretely as possible, to explain to the masses what the situation was at the time of the last war, and why that situation was inevitable."
"It is particularly necessary to explain to the masses the significance of the fact that the question of 'national defense' is becoming an inevitable question, which the enormous majority of the toilers will inevitably decide in favor of their own bourgeoisie." (Lenin).

"In view of recent experiences of war, we must explain that on the one hand, the question of 'national defense' and 'over-population' will find it utterly impossible to examine them with a clear head and with any degree of impartiality." (Lenin).

"We must tell the masses the real facts about the profound secrecy in which the governments make their plans for war and how impotent the ordinary labor organizations, even those that call themselves revolutionary, are in the face of impending war." (Lenin).

Workers' Illegals Work.
The Bolsheviks, having a well set up illegal organization, were the only Party able to carry on revolutionary work during the war. Yet even they could no more prevent the masses from responding to the bourgeois call for "national defense" than they could prevent the outbreak of war, notwithstanding the fact

that the proletarian struggle in Russia was at high tide at that period. In fact, only a few weeks before the outbreak of war, barricades were erected in the streets of St. Petersburg.

Consequently, only by thoroughly explaining to the masses the tremendous difficulties that have to be overcome in a real struggle against war can the foundation be laid for the solution of the tactical problems involved in this struggle.

Teach Lessons of Last War.
c) Finally, it is necessary to explain thoroughly to the masses the experiences of the last world war of 1914-1918; the tendencies that prevailed in the labor movement at that time, the struggles the Bolsheviks conducted against war, and the fundamental slogan they advanced of transforming the imperialist war into civil war.

15. This agitational and propagandist activity must be closely linked up with the revolutionary work of the Party among the masses.

This is the main task in the struggle against imperialist war before it breaks out. Stated in detail this task includes the following:

Conduct of Anti-War Work.
a) Factory and trade union activity must be concentrated primarily in the industries which serve the mobilization for and conduct of war, like the metal industry, the chemical industry, and transport. It is particularly important to apply the tactics of the proletarian united front and to secure the organizational consolidation of its results (establishment of committees of action, etc.).

b) In view of the fact that the peasantry constitutes the bulk of the army in most countries, special attention must be paid to anti-war work among the peasants. This work is facilitated by the strong anti-war sentiment prevailing among the peasants in many countries. The bourgeoisie, through the medium of the big landlords and big farmers and through Ex-Service Men's Leagues, the press, fascism, pacifism, the churches, etc., strive to consolidate their influence in the countryside, and to rouse the "fighting spirit" of the peasantry. Communists must counter-act this activity by their work to sharpen the class-struggle in the countryside.

Work Among Peasants.
The Communists must conduct anti-war agitation among the peasant masses and in this utilize the experiences of the world war, and link up this agitation with the economic demands of the small peasantry. They must explain to the peasants the proletarian attitude towards war; carry on fraction work in the reactionary peasant leagues; organize anti-war conferences of the small peasantry, and give consideration to the special interests of the peasants in carrying on work in the army.

Oppressed Nationalities.
c) The national-revolutionary movements in the Balkans, Poland, etc., play an extremely important part in the struggle against the imperialist war danger and in transforming imperialist war into civil war. The struggle against the imperialist war danger in these countries must be linked up with the fight against the remnants of feudalism and against national oppression, and must be directed towards the development of the agrarian and national revolutions.

Hence, the establishment and expansion of a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, the peasantry and the oppressed nations against capitalism and against the imperialist war danger is an exceedingly im-

portant task that now confronts the Communist Parties.

Work Among Youth.
d) A matter of decisive importance is the work among the youth, especially among the industrial youth. The greatest efforts must be exerted—not only by the youth organizations, but by all Communists—in combatting bourgeois sport organizations, fascist organizations, military schools, etc., through which the bourgeoisie are training the youth for imperialist wars. Furthermore, bourgeois military training of the youth must also be combatted. Where the military training of the youth is compulsory, the Communists should urge the young workers to accept it, but they must organize work for the political education of these young workers and for the disintegration of the bourgeois military organizations. Similar work must be carried on in bourgeois, voluntary military training organizations. For this purpose, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League must send members into these organizations, but they must not urge the young workers to join them. Instead, they must urge the young workers to join, or form, Labor Defense Organizations.

Work Among Women.
e) Bearing in mind the important part women play in industry, especially in time of war, work must be carried on among the industrial working women and workingmen's wives. To combat the imperialist influences disseminated among working women through petty bourgeois organizations and to organize the working women in trade unions and other proletarian mass organizations, are extremely important tasks at the present time in view of the threatening war danger.

In this connection, special consideration must be given to the plans for the militarization of women and to the increasing influence which bourgeois pacifist, religious and nationalist organizations are exercising over working class women. Work among the women must no longer be neglected, and the idea that this work is solely the affair of the women Communists must be stamped out.

Anti-Imperialist Activity.
f) Anti-imperialist activity; work in the army and navy; work among the recruits and reservists and in bourgeois defense organizations, in which the proletarian element is strongly represented, must constitute an inseparable part of the general revolutionary mass activity of the Party, and must embrace the whole of the working class.

Need of Illegal Organization.
In some Lenin was of the opinion that "the only possible way of continuing revolutionary work after the outbreak of war is the creation of an illegal organization." But, an illegal organization is also necessary in the anti-war struggle before war breaks out. There is still considerable confusion of mind concerning this important task in the struggle against war, and serious neglect in its practical fulfillment.

In some Communist Parties the definitely opportunist view prevails that the conduct of anti-war activity is the business only of the youth, or of a special organization, while activity within the army is regarded as not being absolutely essential. Such views must be vigorously combatted, and the work must be taken up immediately, in the spirit of the instructions given by Lenin. In this connection, we must:

Organize Illegal Apparatus.
1) Enlarge the number of Party factory nuclei which, under given circumstances arising from the persecution of the employers and the police, must go underground. The preparations for the transference to

underground conditions when the contingency arises, must be undertaken now.

2) Make preparations for guaranteeing the proper functioning of the leading bodies of the Party, of the communications apparatus of the Party press, in the event of the necessity arising for going strictly underground.

While never for a moment ceasing to utilize all available legal possibilities, the Communist Parties must already at the present time, devote the greatest energy and attention to these tasks. If they fail to do this the persecution that must set in at the moment of the outbreak of war—a foretaste of which we have already in a number of countries today—will inevitably destroy the Party organization, and with it, the principal base of the revolutionary struggle against war.

Organize Masses Against War.
17. The Communist Parties must bend all their work to the central task of preparing, winning over and organizing the masses for the struggle against imperialist war. The struggles of the proletariat and of toilers generally against the intensification of exploitation and oppression—in matters of wages, the working day, taxes, rent, social services, political disfranchisement, victimization and the intensification of the fascist menace—must not be confined to the demands arising out of these struggles, but must be linked up with the determined struggle against imperialist war policy.

All the important questions of foreign policy, of armaments, of the introduction of new weapons of war, etc., must be brought before the masses of the workers and utilized for the organization of revolutionary mass action. In this struggle, the Communist Party, giving due and sober consideration to its strength, must march boldly and determinedly at the head of the masses. It must organize demonstrations and strikes against the war policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie and, at the proper moment, put to the masses the question of the general strike and of still sharper methods of struggle.

To Be Continued

WOMAN JINGOIST FOR WAR PLANES

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25.—Representative Edith N. Rogers appears in the Congressional Record, with an undelivered speech calling the nation to arms to save the South American market for the exploitation of the new American airplane trust. She points out that rival European manufacturers, and still worse, European military fliers and instructors, are poaching upon a market which the Monroe Doctrine marks off as American booty.

Clash in Mexico.
She indicated that "elements of European personnel" are connected with the Mexican air services in various responsible positions.

Colombia's commercial aviation is controlled by a German company while its military aviation is in charge of a Swiss instructor. In Venezuela and Brazil military aeronautics are administered by the French. In the latter country a French military mission maintains strict control over all aeronautical matters, she said.

Argentina maintains a permanent military mission of its own in Europe, Mrs. Rogers said, which is very responsive to European influence and can not in any way be regarded as susceptible to American.

Britain the Rival.
A British naval mission acts as advisor to the Chilean naval and

aviation operations, according to this statement.

In Peru, high officers of German birth and former German rank and citizenship dominate the Peruvian army. The same situation exists in Bolivia.

The relatively small aeronautical activities of Ecuador are regulated by Italian instructors.

In Cuba, which offers but a minor field for America's aviation exports, Cuban aviation officers are under instruction of American flyers. In this Latin-American Republic the United States holds practically its sole aviation influence.

Troops Menace Rebel 'Radical' Organization
SAN JUAN, Argentina, Dec. 25.—Plenty of government troops under the command of Modestino Pizarro, a representative of President Irogoyen, holding the political office of "Federal Interventor," are keeping subdued the section of the Irogoyen "Radical" Party which revolted against his rule here Sunday, and caused a fight that killed four men.

40 HURT IN TRAIN CRASH.
MELBOURNE, Australia, Dec. 25 (UP).—Forty persons were injured today when a train carrying holiday crowds from Melbourne was wrecked in a head-on collision with a freight train at Kooperup station.

WORKER BAKED TO DEATH.
SWANSEA, Wales (By Mail).—Arthur Swift, a window cleaner, was baked to death when he fell to a slag tip while at work in the Beaufort Tinworks.

TORIES HONOR TOOL.
LONDON, Dec. 25.—Cosmo Gordon Lang, the new archbishop of Canterbury, has taken a seat in the house of lords.

MANY WISCONSIN JOBLESS.
MADISON, Wis. (By Mail).—An increase of unskilled workers is reported in Wisconsin.

MOSCOW (By Mail).—The number of agricultural (and forest) workers in U. S. S. R. trade unions is now 1,243,300.