

THE COMMUNIST



FEB. 1930 **25c**

Demonstrate February 26th

THE COMMUNIST



FEB. 1930 **25c**

Demonstrate February 26th

WORKERS!

DO YOU READ THE INPRECORR?

(International Press Correspondence)

A weekly mine of information about the International Communist Movement. Articles by the leading Communists of the world. Reports from every land, reports on International Congresses and conferences. Indispensable as a source of information of the world revolutionary movement.

Subscription Price

\$6.00 A YEAR

In order to enable a greater number of workers to subscribe to this weekly we are making this OFFER (to last during January, February and March, ONLY).

The Communist \$2.00 a year
and the

International Press Correspondence \$6.00 a year

BOTH FOR \$6.00 A YEAR

There are many thousands of class conscious workers in America who never made contact with the revolutionary movement in this country. No doubt there are many in your shop, your trade union, or fraternal organization. **DO YOUR DUTY TO YOUR CLASS!** Send in one sub for one such worker and that way draw him into the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard—The Communist Party. Send in your own subscription, or renewal, and make yourself fit to serve the **CLASS STRUGGLE. ACT NOW! MAKE YOUR GIFT A CLASS GIFT!**



THE COMMUNIST

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

*Published Monthly by the
Communist Party of the United States of America*

MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

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

VOL. IX.

FEBRUARY, 1930

No. 2

CONTENTS

NOTES OF THE MONTH	99
U. S. AGRICULTURE AND TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.	104
ARE NEW REVOLUTIONS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT WAR?	121
<i>by GREGORY ZINOVIEV</i>	
WORLD ASPECTS OF THE NEGRO QUESTION ...	132
<i>by OTTO HUISWOOD</i>	
THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO PROBLEM	148
<i>by M. RUBENSTEIN</i>	
INTER-RACIAL RELATIONS AMONG SOUTHERN WORKERS	154
<i>by MYRA PAGE</i>	
THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE ANTI- IMPERIALIST LEAGUE	166
<i>by WILLIAM WILSON</i>	
THE THEORETICAL KNIGHTS OF OPPORTUNISM	173
<i>by D. BUKHARTSEV</i>	
BOOK REVIEWS	188

Make all checks, money orders, and correspondence to: THE COMMUNIST,
43 East 125th St., New York. Subscription rates \$2.00 a year; \$1.25 for six months;
foreign and Canada \$2.50 a year. Single copies 25 cents

A NEW LENIN VOLUME

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS have just issued
a new Lenin volume in the *Collected Works*:

THE ISKRA PERIOD

This volume contains Lenin's writings dealing with the formative period of the Bolshevik Party, and includes the famous brochure *What Is to Be Done?* and special studies of the agrarian question and the role of the Liberals.

In two parts, each \$3.00

Previously published:

THE REVOLUTION OF 1917

In two parts, each \$3.00

MATERIALISM AND EMPIRO-CRITICISM

In two parts, each \$3.00

In preparation:

THE IMPERIALIST WAR

\$3.00

A MARXIST LIBRARY

International Publishers have begun publication of a Library of classics of Marxist and Leninist literature. The first four volumes published are:

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM

by G. V. Plekhanov \$1.50

IMPERIALISM AND WORLD ECONOMY

by N. I. Bukharin \$1.50

THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF THE LEISURE

CLASS by N. I. Bukharin \$1.50

KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS

by D. Riazanov \$1.50

Order these books from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

39 East 125th Street

New York

Notes of the Month

GRADUALLY the spokesmen of capitalism admit the gravity of the economic crisis. "Cataclysm" is the word used to describe it by the "Magazine of Wall Street" (Jan. 11th), while "The Annalist" predicts that "vigorous and sustained improvement" will not appear "until after next November at the earliest." In short, it is generally admitted that the country is in the *first phases* of a major economic crisis.

With final figures for December before us, it is possible to complete the picture of the first three months of the sharp crisis. As we examine these figures, we must remember that in the previous crisis the downward course of industry has continued for six to twenty months before the crisis was liquidated.

To obtain a composite picture of the various "authorities" views we take the figures of the "Federal Reserve Bulletin," the "Survey of Current Business" (U.S. Dept. of Commerce), and "The Annalist," to trace the general downward course:

	Federal Reserve	Dept. of Com.	Annalist
June	126	128	107.5
July	124	125	108.5
August	123	124	106.8
September	121	122	105.8
October	117	117	103.5
November	106	106	94.2
December			90.1

The "Annalist" comments that "the index is now at the lowest level recorded for any month back to August, 1924," while the lowest point reached in the depression of 1921 was 81.6 in March, only 8.5 points below that of December just past. In 1920-21, it took nine months to reach the low point. Now in 1930, the rate of decline is so swift that only three more months of the same development will bring industry far below the low level of 1921, while the extreme low points in December (steel, for example, finished the year operating at 40 per cent!) may very likely be levelled out somewhat in January, there is nothing whatever in sight to indicate any halt to the general downward trend. We are plunging into a crisis the full depths of which are still to be explored.

UNEMPLOYMENT is growing at an unprecedented rate. Its volume is entirely obscured by the official figures. There were at least five million unemployed at the onset of the crisis. Since then up to the end of 1929, the Bureau of Labor Statistics recorded 697,000 workers thrown out of factories. This figure deals with only 40 per cent of the workingclass, and registers only official and acknowledged reductions in working force. Applying the same ratio of unemployment to the rest of the working-class, and we have another million to add to the total. There is no way of measuring even approximately the unacknowledged layoffs, which are quite general, where the workers are kept on the payroll, report for work every few days and constantly are told to "report for duty next week."

Knowing as we do the sharp rationalization and speed-up going on in all lines, it is no exaggeration to say that the already realized reduction in business of more than 20 percent must inevitably record five million workers added to the army of unemployed by the crisis, if not already, then surely in the next weeks.

* * * * *

THE crisis-accompaniment of declining commodity prices is well under way, and is already reflected in a general wage-reduction movement throughout the country which proceeds ahead of commodity prices. The "Annalist" index, based upon 1913, shows a decline from the high point of 150.2 in July, to 139.8 on January 14th, or over ten points. This is the lowest point in over five years.

This decline in prices is world-wide, witnessing the fact that the crisis in the U. S. is merely the most advanced sector in a world crisis. "Barron's," financial weekly, for January 13th, gives a valuable comparison of U. S., British, and Italian prices, which makes this clear. (The comparison in each case is with 1926 average).

U. S. (Fisher index) July 7, 99.2; end of year 93.1.
 Britain (Crump's index) year's high, 94.4; end of year, 88.
 Italy (Milan C. of C.) year's high, 76.4; end of year, 70.1

The "Federal Reserve Bulletin" records a decided downward movement of commodity prices in 15 principal European countries, in Japan and India, in Egypt and South Africa.

The spontaneous regulators of capitalist economy (markets, prices, competition, and crises) are hard at work. The myth of

“organized capitalism,” which loomed so large in the dreams of the reformists and the right-wing elements in the Communist International a few short months ago, is already exposed to the derision of the disillusioned masses.

* * * * *

OUR opportunists and renegades saw capitalist monopoly, trustification, and mergers, as factors “organizing” capitalist economy and eliminating crises. The truth is, of course, the very opposite. Mergers and the growth of monopoly in capitalism, deepens the crises and feeds itself in crises. Thus, the “Magazine of Wall Street” consoles itself for the dark outlook of 1930, with the prediction that “it will even surpass 1928 and 1929 in huge consolidations.” The movement toward mergers will, it declares, “no doubt be accelerated rather than retarded by conditions in prospect.” With every step in this process the contradictions within capitalism are deepened and sharpened.

* * * * *

MEANWHILE, the Hoover-Green pact of no wage increases and no strikes, has been realized in its ugly reality of general wage cuts and mass unemployment, with the A. F. L. serving as the principal agency to demoralize the workers and prevent them from offering any resistance. The 20 percent wage cut in the steel industry is only an outstanding example of the general process. The speed-up is attaining more intensity, growing with each week of the developing crisis, which hastens the process and carries it to intolerable degrees.

“Foreign Trade and Prosperity” is the slogan shouted ever more vehemently by the capitalists. The shrinking domestic market is to be compensated by expansion abroad! A classical expression of this program is the following:

“This country is accumulating capital at the rate of at least ten billion dollars annually. . . . With domestic business demanding less capital investment, what is going to be done with these ten billions? The only answer seems to be that foreign loans will expand rapidly. . . . Loans abroad mean practically equivalent sales abroad. . . . We finance the foreigners to give us business. Suppose we lend two billion dollars! . . . Now, when business slows up at home we can lend a capital-hungry world money in sufficient amounts to create foreign buying against domestic buying recession.”

The program is simple and clear! Replace the domestic market with the foreign market. But let us examine, for a moment, the dimensions of this task. The domestic market has shrunk already by 20 percent; the foreign market amounted to less than 10 percent of the normal domestic market. Therefore, for the export market to make up for the shrinking of the domestic market, *it must increase by 200 per cent*, or, if given a more modest task, to make up half of the deficit, exports must be doubled.

Such an increase of exports, in a world in the throes of economic crisis—or even a minor fraction of such increase,—presupposes the sharpest collision between the United States and its rivals on the world market, before all with Great Britain.

This is the fundamental basis, determining the problems being faced in the Naval Conference sitting in London, and the strategy of the Powers as they manoeuvre for position and for a re-shuffling of alignments. *All* recognize clearly the inevitability of *war* for possession of the markets of the world, and all are straining every nerve to be in on the “winning combination” in this war. The economic crisis has dramatized and brought forth into the open, those deep-lying forces which determine the statecraft of capitalism.

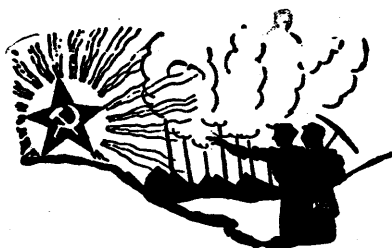
* * * * *

BEFORE Ortiz Rubio had been back in Mexico City from the U. S. for 24 hours, he announced the breaking of relations with the Soviet Union. Officially, the excuse for the break is resentment at the working-class demonstrations in Washington, Detroit and Latin-American cities, directed against the Rubio-Morrow offensive on the Mexican workers, against the assassinations of workers' and peasants' leaders, outlawing of trade unions and the Mexican Communist Party. Rubio had his orders to make the break, doubtless from Hoover and Stimson, but failed to get instructions in the technique of how to carry it out; for surely never before in history was there such a spectacle—Mexico breaks relations with the Soviet Union because, forsooth, American and Mexican workers in Detroit met Rubio at the railway station and booed him! These comic aspects of the situation, however, cannot be allowed to obscure the grim reality that the Mexican break is another step of world imperialism, in which the U. S. more and more takes the lead, preparing war against the Soviet Union.

* * * * *

THE answer of the workingclass to the growing attacks of the bourgeoisie, to the unemployment, and to the war danger, finds its rallying center in the world-wide demonstration organized by the Communist Parties of all lands on February 26th. With the

fight against unemployment as the main slogan, this international action will be the continuation and extension of the international Red Day of August 1st last year. It will be a major action of the workingclass of the world, an enlargement of the fighting front, a consolidation of our organizations for struggle, and a challenge to the war-mongers of imperialism—all based upon the burning and immediate needs of the masses. The broadest working masses will be mobilized for a united action throughout the world, demonstrating against unemployment, the consequences of the world economic crisis, for revolutionary trade unions, for the seven-hour day and five-day week, for unemployment relief and insurance, against imperialist war and for defense of the Soviet Union. It must be made a fighting response of the workingclass to the period of crisis in which we have now entered.



U. S. Agriculture and Tasks of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

A Draft Program Proposed by the Agricultural Committee of the C. E. C. for General Discussion

SECTION I

GENERAL ANALYSIS IN THE PRESENT PERIOD

1. American agriculture has suffered sharply from the basic contradictions of world capitalism, particularly since the imperialist world war. At present, with the general depression in American capitalist economy still further deepening the agrarian crisis, concurrently with a historic advance in socialization of agriculture in the Soviet Union, the explosive force of agrarian discontent presents the Communist Party with tasks (which are *opportunities*) of great magnitude, extreme diversity and distinctly revolutionary character. Its scope is admitted by all. The flood of talk about "farm relief" which has swept the country since 1920, when the agricultural economy entered a precipitate decline, fully testifies to the gravity of the situation. Imperialist capitalism is driving great masses into complete pauperization. Two million farmers and their families are to be made pariahs and vagrants under the cry, "Too many farmers!"

(a) The Communists declare that there can be no solution under capitalism for the problem which the capitalists admit. We declare that bourgeois "solutions," one and all, are not only ineffective in relieving the suffering of the agrarian masses, but will only intensify the misery of the majority of the farm population. All the "relief" schemes, fake "co-operatives," and so on, now being pressed by the Hoover administration have an effect comparable with the rationalization of industry. They represent a conscious capitalist consolidation of monopoly control at the expense of the masses, an attempt to strengthen the imperialist machine preparatory to war. It is a Communist duty to expose these schemes, to show the small farmer mass that it "may emancipate itself from capital only by joining the labor movement, by helping the workers in their fight for the socialist system, and for converting the land as well as all means of production (factories, works, machines, etc.) into public property" (Lenin, 1901), and that, "Outside of com-

mon tillage of the land by agricultural workers under the conditions of applying the best machines and using the advice of trained agriculturists, there is no way out from the yoke of capitalism" (Lenin, 1917). Hitherto, we must admit, the Communist Party has wholly neglected the agrarian masses, and tasks have accumulated, which, together with developing opportunities, makes it necessary that our party act energetically in order that it play a decisive role.

2. There is, firstly, in the way of contradictions, a great gap between potential productive capacity in agriculture and the productive capacity used. In spite of this, there is, secondly, a great surplus of production over the available (capitalist) markets.

(a) There are, in farm land, some 924,000,000 acres, but only 525,000,000 of this is improved and only 365,000,000 acres are in crops. The Department of Agriculture admits that, were it not for "high costs" (capitalist limitations) "farmers would have put into cultivation about twice as much land as is now under the plow." As to power resources, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce states that there is "more machine power available per worker in agriculture than in all manufacturing industries combined, but there is less power per worker actually used than in any other industry." We shall see later why this is so.

(b) Nevertheless, O. E. Baker, of the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, admits: "The United States is faced with an overwhelming food surplus which," he declares, "can only be dealt with by inducing the American people to eat more animal products, which require greater acreage of cultivation, or by increased exportation, which at the present seems out of the question." Inevitably, with lessening demand (privation) resulting from the growing general depression in American as in world economy, the proposal to "induce American people to eat more" is as fantastic as hopes for increased exports. As to this latter, though admittedly "out of the question," this is precisely the panacea now being initiated by the Farm Board and its gilded swindles, "the farmers' co-operatives." A step, be it said, anticipated by practically every European government, which, since May, 1929, have all put up a tariff wall against American wheat, etc.

(c) The large increase of agricultural production which gives this "overwhelming surplus" takes place despite the great reduction in farm population. The Department of Agriculture estimates the total farm population on January 1, 1929, as being 27,500,000, which is less by 4,500,000 than the figure for 1910. Of this reduction, the Hoover report ("Recent Economic Changes") states that 800,000 farm wage workers were displaced from agriculture be-

tween 1918 and 1926 alone. In this connection it is worth noting that the Department of Agriculture states that productivity per man has increased 30 per cent in the last ten years and 47 per cent between 1899 and 1925.

(d) The demands of the past world war left American agriculture with increased production capacity, which, because of the capitalist anarchy (free competition) in the industry, kept right on producing. Thus we see from the Hoover report that from 1919, taken as 100 (a year of fair crops), the "mass of crop production" (not to be confused with values) went on upward to 102 in 1922, 104 in 1925, and 106 in 1927, and, says the report, "with a smaller number of workers cultivating slightly less land."

(e) The relation of America's farm population to that of the world: With a population of only one-twentieth of the farm population of the world, American agriculture produces 66 per cent of the world corn, 60 per cent of the cotton, 50 per cent of the tobacco, 33 per cent of the hogs, 33 per cent of the poultry, 25 per cent of the oats and 20 per cent of the wheat. The bourgeoisie mention this boastfully, but, taken in conjunction with the declining income of the majority of American farmers, which the bourgeoisie conceals and does not boast of, it only proves that the "solution" proposed by bourgeois economists who suggest more mechanization would, if it could be realized, solve nothing for the U. S. farm masses, since American farms already have an advantage in higher average equipment per acre than other countries, yet in spite of this the conditions of the farm population steadily grow worse. Further mechanization, then, while maintaining the capitalist system of property relations in which the benefits of increased mechanization goes to an exploiting class, would merely worsen conditions of the majority of the farm population, of farm wage labor and the poor and middle farmer, tending to reduce their standards to the starvation level of the pauperized peasantry of China and India, since a majority could not share in better mechanization or would be affected adversely by it. On the other hand, we see that only where agriculture is being socialized, in the Soviet Union, after capitalist property relations have been overthrown in land itself, does increased mechanization raise the living standard of the agrarian masses.

(f) American per capita consumption of all cereals today is only 240 pounds per year, compared with 380 pounds in 1900, wheat consumption falling 20 per cent, corn 40 per cent, per capita. Wheat chronically meets increasing competition on the world market. Agricultural exports in general, which climbed rapidly from 1882 until 1900, then receded just as rapidly to a

point below the 1882 level just before the World War. Then they leaped up, but no higher, however, than the level of 1896, only to fall with but a slight pause in 1920, to a volume in 1923 (the last graph available) equal only to the volume of exports for the year 1888. Obviously, little or no outlet can be found under capitalism for ever-growing production except the reactionary outlet of imperialist war. If, however, the city proletariat by struggle can compel the employing class to pay higher wages this would help to absorb the surplus; while if the masses overthrow capitalism and socialize industry, increased demand for food and clothing would take up all the farm surplus now choking the market, since we must by no means imagine that the proletarian masses in the cities have either enough to eat or to wear. It is upon this basis that an alliance between the poor farmers and the revolutionary city proletariat should be built for a joint fight against capitalism the small farmers aiding the proletariat both in wage struggle and the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of a Soviet Government of Workers and Farmers.

(g) The "solution" of the bourgeoisie is stated by Virgil Jordan, chief economist of the National Industrial Conference Board, who says there is an annual deficit in agriculture of \$5,000,000,000. Jordan adds: "This basic American industry is broke, and has been since the war; I see nothing to look forward to but the abandonment of 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 farm enterprises in the course of the next ten years." That is, as may be seen, a proposal for restoring solvency to agriculture by bankrupting and pauperizing about half the farm population. This is the best "organized capitalism" can suggest. Against such, the Communist Party proposes to restore solvency not only to agriculture, but to the agricultural population as well, by abolishing capitalism and socializing the agricultural as well as other industries.

SECTION II

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN AGRICULTURE

1. Finance capital completely dominates agricultural industry, despite the varied and, compared to manufacturing industry, anachronistic forms. Marx observed that the capitalist mode of production "meets in its first stages (and subordinates to itself) the most varied forms of landed property; from tribal property, feudal landed property, down to peasant communal lands," quoted by Lenin, who added that "The assumption of capitalist organization of agriculture necessarily includes the assumption that all the land

is occupied by separate *private enterprises*, but it certainly does not include the assumption that the whole of the land is the *private property* of these entrepreneurs, or of other persons, or that it is *private property generally*." (Lenin's Works, Vol. IV. Our emphasis.) This aids us in tracing the development of capitalism in agriculture and in seeing, behind the millions of farm enterprises with all their varied quantities and varied property relationship, the dominant role of finance capital in exploitation of agriculture.

In his work on American agriculture Lenin in 1913 also dealt a blow at an important form of "American exceptionalism" which contends that in America "things are different" and that capitalism is not developing at all or at least has no ill effects to the idyllic "small" or self-sufficing farmer. In part, he said: "Capitalism subdues the communal land property in Russia, the land grabs of free land grants of the democratic or feudalistic Siberia or the 'Far West' of America, the slave holders' land property of the South in America and semi-feudal property forms of the 'true Russian' gubernias. The growth and victory of capitalism in all of these cases is the same; there is only a difference in their forms. To understand and acquire exact knowledge of this process, it will not do to stop at the hackneyed bourgeois phrases about 'working' farms or to be contented with the methods of classifying all farms according to their acreage."

With the virtual passing of free land for colonization in the West, the capitalist apologists have increasingly been hard put to disguise the growth of capitalism and its growing impoverishment of the majority of the farm population. They have tried to establish the fiction of a "typical" farm and a "typical" farmer, a benign patriarch owning a "piece of land," self-sufficing for family needs and something to spare for market wherewith to turn an honest penny, exploiting nobody, robbed by nobody, and at peace with the world.

Unfortunately for this view, the most "typical" fact in agriculture is the investment of capital, which has changed self-sufficing farming into commercial farming, and the *differences in capital investment* which have upset all beautiful "typical" pictures. It has brought about technical change, an intensification of production, greater mechanization, use of more fertilizers, increased employment of hired labor, a *concentration* of capital on small acres of land which makes superficial all estimation of farming based upon acreage comparisons.

"The amount of land," says Lenin, "shows only indirectly the extent of a farm, and it becomes the less indicative the more intensive agriculture becomes . . . When small farming is spoken of,

farms that employ *NO* hired labor is implied. But the exploitation of hired labor is determined not merely by the appropriation of additional land cultivated by old methods—such is the case only in extensive primitive farming—but by raising the standard of technique, the investment of additional capital in the same amount of land in the form of new machinery, artificial fertilizers, a greater number and better quality of cattle, etc.”

“In essence,” Lenin continues, “the fundamental tendency of capitalism is the crowding out of small by large production, both in industry and in agriculture. But this sense of immediate expropriation, this crowding out, take also the form of disintegrating and worsening of the conditions of small farming which sometimes lasts years and tens of years. The worsened conditions take the form of excessive labor, of under-nourishment, of indebtedness, of poor forage and cattle raising in general, of poorer care, improvement and fertilization of the soil, of stagnation in technics, etc.”

Clearly, it is this process that is today taking place in American agriculture, a fact that every bourgeois apologist seeks either to cover up or to gloss over as due to everything else but capitalism. It is ascribed to the farmers’ own “shiftlessness,” to “lack of diversified farming,” to “low tariff,” to “high wages” of the city proletariat, to the climate and to God. Invariably, the official statistics and statements, built upon averages and based upon acreages, are deceitful, always beautifying conditions of the small farmer as a matter of policy. Upon this question Lenin wrote, concerning American agriculture and the U. S. census statisticians:

“Imagine that, to 90 small farmers having no capital for improvement of their economy and remaining behind the times and becoming gradually impoverished, the statistician adds 10 well-to-do farmers, who have plenty of capital and institute large scale production based on hired labor, on similarly small plots of land. The result will be a beautiful picture of the conditions of the 100 small farmers.”

Remembering all the time how the differences in capital investment adversely affect the majority of small farmers, we may compare the figures for the increase in area of improved land with the increase in machinery value engaged, as follows:

	1900	1910	1920	1925
Improved area	414,498	478,451	503,073	505,027
In thousands of acres				
Value of Machinery ...	\$749,775	\$1,265,149	\$3,594,772	\$2,691,703
In thousands of dollars				

While we see here the undoubted growth of capitalism in agriculture, we also see in the drop of machinery and implement valuation from 1920 to 1925 an indication of what Lenin meant by a "stagnation in technics" as a part of the whole process of "the crowding out of small by large production." This drop took place at the same time that the capitalized value of land itself dropped from 54 billion dollars in 1920 to 37 billion dollars in 1925, an evaporation of speculative values similar to the recent collapse on the Stock Exchange, *a warning prelude to that event* and the oncoming general crisis.

The inequality in capital investments is shown by the following figures for 1920:

	<i>Value per Farm of Total Capital Exclusive of Land and Buildings</i>	<i>Per Acre</i>	<i>Value of Implements Per Acre</i>
For all tenants (average)	\$1,382	\$12.80	\$5.90
For "croppers"	328	8.20	2.60
For share tenants	1,567	12.70	5.70
For mixed cash and share tenants..	2,832	14.90	6.70
For cash tenants	1,955	14.40	7.90
For Part Owners	2,901	9.20	6.20
For Full Owners	1,820	13.30	8.30

Of the 6,448,000 separate farms in 1920, only 229,332 had tractors; of the 6,371,640 farms in 1925, only 437,850 were using tractors, though this was the period when by installment selling and other devices tractorization was being pushed. Some farms had more than one tractor, since there were 506,000 tractors in use in 1925. It is said that the total in use in 1927 was 700,000. What duplication existed in 1927 we leave out of account. The fact remains that only a small minority of farms have tractors, and reports from some that bought them show that they are rusting idle because the farmer finds that he has no money to buy gasoline, while he can use horses by feeding them farm-raised fodder. Yet statistically the available horsepower per farm worker increased from 2.2 to 4.5 between 1899 and 1925, while that of the industrial work rose from 1.9 to 3.6.

With reason Lenin wrote in 1901 (Vol. IV): "First we see clearly the obstacles that exist to the introduction of machinery in agriculture: these are the infinite degradation of the small farmer, who is ready 'to leave out of account' his own toil, and who makes manual labor cheaper for the capitalist than machinery. . . . Facts quite definitely prove that the position of the small peasant in agri-

culture is *completely analogous* to the handicraftsman in industry under the capitalist system. . . . We see in agriculture a still further diminution in consumption and still further intensification of labor employed as methods of competing with large scale production. . . . Small scale farming manages to exist by methods of sheer waste—waste of labor and vital energy of the farmer, waste of strength and the quality of the cattle, and waste of the productive forces of the land.”

Finance capital, which has grown in power concurrently with the growth of capitalism in agriculture, accepts the situation as it finds it and takes its toll from agriculture at the expense of the agrarian petty bourgeoisie. Thus the October, 1929, Plenum of our Party correctly stated:

“The penetration of finance capital into agriculture proceeds in the main not upon the basis of developing technique (industrialization, mechanization), but upon its control and manipulation of the market and marketing facilities whereby the small ‘independent’ producers are forced into bankruptcy and either forced off the farms, or are brought under the sway of finance capital in the form of mortgage indebtedness.”

Alexander Legge, Chairman of the Federal Farm Board, in a recent speech at Chicago, declared: “Mass production on the huge farm is repugnant to the man who wants his own homestead. We are trying to leave him a producer on a small scale.” If we keep in mind Lenin’s observation that the “crowding out” of small by large scale production “takes the form” of worsening conditions of the small farmer, we see that there is no contradiction between Jordan’s “solution” (the “abandonment of two to three million farms”) and Legge’s demagoguery about “leaving” small producers, because—considering the tenacity with which the petty bourgeois agrarian clings to forlorn hope—Legge’s promise to “leave” him to that hope is deliberately designed to forestall agrarian discontent meanwhile the “abandonment” takes place by expropriation. The maintenance of small farm production, or even, as Lenin points out, “the increase in the number of ‘medium sized peasant farms’ is an indication of the *increase in poverty* and not in wealth and prosperity.”

Interesting data on the number and sizes of farms, together with their relative improved areas, may be seen in the following table:

	Number of Farms			Area			Improved Area		
	1900	1910	1920	1900	1910	1920	1900	1910	1920
	(in millions)			(in millions of acres)					
<hr/>									
Small farms									
up to 100									
acres	3.3	3.7	3.8	147	157	163	107	116	119
Percentage . . .	57.5	58.0	58.6	17.6	17.9	17.1	25.8	24.2	23.7
<hr/>									
Middle farms									
100 to 174									
acres	1.4	1.5	1.4	193	205	195	118	129	128
Percentage . . .	24.8	23.8	22.5	23.0	23.4	20.4	28.6	26.9	25.5
<hr/>									
Big farms									
175 to 999									
acres	0.97	1.1	1.2	301	349	378	165	203	218
Percentage . . .	16.9	17.4	17.9	35.9	39.7	39.6	39.8	42.3	43.4
<hr/>									
Latifundia									
over 1,000									
acres	0.05	0.05	0.07	198	167	221	24	31	38
Percentage . . .	0.8	0.8	1.0	23.6	19.0	23.1	5.9	6.5	7.5
<hr/>									

We must first keep in mind that "small farm" is not at all the same as "small production" in the sense of small capital, as the tendency is for intensification of agriculture on smaller areas, by investment in equipment, fertilizer and hired labor. Lenin tells us: "Capitalism develops not only by means of accelerating the growth of large acreage enterprises in the extensive divisions, but also by means of creating larger productive enterprises, more capitalistic enterprises, on small plots of land in the intensive divisions."

One must have an "interior view" on such statistics. Between 1900 and 1910 the old slave-holders' plantations were rapidly breaking up into small areas on which Negro "croppers" were to enjoy the "freedom" of virtual peonage. The increased number of small acreage farms did not, as we will later see, mean increasing prosperity for the small producer, but increased poverty. It was an increase of *commercial farming*, not of "self-sufficing" farms, both on the highly capitalized small area farm and the poorly equipped, semi-slave "cropper" tenant farm. The estimate is made that 40 per cent of the farm land belongs to strongly *capitalist* enterprises—about 25 per cent to very big farmers, 20 per cent more to middle farmers and 15 per cent to small capital farmers. The small farmers, however, own over half the number of farms.

The U. S. Chamber of Commerce notes that, in 1926, there existed 9,000 farming corporations, with a total income equal to 6 per cent of the total agricultural income, but it speaks against "more incorporation or organization of farming corporations on a large scale," as such "will not automatically solve the problem of the agricultural industry." While it speaks of the "disastrous results to the rural population which might follow the growth of corporate farming," a less idealistic view might suspect that the U. S. Chamber of Commerce had other reasons. It made a survey of 74 farms in 28 states, averaging 11,797 acres each, which produced a *gross* income for four years (ending 1928) of \$102,676 each, on the average, upon an average capitalization of \$553,743, a profit rate that it appears not to enthuse over. It is clear that these are farms highly capitalized and that they were profitable, but not enough so, compared, perhaps, to industrial investment at the same period. It is here that the limitations on mechanization which Lenin noted, "the infinite degradation of the small farmer," is at work concurrently with the fact that finance capital, with all its power, can neither organize nor expand the world market, and the development of large scale, technically advanced farming confronts difficulties. Under capitalism, even an attempt at the solution of these difficulties occurs at the expense of the pauperization of large masses of the agrarian population.

SECTION III

FORMS AND SCOPE OF THE ROLE OF FINANCE CAPITAL

1. Undoubtedly a minority of small farmers, the "ten with capital" mentioned by Lenin, progressively become monopolists by becoming a part of the machine of finance capital against the majority and against the whole proletariat. But the majority, while they may aspire to every petty bourgeois hope, are progressively impoverished by the power of finance capital taken through: (1) Rents; (2) usury on mortgage and other debts; (3) marketing monopolies outside their control and monopoly prices on commodities they buy.

(a) Having none or little capital, but in great and imperative need of it, the small farmer either produces wastefully without it or turns to borrower, and the increasing debt shows the growing subordination of petty bourgeois farm capital to finance capital.

Total Farm Indebtedness from 1910 to 1925 (In Millions of Dollars)

	1910	1920	1925
Mortgage Debts	3,200	7,860	8,500
Personal Debts	1,000	3,250	3,250
Miscellaneous Rents	500	500	500
	4,700	11,610	12,250

Percentage of Mortgaged Owners to All Owners

1890	1910	1920
27.8	33.2	37.2

It is a pleasant bourgeois fiction that mortgages are obtained by farmers to better their conditions by thus securing capital. They doubtless have this intention, but the above figures show that, with the exception of a minority of well-to-do, the majority fall still more into the hands of finance capital; i. e., by "securing" capital, capital "secures" them as its bond slaves. Thus the Department of Agriculture notes that in 1927 the "interest on debt to non-operators" totaled the sum of \$750,000,000. Thus, also, "In the 22 years from 1905 to 1926 the number of bankruptcies grew nearly 1,000 per cent—from 0.13 per thousand farms to 1.22" (Richman, in *The Communist*, No. 1, Vol. VIII), and it is added that in fifteen mid-western states, from Jan., 1920, to March, 1923, 22.51 per cent of owners and 35.07 per cent of tenants became bankrupt. Of these, it is noted that 14.40 per cent of owners and 20.54 per cent of tenants retained their property (the tenants obviously only the use of their expropriated equipment, machines, animals, etc.) by "leniency of creditors." Now clearly such "leniency" by creditors is a strange phenomenon which, in effect, makes a peon out of the bankrupt debtor, because he is reduced to complete obedience to the creditor; he must raise the crop he is told to raise; he cannot, if a tenant, take his equipment elsewhere; he must accept without argument prices offered by crop buyers, who often are the same as or in league with the creditor.

(b) Interest and rent were being paid in 1910 on 57 per cent of all farm values, in 1920 this had grown to 65 per cent. The Department of Agriculture notes that in 1927 a total of \$1,042,000,000 was paid in rent to non-operators. The increase, both in absolute numbers and in percentage to the total number of farms,

is a clear indication of increasing impoverishment of the majority of farmers.

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1925
Total Number of Farms (in thousands)	4,009	4,565	5,737	6,362	6,448	6,371
Number of Renters	1,025	1,295	2,025	2,355	2,455	2,464
Percentage of Renters to Number of Farms	25.6	28.4	35.3	37.0	38.1	38.6

The increasing absolute number of tenants between 1920 and 1925 at the same time as an absolute decline occurred in the number of farms completely exposes the fiction so often put out by government officials and other apologists of the "climbing up" from tenant to owner. Moreover, the general increase in tenantry is not uniformly distributed, the poorer capitalized owners of the west south central states being more rapidly falling into tenantry, in this region the percentage of tenants in 1910 being 52.8 per cent, in 1925 growing to 59.2 per cent. A very important observation of the Labor Research Bureau is that in 1924, in the country as a whole, more crop land was harvested by tenants than by full owners. In 1928, in Iowa, 54 per cent of the land of this "prosperous corn belt" state was operated by tenants.

But the south leads in both the number and percentage of tenants. In 1920, 49.6 per cent of the number of farms in the south (distinguished regionally from the Atlantic coast, the north central and the west) were tenant farms, while of the 2,455,000 tenant farms in the whole country in 1920 no less than 1,591,000 were in the south. But above all it is to be noted that these southern tenants suffer the deepest degradation and misery, fully comparable with the Russian peasant before the Bolshevik Revolution. Even Carr, the bourgeois writer, takes alarm at the "morass of misery," hinting his fear of agrarian rebellion against conditions, which he admits are equivalent to those endured by the Egyptian fellaheen or the uninstrumented labor of China and India.

(c) Finance capital's chief channel for exploitation of agriculture remains, for the present, in its domination of banking control, its control of transport and marketing corporations (railroads, grain elevators and, among other market corporations, those disguised agencies of finance capital called "farmers' co-operatives" or

“pools”) and its monopoly prices for industrial products. While the table below gives some idea of the extortions of finance capital practiced upon petty bourgeois farm capital, one must be alert against the most outrageous deceptions in all such statistics. For example, while no one can say what deception lurks behind the “prices paid to farmers for farm products,” it being ten chances to one that such prices were *not* received by actual farmers, but by “middlemen,” who are customarily robbers of the first degree, it is certainly a fraud to compare such prices with “*wholesale* prices of non-agricultural commodities,” even relatively in point of time, since the farmer does *not* buy at wholesale, but by *retail*, and frequently pays even more for purchases on credit, etc. This table on Agricultural Prices was put out by the Department of Agriculture in Oct., 1927:

(5-year period, 1909-14, equals 100%)

<i>Index of</i>	<i>Prices paid to farmers for farm products</i>	<i>Wholesale prices of non-agricultural commodities</i>	<i>Relative purchasing power of farmers' dollar</i>
1920	205%	241%	85%
1921	116	167	69
1925	147	165	89
1926	136	161	85
1927	128	152	86

Even these deceitful figures show that finance capital, dominating the marketing channels of farm products, and dominating monopolies in manufacture and trade in non-agricultural commodities, has intensified its extortion from the agrarian petty bourgeoisie. At the same time, it is common knowledge that finance capital has enormously intensified its exploitation of the industrial proletariat.

The fact is clear, as stated by Lenin in his work on American agriculture: “He who holds in his hands the banks, also *directly* holds one-third of all farms in America, and through them, he indirectly dominates over all others.”

d) The bourgeois apologists, when they do admit the agricultural “problem,” continually speak of it in a way to confuse the issue, using such terms as “the industrial east against the agricultural west,” or “the country against the city,” or “the farmers versus industry,” or some such absurd term as obscures the fact that finance capital dominates both agriculture *and* industry. Such terms usually serve reaction as propaganda among discontented farmers to

win their support for finance capital in a drive to cut wages of the industrial proletariat, alleging that the proletarians' "high wages" (a myth circulated with as little truth as that of an "independent farmer") is to blame for agricultural depression, rather than the extortions of finance capital.

Communists, of course, do not blink the fact that petty bourgeois agrarian capital seeks always, and some of it finds, an improvement in conditions by alliance with big capital, taking part in the extortion of high ground rent from the whole of society, sharing capitalist antagonism to the masses of proletarians and semi-proletarians who depend entirely on the sale of their labor power. Says Lenin:

"The small farmer under capitalism, whether he likes it or not, whether he is aware of it or not—becomes a commodity producer. It is this that makes him antagonistic to the proletariat, it makes him a petty-bourgeois even if he does not yet exploit any hired labor. He is selling his products, and the laborer is selling his labor power. Small farmers, as a class, cannot but wish that prices of agricultural products should rise, which is tantamount to participating, together with the large farmers, in the sharing up of ground rent and the solidarity with the big landlords against the rest of society."

It is, none the less, a Communist duty to point to the agrarian petty bourgeoisie the robber role of finance capital, its alliance with the rich farmer capitalist against the poor and middle farmers, its "crowding out" of the small producers by impoverishment, its driving of an increasing percentage of pauperized agricultural population to the cities as wage laborers seeking a master, its role as governmental oppressor, tax-looter and war-maker, and win the passive or active support of the poor and middle farmer for the proletarian revolution.

SECTION IV

Class Categories on the Farms

1. Concerning the categories of farmers as "poor, middle and rich," Carr, in "America Challenged," records: "It has been stated by men who have made a detailed study of farm prosperity (sic) as reflected by the value of improvements per acre of farm land, that approximately 40% of our farmers are really poor, that 20% are moderately poor, and approximately 40% moderately well-off. The first 40% lies largely in the old South."

2. As to agricultural wage workers, these proletarian receive less attention even by lying statisticians, than any other social group. The numbers of these are shown in two categories as follows:

	<i>Working on Home Farm</i>	<i>Working "Out"</i>
1910	3,310,534	2,636,966
1920	1,850,119	2,055,276
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	—1,460,415	—581,690

This flight from the farms is one of the surest refutations of all those who attempt to beautify the picture of capitalist farming, or deny its capitalist character. That a proportionately fewer number of the real agricultural proletariat (those "working out") left the farms in spite of the rapid mechanization and consequent disemployment, indicates a greater "weight" of hired wage labor. The National Industrial Conference Board found that while male farm wage workers constitute 21.7% of the total number of wage workers, they receive only 10.5% of the national wage total. They have lost most of the slight gains attained during the war above their previous miserable standard. Nasanov, citing Marx (C. I. Magazine No. 24, p. 980) states that the "wages of agricultural workers represent the minimum wage which could satisfy the needs of existence." One must note that the Department of Agriculture reports that the output per farm worker increased by 47% from 1899 to 1925, while that of the industrial worker increased 49% the same time, but not even the most beautiful statistics can venture to state that the farm wage worker receives any more than \$48 per month in 1928. One statistician, finding the wage total so low, after deducting all of the home family labor, the youth and the women, expresses some surprise that the annual farm wage in 1910 was "still only \$212." At this rate, recalling the increased output, the unlimited hours at hard toil, the mere existence on par with the cattle, one must expose the depths of such vulgar apologists for capitalism as Professor Ely ("Outline of Economics"), who says of the farm worker: "The increased use of farm machinery has not only reduced the hours of labor, but has diversified and lightened the toil of the farm hand. Added to these evidences of increasing material comfort is the reassuring fact that the farm hand retains, in a large degree, his superior social position." . . . Not even professorial depravity could possibly go further.

Developing technique, the combine, the cotton sled, the corn-

husking machine, etc., as remarked in the October Plenum Thesis, of our Party, "while sharply limited in application by the inability of finance capital to overcome the anarchy inherent in capitalist farming, is yet exerting a disproportionately large influence in intensification of labor on the farms, and thus in lowering the living standards of the agrarian masses, both wage workers and small 'independent' producers." As Nasanov states, technical change is bringing about an absolute reduction in variable capital, "transforming a part of the agricultural population into a mobile army . . . which it flings now to one point and now to another." This army of pauperized toilers is not the same in character as the migratory worker of past decades upon which, particularly in the wheat belt, the I. W. W. built its now defunct agricultural union. As in unemployment, there has been a structural change in migratory labor. The I. W. W., which chatters so glibly about organizing the slaves of the machine process, passed from the scene in agriculture precisely with the introduction of the small combined harvester. The poverty-stricken farmers not only flee to the mills and the cities, but thousands migrate north with the harvest, seeking, usually in vain, wage labor on farms.

The agricultural proletariat, so oppressed and inarticulate, yet so necessary and important to the proletarian revolution in building a sound alliance between workers and poor farmers, must no longer be neglected by our Party. Every district must show progress within a given period in establishing the Communist Party among the agrarian proletariat, and in aiding the revolutionary industrial union of the T. U. U. L.

3. The conditions of the lower strata of farmers, the poor and middle farmer, are worsening under the chronic agrarian crisis. For them, too, the introduction even to a limited degree of improved machinery by farm corporations and rich farmers, is a catastrophic blow to income and living standards. The rich farmer takes a measure of protection against lower prices by introduction of machinery to reduce unit cost, a protection the poor farmer and some middle farmers, cannot afford. So they strive to reduce their unit cost by intensification of labor, their own, their family's, or, if they employ hired labor, of their wage workers. The Hoover Report admits this. Also, as clearly seen in the South, though it occurs generally, a part of the family is sent into industry, the semi-proletariat appears en masse in the proletarianization process. But with all this, the general result is a subtraction from the already low standard of living—and with the general crisis deepening in American imperialist economy shutting off all avenue of escape to the cities or mill towns, there is utterly no way out for the

category of poor and middle farmers under capitalism. The only way of escape is by struggle against capitalism, in their alliance with the revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, to overthrow capitalism.

(To be continued)



Are New Revolutions Impossible Without War?

By GREGORY ZINOVIEV

IS it correct that Lenin considered that, in general, new revolutions are impossible without war? Is it true that in estimating the general situation in his works before his death, Lenin connected the coming revolutionary upheaval "directly" with the impending war?

This question is of the highest importance; it is one of the knotty problems of the entire tactics of Leninism.

Neither Marx nor Lenin ever considered that revolution is born *only* from war. They merely considered that some wars under given circumstances are *accelerators* of revolutionary development. The motive forces of all revolutions are the class contradictions, the class struggle. War is the continuation of politics by other means. War under given circumstances can, in given countries, *accelerate* the revolution. But revolutions are born from the antagonisms between classes, from the class struggle.

In such an authoritative document as Lenin's thesis, "Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," he wrote as follows:

"The socialist revolutions can flare up, not only from a large strike, a street demonstration, a hunger revolt, a military uprising, or a colonial rebellion, but also from such a political crisis as the Dreyfus affair or the Zabern incident or in connection with a referendum on the question of separation of oppressed nations, etc."

This programmatic declaration of Lenin leaves no room for any misinterpretation. Lenin cited this declaration at the time of the Third Congress of the C. I. in the Commission working out the tactical resolution. The idea entirely permeated the tactical resolution of the Third Congress, in the preparation of which Lenin took a leading part. In this way, Lenin pointed out that the Socialist revolution can begin, not *only* from a military uprising or a colonial rebellion, but also from a large strike, political crisis such as the Dreyfus affair, etc.

The nearer the real commencement of the proletarian revo-

lution approached, the more attention Lenin paid to the *exact road* the revolution would follow. As in 1905, at the Third Party Congress, on the eve of the first bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, Lenin paid more attention to this than to anything else: What would be the *concrete path* of this revolution, what would be the *concrete forms* of the movement (the uniting of the general strike with the armed uprising, etc.)—so, on the eve of 1917, Lenin more deeply turned his thoughts to this particular question: What would be the concrete forms of the development of the Socialist revolution?

“The Socialist revolution cannot take place otherwise than in the form of an epoch, uniting the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the foremost countries with a *whole series* of democratic, revolutionary and in this number also national-liberation movements in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations.” So wrote Lenin in his polemical article against the “Left” Communists at that time (Piatakov, Bukharin and others).

“To think that the Socialist revolution is possible without the uprising of the small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without the revolutionary upheaval of part of the petty bourgeoisie, *with all its prejudices*, without the movement of the unconscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against the landlord, Church, monarchy, national and other kinds of oppression, to think thus means to repudiate the Socialist revolution.” So wrote Lenin in a polemic against the supporters of Rosa Luxemburg.

“The Socialist revolution”—Lenin has pointed out many times—“is not an act or one struggle on a single front, but a whole epoch of sharpened class conflicts, a long series of battles on all fronts, *i. e.*, on all questions of economics and politics; battles which can only end with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.”

Wars of the oppressed nations, uprisings in the colonies growing into revolutionary wars; the wars of the imperialists among themselves; all this certainly played a very great role in the workings of Lenin’s system of thought. But under no circumstances can we find in these classical formulations the “idea” that revolutions are possible *solely* in connection with war.

War is the continuation of politics. Imperialist war is the continuation of imperialist politics. These wars are the most important indications of the fact that the class contradictions are growing in the national and international arena, that the struggle is sharpening throughout the entire world, that the productive forces are cramped within the limits of their national frames, that capitalism is fast approaching its doom.

Imperialist wars, by the very fact that they take place, prove

that imperialism is really the last stage of capitalism. Imperialist wars signalize the fast approaching downfall of capitalism. The development of the proletarian revolution, which cannot but end by the expropriation of the capitalists, is unavoidable. But the causes for proletarian revolution are not imperialist wars alone. On the contrary, imperialist wars themselves are the result of the class struggle. Lenin is a dialectician throughout, whose formulae always breathe with life; Lenin takes the sum total of phenomena in their entirety. Lenin shows to us the real growth of the proletarian revolution as the result of a whole *complex series* of facts. Among these facts war does not occupy the last but certainly not the *sole* place.

War under given circumstances becomes a great *accelerator* of the revolutionary movement. The clearest example of this is the role of the imperialist war in connection with the Russian revolutions of 1917.

Beginning with 1912 the revolutionary crisis in Russia ripened with tremendous rapidity. In 1914 the revolutionary wave in Russia had already achieved a tremendous height, and on the eve of the declaration of war barricades had already appeared in St. Petersburg. In the beginning, the war, for a time *retarded the revolutionary wave*; but later, to an extraordinary extent, the war *accelerated* the revolutionary developments in Russia. In 1917 Russia was the scene of the *first* great revolution during the war, simply because, already in 1914, Russia was the country nearest the revolution, because in 1914 Russia was already pregnant with revolution. Such are the lying dialectics that are incompatible with scholasticism. Lenin later pointed out (in *Left-wing Communism*) that there are four factors, "four specific conditions," as he expressed it, which aided Russia in being the *first* to start the Socialist revolution:

1. The possibility of uniting the Soviet revolution and the ending, thanks to it, of the imperialist war, which had unbelievably exhausted the workers and peasants.

2. The possibility of utilizing, for a certain time, the deadly conflict between two powerful world groups of imperialist plunderers.

3. The ability to withstand the comparatively long civil war, thanks partly, to the gigantic size of the country and the bad means of communication.

4. The existence of such a deep bourgeois-democratic revolutionary movement among the peasantry that the party of the proletariat took over the revolutionary program of the peasant party

and, thanks to the conquering of political power by the proletariat, immediately put it into effect.

In this analysis of Lenin the imperialist war plays no mean role—but certainly not an exhaustive one. Lenin takes the historic preparation for the Russian revolution in all its complexities and many-sidedness. Such a real Leninist analysis does not show a grain of scholasticism.

In the same *Left-wing Communism* Lenin explains in a classical form, the conditions necessary for revolution. In one of the most famous places in this, one of Lenin's best known books, he formulates what he calls "the basic laws of revolution." He says:

"The fundamental law of revolution confirmed by all revolutions, and particularly by all three Russian revolutions of the twentieth century, is as follows: It is not sufficient for the revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; for the revolution it is necessary that the exploiters shall not be able to live and rule as of old. Only when the masses *do not want* the old regime, and when the rulers *are unable* to govern as of old, then only can the revolution succeed. This truth may be expressed in other words; revolution is impossible without an all-national crisis, affecting both the exploited and the exploiters."—*Left Wing Communism*, page 65.

In enumerating, so to say, the "obligatory" constituent features of revolution, Lenin did not say that among other features war is a *necessary* feature. Lenin's formula of the "basic law of revolution" certainly *does not at all exclude* (but pre-supposes) that under certain conditions war can serve as an enormous *accelerator* of revolution. But nowhere in Lenin's works can we find a hint that *only* from war can revolution begin.

Bolshevism entered the imperialist war of 1914 with the slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," *for Russia*. Towards the end of the war Bolshevism called for a *Socialist* revolution for Russia. The role of imperialist war *not only as an accelerator* but also as a "*deepener*" of revolution is here obvious.

Of course, in 1905 also, Lenin never advocated "self-limitedness" of the revolution, as the Mensheviks, including the then Menshevik Trotsky, at one time accused him. Lenin knew that in proportion to our forces, in proportion to the forces of the working class, we shall carry forward the successful democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution, to the unleashing of the international proletarian revolution. This was evident also in 1914, when at the beginning of the imperialist war, Lenin at first put forward the former program of the "democratic revolution" *for*

Russia. But exactly the changing world situation, and particularly the changing situation within Russia, in the course of the imperialist war, hastened the approach and pointed out the peculiar course towards the *Socialist* revolution in Russia, and led to the transforming of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a Socialist one, which took place in Russia during the course of nine months, from February to October, 1917.

In *Left-wing Communism* also, Lenin analyzes the situation, not only in Russia but also in Britain. He says: "In Britain . . . both conditions for a successful proletarian revolution are obviously developing" (*Left-wing Communism*, page 66); *i. e.*, that both the masses do not want the old and the rulers cannot continue in the old manner, that in England "both conditions for a successful proletarian revolution are obviously developing"

Lenin writes:

"Take, for example, Britain. We cannot know, and no one is capable of predicting truly, how soon a real proletarian revolution will break out there, and what, more than any other, will be the cause which will awaken and inflame the now slumbering masses to revolution. . . . Possibly it will be a crisis resulting from the hopelessly confused colonial and imperialist antagonisms, which become more and more painful and acute from day to day."—*Left Wing Communism*, page 76.

Lenin considered it very dangerous that in the ranks of the Communists there should prevail the idea that a revolution was possible *only* in the event of war. He made a detailed study of the question in connection with England, placing in the leading place the parliamentary crisis, etc. Lenin is not satisfied with the example of England, but takes France as well:

"Let us not forget how in the French bourgeois revolution, in a situation which, from the international and domestic aspect, was a hundred times less revolutionary than at present, such an unexpected and petty cause as one among thousands of dishonest tricks of the reactionary military caste (the Dreyfus case) was enough to bring the people face to face with civil war."—*Left Wing Communism*, page 76.

That, which Lenin wrote of England and France is at present even more applicable to such a country as Germany.

Lenin said all this in *Left Wing Communism*, a work especially deep and mature. Not for a moment does Lenin revise his opinion in his later articles and notes. Then what are the bases to declare that Lenin awaited new revolutions only "directly" in connection

with war? None! The general strike in England in 1926 could have played a gigantic, in reality a decisive role, in *hastening* the revolution in England. But there was no talk of any war in 1926. At the present time the strike movement in India is noticeable for its force and scope, and raises serious hopes for the significant acceleration of the revolutionary processes in India. And what a revolution in India would mean for the revolution in England! A revolutionary uprising in India would call forth, of course, attempts upon the part of England to "pacify" this uprising with blood and iron. Nevertheless, such a variant of the development of the revolution in England is not at all similar to the scholastic, anti-dialectical thesis that revolution can be born *only* from war.

Marxism has nothing in common with pacifism. Marxism knows that there are wars and wars. Marxism certainly does not for a minute hesitate to utilize one or another war of the slave-owners among themselves in the interests of the oppressed classes, especially utilising any war to arouse the slaves against the slave-owners. Marxism does not for a moment deny a revolutionary war, when the necessary historical prerequisites for this exist. On the contrary, Marxism openly speaks of the inevitability of revolutionary wars. But to say "revolution can *only* be born from war"—this means to be a *pacifist turned inside out*; this means, under present conditions, to give a finger to opportunism... and opportunism will take the whole hand...

* * *

The Bolsheviks say that the epoch in which we are living is an epoch of wars and revolutions. They are correct. Let us take the decade following the end of the World War. This decade is represented as a decade of "peaceful" development of capitalism. It really is "peaceful" in comparison to 1914-18, when blood flowed in rivers, when whole millions were perishing upon the imperialist battle-grounds, when cities and villages were burned down and entire districts devastated. But if we compare this decade (1918-28) with the pre-war decade (1904-14) then the nature of this "peaceful decade" becomes clear.

During the decade 1918-28 we have witnessed a series of wars, in any case a series of large war collisions, not only in Europe, but also in Asia, Africa and America. A brief and very *incompletè* review of the greater and smaller clashes that took place during this time will be sufficiently convincing.

Europe. Struggle between Germany and Poland for Upper Silesia. Armed occupation of the Ruhr and the so-called passive resistance of 1923. Occupation of Vilna by Poland and the endless chain of armed boundary collisions between Poland and Lithuania.

The occupation of the province of Fiume by Italy, and the Italo-Greek conflict. The Greco-Turkish war, *i.e.*, in reality the Anglo-Turkish war. The Balkan armed struggle for territory, and the seizure of much of formerly Austro-Hungarian territory by Roumania.

Asia. Civil war in China and the imperialist intervention, with the repeated ruin of Chinese towns by British and other warships. War by France in Syria, and so on.

Africa. Moroccan wars.

America. U.S.A. and Mexico. The U.S.A.-Nicaragua, Bolivia, Paraguay and a series of others.

We are not speaking here of the great civil war in the U.S.S.R. and the external attack upon it in which, as is well known, no less than fourteen nations participated. We are not speaking here of the war of White Poland against the Soviets in 1920, etc.

What conclusion can we draw? During the last "peaceful" decade we have witnessed a series of military clashes almost in all parts of the world, a series of colonial wars, a series of wars against the Proletarian State, a series of conflicts between the bourgeois governments. And this—in the epoch of Wilsonian, the League of Nations, and their ilk.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that precisely during this "peaceful" decade of 1918-28, dozens of complications that will provide grounds for future wars have taken place. A characteristic feature of the so-called "third period" is embodied exactly in this, that the world contradictions are becoming sharpened and war is approaching at full steam.

More and more frequently and "unexpectedly" the world learns of this or another war agreement contracted between bourgeois countries against one another; the agreement between England and France; the agreements between France and Belgium; a series of agreements between the neighbouring countries around the U.S.S.R.—agreements concluded under the protectorate of Anglo-French imperialism. But this is not all by far. The most dangerous are *those secret* agreements which undoubtedly are abundantly concluded precisely against the U.S.S.R. There is also a series of more or less open war agreements against our Government concluded as well.

At the same time during the "peaceful" decade of 1917-27 we have witnessed the following revolutionary events:

1917—Two revolutions in Russia.

1918—Revolutions in Germany, Austria and the Balkans; Soviet power in Finland.

1919—Soviet power in Hungary and Bavaria; Spartacus uprising in Germany.

1920—National revolution in Turkey; seizure of factories by the workers in Italy.

1921—March uprising in Germany.

1923—Uprising in Bulgaria; revolutionary events in Germany.

1925—Uprising in Esthonia, Syria and Morocco.

1926-27—Chinese revolution; general strike in England. The Vienna uprising.

In 1928-29 a revolutionary rise is particularly evident in India and Germany.

We are living in the epoch of wars and revolutions—but this does not at all mean that all revolutions of necessity are at once victorious, and that all conflicts between States must immediately end in war.

We are living in the epoch of wars and revolutions. It has happened many times in history that war accelerated the revolutionary development and that revolution in its turn brought about new wars. Wars themselves have often changed their character "on their way," so to say. The basic proposition of Marxian dialectics consists in that all features in nature and society are considered conditional and in motion, that there is *no* phenomenon that cannot under definite conditions become converted into its antithesis. In his brilliant works during the war period Lenin brings forward several striking historical examples of the dialectical *conversion of one war into another*.

"National war can transform itself into imperialist war, and *vice versa*," Lenin wrote. An example: the wars of the great French revolution began as national wars and were such. These wars were revolutionary; the defense of the great revolution against the coalition of counter-revolutionary monarchies. But when Napoleon created the French Empire with the enslavement of a whole series of consolidated, large and virile, national European States, then the French nationalist wars became imperialist wars which *in their turn gave birth to national-liberation wars against* Napoleon's imperialism.

No less brilliant are other examples cited by Lenin; England and France fought the Seven Year's War for colonies, *i.e.*, carried on an imperialist war (which is possible on the basis of slavery and primitive capitalism as well as in the present period of highly developed capitalism). France was defeated and lost part of her colonies. Several years later the national-liberation war of the American States, against England alone, began. France and Spain, who themselves continued to rule part of what is today the U.S.A., from enmity towards Britain, *i.e.*, because of their imperialist in-

terests, concluded a friendly agreement with the insurgent States against England. Here we have before us a war of national-liberation in which the imperialist rivalry appears relegated to the background, possessing no serious meaning.

We must study again and again these examples of Leninist dialectics.

When we, pupils of Lenin, follow him in saying that we live in a period of wars and revolutions—this does not mean for a second that revolution can be born *only* from war; a revolution may be born from a large strike, as Lenin said in 1916. Revolution *could* have been born from the great miners' strike and the General Strike in such a country as England—in 1926. Revolution in England can be born from a general strike, developing into an uprising—in India. A revolution in Austria could have come out of the Vienna uprising. And who dares to state that revolution in Germany is impossible without war? Certainly from events of *such a nature* as May Day, 1929, in Berlin, a revolution can arise! Who dares to state that revolution in Italy—when Fascism decays—is impossible without war? Who dares to state that the revolution in the Balkan States is impossible without war?

Every such revolution, no doubt, can call forth, and most assuredly will, new wars. That is why we say that we live in the epoch of wars and revolutions. And thus we see to-day how Lenin's prophetic words about the strings from which the great stream of world revolution "converges," become clothed in flesh and blood. But to reduce Lenin's teachings on war and revolution to the assumption that revolution is impossible without war—is to vulgarize Lenin's teaching, to distort it in an opportunist spirit.

Why opportunist? Because to say that revolution arises *only* from war means in fact to "relegate" the revolution "a little" until war-time, to give assent, "a little" to those who want to *take away* the "extremist" slogans of Bolshevism (*i.e.*, to all the Rights in the Comintern).

That is just what the social-democratic leaders desire! For the main "social instructions" which they now receive from their masters, the capitalists, are to "prove" that the Communists are staking all upon a new war. Sowing this suspicion in the minds of the working masses is a *dire necessity* to the capitalists, since they are preparing war against the U.S.S.R. with all possible speed. The leaders of the Second International paint all Bolshevism as "a product of war." Therefore they endeavour to use this opportunist, essentially incorrect, formulation in a double way.

Lenin "connected the next revolutionary upheaval *directly* (!) *with the coming war.*" This "analysis," this explanation of the

political testament was quickly picked up with great joy by the renowned Ustrialov, who, of course, hastened to "complete" it thus: "Lenin connected the next revolutionary upheaval directly with war, and since as yet there is no war, we must postpone the 'revolutionary upheaval'."

On the basis of this "analysis," Ustrialov already proves that the "world revolution is dimmed in the fog of future decades"; that "revolution is in a lethargic sleep."

The smallest retreat from Leninism in such a sharp and decisive question as "war and revolution—revolution and war" is pregnant with the most disastrous results. We have this proven here in a living manner.

Lenin's and Marx's teaching about war (and such exist in spite of the opinion of many) must be treated with particular care. This is necessary just because we are living in the epoch of wars and revolutions; just because the new war in which the fate of the Soviet power and the world revolution will again be decided, is doubtlessly approaching.

"History teaches us," Lenin said, "that no great question and no revolution was born otherwise than in a series of wars. We must be prepared because at the slightest change in the situation the imperialist brigands will once more attack us. We must be ready for this. The question stands thus: Until now, a long series of wars have always decided the fate of every great revolution. Our revolution is such a great revolution. We have finished one chain of wars; we must be ready for another."

The fate of our revolution, the fate of the world revolution in general will be decided in a series of merciless battles, in a series of wars. To say this means to judge in a Leninist manner. But to say that revolution is born *only* from war, or to say that in relation to our conditions (as they are in 1929) the next revolutionary upheaval is connected "directly," only with war—means to retreat from Leninism "a little" in the direction of opportunism.

Lenin considered war *one of the component parts* among those factors which lead to revolution, which bring about, under given circumstances, the conversion of a revolutionary situation into a direct revolution. To concentrate the attention of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. and of the whole world to the fact that the danger of war is increasing—is an undeniably necessary task. But to change it so that *one of the component parts is given as the sum total* is not only theoretically incorrect but practically leads to that which the Right, opportunist sentiments within Communism are attempting, and politically help the worst enemies of international Bolshevism: counter-revolutionary social democracy.

The Socialist revolution can blaze up, not *only from war* but

also from a large strike, a street demonstration, a hunger riot, a military revolt, a colonial rebellion, or also from such a political crisis as the Dreyfus case, a May Day of the "Berlin" type, an uprising such as the Vienna revolt of 1927, and so on. This is what we must teach the workers if we are to remain faithful to Lenin.

A new revolutionary upheaval in Europe, or the whole world, must never under any circumstances be "put aside" until a new war. Even the present "peace"—the peaceful chain of development of capitalism, with all its "stabilization," "rationalization," technical progress, etc., not only does not take revolutionary upheavals off the agenda of the day but brings them closer with gigantic strides.

He who, in all the ramified world situation, does not see, does not feel, the approach of a new revolutionary upheaval, he has indeed lost all feeling of a Bolshevik-revolutionary; he has become atrophied.

New revolutions are possible without war. But new wars must become impossible without revolutions. So Bolshevism places the question.



World Aspects of the Negro Question

By OTTO E. HUISWOOD

UNTIL recent years the Negro question and its relationship to the revolutionary working class movement was practically unnoticed, almost completely ignored. Little attention was paid to the Negro masses in their struggles against imperialist exploitation and subjection, no thought given to their revolutionary potentialities—to the role they are destined to play in the movement for the emancipation of the working class from capitalist domination and enslavement. As a result, little or no attempts were made to draw the Negro workers in the struggle against world imperialism.

Our approach to the Negro question has not only been largely sectional rather than international, but our concept and interpretation of the Negro question was narrow and incorrect. The old Social Democratic notion that the Negro question is only a class question, prevailed with us for a considerable time. We are only now beginning to realize that the Negro question is not only a class question but also a race question. We are beginning to understand that the Negro masses are not only subjected to the ordinary forms of exploitation as other workers, but that they are also the victims of a brutal caste system which holds them as an inferior servile class; that lynching, segregation, peonage, etc., are some of the means utilized to keep them the underdog in capitalist society—social outcasts.

In order to maintain its policy of repression, violence and exploitation of the Negro, the bourgeoisie creates a false racial ideology among the whites and fosters contempt and hatred for the Negro. The idea of “superior” and “inferior” races is the theoretical justification for their policy of super-exploitation of the Negro race.

The situation of the Negro masses varies in the different countries and therefore requires investigation and analysis. The concrete application of the policies and tasks of the Communist Parties are dependent upon the prevailing conditions in the various countries. It is of utmost importance that we note the differences that characterize the position of the Negroes in the different parts of the world. The following territorial divisions based upon population and certain general common features should be considered:

A) The United States and some Latin American countries, in which the Negro population is a minority.

B) Africa and the West Indies, where the Negro population is the majority in relation to the white population.

C) The "independent" Negro nations (Haiti and Liberia), which are in reality semi-colonies of American imperialism.

While the Negro race everywhere is a subject race and there exists a common bond of interest based upon racial oppression, nevertheless, the conditions of the Negroes are not similar in the above mentioned territorial divisions. It is essential that we distinguish the situation of the Negro masses in the colonies—Africa and the West Indies; the semi-colonies—Haiti and Liberia, who suffer from colonial exploitation, from that of the Negro in America, a racial minority, subjected to racial persecution and exploitation. We must take into consideration the National-colonial character of the Negro question in Africa and the West Indies and the racial character of this question in the United States.

We must take note of the fact that the Negro question in Africa has all the characteristic features of the national-colonial question. Some of these features are:

1. Majority of population and organized communities.
2. A common language and culture. In contrast to this the Negro in America has

- a) no distinct language and culture from the dominant racial group;
- b) it is a minority of the population;
- c) its only distinguishing feature is its racial origin.

It is therefore imperative that the concrete policies and tasks of the Communist Parties be based on the foregoing considerations. Only with a clear understanding of these conditions can we apply the correct policies and tactics.

CONDITIONS OF THE NEGRO IN AFRICA

What we are mostly concerned with in this article is the present epoch of imperialism which is marked by the complete division of Africa and the complete subjection and enslavement of its population. This period is especially marked by the de-tribalizing of the native population, robbing them of their land and forcing them into the industries as the main source of cheap labor supply. Imperialism in its function as colonial exploiter utilizes Africa for the subtraction of super-profits in the sale of its industrial products, as an outlet for its accumulated surplus capital and for an important source of its raw material. But, at the same time, capitalism pur-

posely retards the industrial development of the colonies except in-so-far as it is to the interest of the preservation of its colonial monopoly and furthers the economic dependence of these colonies.

Africa is completely partitioned between the various imperialist powers, the most important of which are:

	<i>Territory</i>	<i>Population</i>
England	3,871,357 sq. miles	50,525,175
France	4,290,268 sq. miles	35,663,332
Belgium	909,654 sq. miles	8,500,000
Portugal	927,292 sq. miles	7,736,700

The so-called independent nations of Liberia and Abyssinia, which are actually semi-colonies:

	<i>Territory</i>	<i>Population</i>
Liberia	36,834 sq. miles	2,000,000
Abyssinia	350,000 sq. miles	10,000,000

The foregoing figures give a picture of how complete the domination of the bourgeoisie is over Africa. The most cruel and brutal methods of suppression are utilized by the imperialist plunderers to maintain their rule and exploitation of the African natives. The development and penetration of capitalism has resulted in the most devastating consequences to the natives. In its policy of conquest, Christianity has been a useful "hand-maiden" to the imperialist exploiters.

The Central African colonies exemplify the most cruel and barbaric methods of capitalist exploitation and subjection. In this section of Africa, colonial exploitation assumes the very worst forms in the combination of feudal and slave-owning methods of exploitation. The profit-hunters have employed the most fiendish methods of torture to coin profits out of the blood of these natives. The deliberate murder and extermination of the natives by the imperialists in Belgian Congo in their quest for rubber is one of the blackest pages of colonial history. In the post-war period there has been a tremendous flow of capital into Africa, resulting in the concentration of large masses of expropriated natives in the huge plantations and industries.

The "independent" nations, Abyssinia and Liberia, are the constant prey of the imperialist powers. Through various treaties they seek to partition Abyssinia and reduce her to a complete vassal. Liberia is now completely under the domination of the United States. The Firestone Rubber Co., in its determination to break the British rubber monopoly, has secured thousands of acres of fertile land in Liberia, employing more than 10,000 natives for the miserable pittance of 30 cents per day. The Negro bourgeoisie in

Liberia has completely "sold out" to Firestone & Co. and gives effective aid in the enslavement of the native population.

In South Africa the Negro masses are practically a landless peasantry. They are being expropriated from the land by the white colonists under the direct protection and aid of the government. They are disfranchised, their freedom of movement curtailed, and they are the victims of one of the most brutal forms of race and class oppression. The policy of the exploiters has been to take possession of the fertile land, ousting the natives therefrom, and to have these landless natives a source of cheap labor supply. As a result of this policy the six million natives are herded like cattle into what are known as reservations, the least fertile and usable land, comprising one-eighth of the total area. On the other hand, seven-eighths of the land, the most fertile section, is placed at the disposal of 1,500,000 whites.

In this manner the imperialists have attained two aims:

1. About 2,000,000 natives are compelled to slave on the land of the wealthy Dutch farmers — "Labor Tenants," as they are called. They are in the same position as the share croppers and farm laborers in America. These farm laborers and tenants are virtual slaves on the land. Even though paying rent these tenants must work ninety days every year for the landowners under the "Masters and Servants' Act," receiving as payment for this service an average of *three dollars* per month. The farm laborers suffer an even worse fate at the hands of the wealthy landowners than the labor tenants.

2. The overcrowding of the "reserves" has compelled the natives to seek employment in the industrial centers, particularly in the gold and diamond mines. Thus, there has developed a Negro industrial proletariat which constitutes the majority of the working class population. The following figures will give us an idea of the composition of the working class in South Africa:

	* White	176,072 (27 per cent)	
	Colored	467,013 (73 per cent)	
		643,085	
	<i>White</i>		<i>Colored</i>
Mining	39,029 (11 per cent)		305,589 (89 per cent)
Transport.	66,139 (62 per cent)		40,830 (38 per cent)
Production	71,004 (37 per cent)		120,594 (63 per cent)
	176,172		467,013

* "The Negro Worker."

The wages paid the natives is much less than that paid the white workers. The average wage for the native is about seventy-five cents and that of the white workers about three dollars and fifty cents per day. The competition between black and white labor is a serious menace to the unity of the working class. While the aristocracy of labor has succeeded in enforcing a policy of segregation against native labor in skilled lines through the "Color Bar Bill," the very process of rationalization and the introduction of labor-saving machinery, curtailing the demand for skilled labor, reduces them to the "white pauper" class, subjected to chronic unemployment. Employed to an ever-increasing extent in the industrial enterprises, the cheap native labor is rapidly supplanting the so-called "white paupers."

Not only among the bourgeoisie, but also among large sections of the white working class, particularly the skilled workers, is there open hostility and contempt for the Negro workers. Race prejudice finds its reflection in the labor movement and has resulted in the complete division of the workers. As a result of this division there exists the white unions which do not admit natives and the independent unions composed solely of Negro workers. Recent figures give the number of organized white workers as 83,000, or 37 per cent. and 100,000 or 23 per cent. organized natives. The vast majority of the organized Negro workers in South Africa are in the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union which has had a rapid growth in recent years, but which is under the control of a reformist group and affiliated with the Amsterdam International

Like the agricultural workers, the native industrial workers are most bitterly exploited. In order to assure a steady supply of cheap labor, the employers have enacted various laws to further enslave the Negro workers. (1) Various taxes are imposed, such as the hut tax and poll tax; (2) A system of passports and passes have been introduced which forbid the natives to stay in town without work for longer than a week, and without which he cannot move from place to place. By this method he is kept under constant surveillance by the police; (3) The contract system of labor, which makes the native a slave to the employer; (4) At the mines, the natives are forced to live in "compounds" and are not permitted to communicate with outsiders. At the end of their contract they are given a purgative, to make sure they have not swallowed any diamonds; (5) The prohibition of the workers to quit their places of work without the permission of the employer. These are the methods utilized by the bourgeoisie to enslave the African natives and to extract huge profits out of their labor.

With the exception of the Cape Province, the native South African is denied the franchise. Using every instrument at its command, the courts, the armed forces, the white ruling class suppresses every attempt on the part of the natives to assert themselves. The natives have no legal status. Laws are constantly enacted to deprive them of the most elementary rights. They are always subject to arrests and raids. Meetings are generally prohibited. They live under the constant terror of imprisonment for the slightest infraction of the capitalist laws.

The South African Labor Party, the party of the white labor aristocracy, works hand in glove with the Nationalist Party, which represents the interests of the landowners, to suppress the native blacks and to bring about the complete disunity of the labor movement.

The recent uprisings and the refusal to pay taxes by the natives in South Africa, resulting in raids and wholesale arrests, are indicative of the growing resentment of the natives against these brutal methods of exploitation and their readiness to counter the moves of the imperialists by organized resistance. The revolt of the African masses against imperialist domination is but a part of the widespread revolt of the colonial peoples against world imperialism.

The African natives are slowly realizing that only through their organized effort can they put a stop to their exploitation by world imperialism. They are rallying in ever-increasing numbers to the banner of the Communist Party of South Africa and are deserting the organizations of the reformist Negro lackeys who are the tools of imperialism. The C. P. of South Africa, composed largely of natives (about 1,400 native members), is drawing the best elements into its ranks and is leading the struggle together with the League of African Rights against the bourgeoisie and for an independent native South African Republic.

THE WEST INDIAN ISLANDS

The West Indian Islands are controlled by England, France, Holland and the United States. England is the dominant power in the Carribean and possesses the most valuable colonies. We shall only take into consideration here the islands predominantly populated by Negroes and which are completely under the domination of the imperialist powers.

Of major importance, from the viewpoint of markets for the finished products and sources of raw materials for the imperialist powers, and for naval strategy, are the British colonies, Jamaica,

Trinidad, British Guiana, and the Island of Haiti, dominated by American imperialism. In the struggle between American and British imperialism for markets and for the maintenance of naval bases in the Caribbean to protect their interests, these islands play an important role. While largely agricultural, of recent years there has been a considerable development in the mining and oil industries in the Islands. Curacao (Dutch West Indies) and Trinidad are oil and asphalt producing centers, while British and Dutch Guiana are rich in bauxite (aluminum ore) and gold deposits. Trinidad produced in 1927, 5,380,464 barrels of petroleum and in 1926, 180,950 metric tons of asphalt. American capitalism is penetrating to an ever larger degree these colonies. The American Aluminum Co. (?), controlled by Andrew Mellon, has practically a monopoly on the bauxite industry. The United Fruit Co. is the dominant factor in the production and distribution of bananas in the Island of Jamaica. And in commerce, the United States is fast outstripping Britain in her own colonies.

The racial composition of the population of the Islands is more or less similar, and the proportion of whites to Negroes varies little. In all of the colonies the vast majority of the population are Negroes. There is of course a distinction made between blacks and mulattoes. The population of the Island of Jamaica may be taken as a typical example: *Total population* (1921 census), 857,729. Blacks, 660,420; colored (mixed), 157,223; white, 14,476; East Indians, 18,610; others, 7,000.

The natives of these islands are the victims of a most vicious colonial policy and are subjected to pre-capitalist forms of exploitation. The great mass of pauperized peasants live under the most primitive and poverty-stricken conditions. In most of these islands a semi-slave condition exists on the huge banana and sugar plantations, largely owned and controlled by big foreign corporations and absentee landlords. Working long hours under a broiling sun, housed in company-owned shacks, the mass of agricultural workers are paid a miserable pittance for their toil. The small farmers and tenant farmers are compelled to dispose of their products for little pay to the big corporations who exercise absolute power and control. The paltry sum received by the peasants must be supplemented by women and children who are forced to toil long hours on the plantations.

There are in most of these Islands a growing city proletariat. These workers, divorced from the land, are forced to live in crowded, unsanitary shacks. Receiving small pay (one to two dollars per day) they can only procure the barest necessities of life. To give an idea of the terrible exploitation of the workers, I will cite the

prevailing rate of wages of a few occupations in Jamaica, which holds good for most of the Island:

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Wages</i>
Building Trades (Average)	\$1.50 per day
Motormen and Conductors	12.00 per week
Waitresses	2.00 " "
Printers (Compositors	10.00 " "
(Linotype Operators)	25.00 " "
Laborers	75c to \$1 per day

While in a few of the islands there is the beginning of trade union organizations, the workers are largely unorganized. Unable to resist the pressure of the bourgeoisie, they are miserably exploited by the employers, native and white. The introduction of machinery, the cutting down of immigration to the United States, increase considerably the army of unemployed, bringing untold hardships to the masses. In spite of the lack of organization, and leadership, many spontaneous strikes occur, which are brutally suppressed by the government. The courts, the army, and the police are at the ready disposal of the employers whenever the workers revolt against their degrading condition, or make the feeblest attempt toward securing some small improvements. Beginning with the Longshoremen's strike in Trinidad in 1924, which successfully tied up all shipping, there has been a steady attempt to develop trade unions. Most of the unions are short-lived, however, due to lack of experience and proper leadership. Only in Trinidad, British Guiana and a few smaller places is there any semblance of unionism. Trinidad has the largest union, the Trinidad Workingmen's Association, with nearly 60,000 members, and the Trinidad Labor Party, led by petty-bourgeois politicians, are affiliated with the British Labor Party and the Amsterdam International. These organizations with their official organ, the "Labor Leader," exert a considerable influence in local politics, having elected a number of labor candidates to the Legislature. Recently the leader of the Trinidad Labor Party was elected Mayor of the City of Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad.

The class division within the native population in the islands is quite marked and rigid. The native bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie is verile and strong and is in complete alliance with the white ruling class in their exploitation and subjection of the workers and peasants.

On the economic field they are entering into serious competition with some of the foreign corporations, supported by subsidies from

the British Government, they are challenging the supremacy of the United Fruit Co. This is especially noticeable in the Island of Jamaica, where large numbers of native growers of bananas have organized the Jamaica Producers' Association, acquired steamships, and are now shipping bananas to the United States, Canada and England in competition with American interests.

Alive to their own interests, fighting for political and economic control of the islands, the native bourgeoisie and their political representatives have launched a campaign for the Federation of British Islands with dominion status. This nationalist ideology is rapidly taking shape. Under the slogan of a "Federated West Indies," as symbolizing native rule, the native bourgeoisie is able to influence the masses, who are clamoring for native (non-white) representation in the Legislative Councils. Though restricted in the franchise by taxation qualifications and other bourgeois devices, the masses are rapidly developing political consciousness, as reflected in the increasing number of natives elected to the Legislatures.

Unlike the United States, there are no racial problems to speak of. Garvey's racial propaganda is artificially stimulated. Though he has considerable influence among the masses, their allegiance to his movement is based primarily upon the expectation of immediate economic relief. While there is no racial question in the West Indies, there is a rigid caste system based on color. The white ruling class, in order to divide the workers and rule them more effectively inculcates the idea of superiority over the blacks among the mulatto element.

Due to the fact that the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie are largely colored, and the working class entirely native, the class, rather than the race, issues are to the forefront. In fact, the class lines within the native population are quite rigid and short. Operating under such conditions, Marcus Garvey, who has transferred his main activities now to the islands, particularly Jamaica, was forced to come out more openly in support of capitalism, while using liberal and racial slogans to befuddle the masses.

Haiti, with a population of 2,000,000 Negroes, is a semi-colony of American imperialism. This once free and independent Negro Republic, born out of the struggle of the slaves who revolted against French domination, is now ruled at the point of American bayonets. The reign of terror instituted by the Wall Street Government since 1915 has had as a result the murdering of thousands of defenseless workers and peasants. Peasants, who for generations had tilled their land, were summarily ordered to produce a title to the land or be evicted. In this manner, and with the assistance of the puppet government established by Yankee imperialism, the American capi-

talists were able to gain possession of large areas of valuable lands. Completely deprived of all their civil rights, drafted to work on the roads and on the plantations for a few cents per day, forced to accept an unequal treaty and a "made in America" constitution, these Haitian workers and peasants are brutally murdered whenever they attempt to revolt against their enslavement.

The recent strikes, culminating in a revolt against imperialist exploitation and oppression, is a sign of the readiness of the Haitian masses to struggle against Yankee imperialism and to drive the imperialist brigands out of their country.

The bitter exploitation and oppression of the workers in the West Indies drives them to struggle against their oppressors. The many spontaneous strikes, though lacking organization and leadership, are indicative of the mood of the masses.

Under such circumstances the Communist Parties can build a broad movement for the fight for the right of self-determination, giving proletarian leadership to the struggle for a "Federated West Indies." The organization of trade unions and Labor Parties under our leadership should be one of the primary tasks of the Communist Parties in order to weld together the natives for the struggle against world imperialism.

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States the Negro is an oppressed racial minority. The exploitation of the Negro masses in America is of a twofold character—racial and class exploitation. The twelve million Negroes in the United States are the special victims of capitalist exploitation and subjection. Members of a racial minority, they are singled out for the severest attacks and persecution by the employing class.

The development of America required cheap labor for the southern cotton and tobacco plantations. Africa became the source of supply of the much needed man-power. The slave trade, while resulting in the death of millions of Africans, the depopulation on a wholesale scale of the African Continent, and in the most horrible violence and atrocities against the African natives, produced millions in profits for the slave traders and their bankers.

Chained to the land for over 300 years through the system of chattle slavery, Negro labor produced the basis of the wealth of the United States. Driven with the lash, subjected to the most horrible forms of torture and brutality, the Negro slaves produced untold riches for the ruling class. The many revolts of the slaves against this monstrous system of enslavement and exploitation were brutally suppressed by the wealthy landowners and the State.

Following the Civil War, the primitive mode of production of chattle slavery was replaced with that of wage slavery.

However, while the Negroes in the North became wage slaves during the period of reconstruction, the Southern Negro was practically completely re-enslaved on the plantations. The courts enacted innumerable laws which served to keep the Negro under the complete domination of the landowners. Every instrument at its disposal was used by the ruling class to shackle the Negro workers and bind them to the plantations.

THE SOUTH

The Negro population is not only concentrated in the South, but the bulk is concentrated in the rural sections. Out of the nearly 9,000,000 Negroes living in sixteen Southern states, about 6,000,000 or two-thirds live in the rural areas. In a number of states the Negro masses form a large part of the population. In Alabama and Louisiana, they constitute (1920 census) 38%, in Georgia 42% and in Mississippi and South Carolina 51% of the total population.

In the South the millions of Negro workers and farmers are largely concentrated within certain areas known as the "Blackbelt," due primarily to the plantation type of agriculture. The Negro tenant farmer share cropper, and farm workers are virtually slaves on the land. The poor farmer and share cropper can never hope to own the land he tills, due to a credit and mortgage system which chains him to the land and makes him the serf of the merchants, landholders and bankers. Not only the land, but even the implements, crops—everything is mortgaged, placing them under complete domination of the white ruling class. The Negro farm workers are compelled to toil long hours under the most revolting conditions and for a miserable pittance as wages, receiving in some instances, as in Georgia, as little as \$19 per month. Peonage, debt and convict slavery, vagrancy laws, defranchisements, segregation, lynching and mob violence are the methods used to mercilessly exploit and oppress the Negroes in the South. These are the methods of double exploitation of the Negro used by the capitalist class in order to extract super profits from their labor.

The migratory movement of the Negroes from the Southern plantations which really began soon after the Civil War and reached its peak in 1923, resulted in the tremendous increase of the Negro population in the Southern as well as the Northern cities. Fully one and one-half million Negroes have migrated to the urban centers between the years of 1910 and 1920. In 1890 less than 1,500,000 Negroes lived in cities. Recent estimates give the urban

Negro population as 4,000,000. Between the years of 1920-25 the Negro farm population decreased from 5,300,615 to 4,505,796 or 15%. During this same period the white farm population decreased 11%, indicating that Negroes were migrating from the farms at a greater ratio than whites.* The latest reports give the total number of Negro farmers as 926,708. Of this number 219,612 are farm owners, 2,026 farm managers, and 705,070 tenants. Negro farmers are 14.7% of the total number of farmers. In 1910, 27% of Negro male laborers were farm workers, in 1920 only 16.5%.

The rapid industrialization of the south is drawing ever larger numbers of Negroes into the southern industries. The process of rationalization, speed-up, etc., affects most sharply the Negro workers. Fresh from farm labor, they come into industry for the first time at a point where the most terrific drive for production is taking place. Driven at a terrific rate, at long hours, and miserably low wages, terrorized and victimized, Negro labor in the South is not only cheap labor, but virtually slave labor. The south depends to a very large extent upon Negro labor for the production of its wealth. The heaviest, dirtiest tasks are performed by Negro workers. The turpentine, lumber, fertilizer, tobacco and cotton industries use largely Negro labor. Over 50% of the more than 100,000 lumber workers in the South are Negroes. Nearly three times as many Negroes as whites are in the steel industry working ten hours and more per day. Over 50,000 are in the coal mining industry. The tobacco and cotton industries employ tens of thousands of Negro workers, paying them as low as ten dollars per week. The vast majority of waterfront workers in the South are Negroes. The textile industry is increasingly using Negro workers. One textile plant in Durham, N. C. employs 700 Negro workers.

Negro women and children are used to further worsen the conditions of the male workers. Negro women and children are employed largely in the tobacco and textile industries, slaughtering and meat packing houses and the canneries. Twenty-nine and one-half per cent of Negro women in canneries earn less than four dollars per week. The average wage for tobacco workers is seven dollars per week. In the cotton waste mills 81% of the Negro women employed toil ten hours per day for a miserably low wage.

Segregated into the worst sections, compelled to live in flimsy, dirty shanties, jim-crowed at every turn, the Negro masses are

* These figures are national but the Negro farmers are mostly in the South.

bitterly exploited and live in the most abject poverty. They are disfranchised and subjected to violence if they dare assert their rights to vote in elections. Intimidated and brutally lynched by the Ku Klux Klan, the Night Riders and various other terroristic agencies of the capitalist class, the Negro masses in the South are unable to resist their oppression and exploitation, because of the lack of organization and the prejudiced attitude, not only of the employers, but also of the white workers who are saturated with the idea of race "superiority." Blinded by race hatred, deliberately fostered by the capitalist class, the mass of white workers fail to see the common interest between them and the Negro workers. Despite this racial antagonism, the worsening of the conditions of the white workers practically to the level of that of the Negroes, and the organizing and propaganda activities of the left wing unions and the Communist Party are laying the basis for the united action on the part of black and white against their common enemy—the exploiters.

THE NORTH

Soon after the Civil War, a slow but steady migration of Negroes from the South to the North began. Thousands of Negro peasants abandoned the plantations for the Northern cities. The demand for labor in the war industries and the check on foreign immigration provided the basis for a huge mass movement from the South to the North, involving hundreds of thousands of Negroes. The Negro population of the North increased tremendously. The following table will show a partial picture of the increase of the Negro population in some of the industrial states:

<i>States</i>	1870	1920
Pennsylvania	65,294	284,568
Ohio	63,213	186,187
New York	52,081	198,483
New Jersey	30,658	117,132
Illinois	28,762	182,274
Indiana	24,560	80,810

Turning their backs to the oppressive conditions of the South, with its intense exploitation, low wages and long hours, peonage and terrorism, the migrants flocked into the North. In his efforts to escape the open terrorism, jim-crowism and serfdom in the South, the Negro soon discovered that the conditions in the North are only little better than those from which he has escaped. In the North he is the special object of intense exploitation and proscription. He is confronted with discrimination and jim-crowism

in restaurants, theatres and other public places. He is the special prey of the landlords and real estate sharks. The segregation of Negroes into restricted areas, forcing them to pay rents forty to fifty per cent higher than white tenants pay for similar accommodations, is one of the methods of double exploitation utilized by the bourgeoisie against the Negro. Both white and Negro landlords reap a harvest of profits through this system of segregating Negroes into districts notorious for their unsanitary conditions, thereby causing a shockingly high death rate of the Negro workers. Racial separation, through segregation, is an effective means of reducing the Negro to a social outcast.

The Negro farmhand of yesterday has become an industrial worker in the North. Absorbed into the various industries, the two million Negro workers are an important factor in the basic industries, such as steel, coal, iron, automobile, railroad, etc.

The industrialization of the Negro workers can best be appreciated when we take into consideration not only the increase of Negro population in the industrial areas of the country but also the large numbers who have entered into some of the basic industries. The role and importance of the Negro proletariat in the North can easily be seen from the following figures, though incomplete:

<i>Occupation</i>	1890	1910	1920
Trade & Transportation	145,717	334,422	452,888
Extraction of minerals . . .	—	—	73,229
Mfg. & Mechanical	207,588	552,581	886,810
Textile	—	11,333	24,734
	<hr/> 353,305	<hr/> 898,336	<hr/> 1,437,661

Taking his place side by side with the white workers in the gigantic factories, mills and mines, subjected to capitalist rationalization, wage cuts, speed-up and unemployment, with its consequent radicalization of the masses, the role the Negro proletariat will play in the sharpening class struggles can no longer be ignored.

The Negro workers are largely unorganized as a result of the A. F. of L. policy of outright refusal to organize the mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The reactionary bureaucracy in control of the craft unions bar Negroes outright or practice gross discrimination against them. With their policy of racial separation and hostility, they play the game of the employers. The A. F. of L. and socialist leaders constantly betray the Negro workers in their struggle, as in the waiters' strike in Chicago in 1922, the calling off of the scheduled Pullman porters' strike and the

issuing of a "Federal Charter" to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, thereby jim-crowing and weakening the organization, leaving the workers at the mercy of the Pullman Company. In spite of the treacherous policy of these labor "leaders" there are nearly 200,000 Negro workers organized in the trade unions.

The sharpening class differentiation within the Negro population must no longer be ignored. The segregation of the Negro masses creates the basis for the development of a group of real estate brokers, merchants and bankers. Under the deceptive slogan of "race loyalty" the Negro bourgeoisie has been able to establish an ideological influence over the Negro masses.

The Garvey movement and the N. A. A. C. P. are classic examples of the reformist movements exerting considerable ideological influence over the Negro, diverting his militancy into reformist channels, betraying the Negro workers in their struggle against capitalist exploitation.

A basic task before the Communist Parties and the revolutionary unions is the winning over of the Negro masses in America and in the colonies for the struggle against world imperialism, under the leadership of the Communist International.

The recent revolts of the natives throughout Africa are indicative of the readiness of the African workers to fight against the brutal exploitation and oppression of world imperialism. The colonial slaves in Africa and the West Indies must be organized and drawn into the world-wide revolutionary movement for the overthrow of world capitalism.

In the United States the proletarianization and the growing radicalization of the Negro masses provide us the basis for organizing the Negro industrial workers in the new revolutionary trade unions under the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League. The attendance and active participation of sixty-four Negro delegates at the Cleveland Convention of the T. U. U. L. is a sign of the awakening of the Negro workers and their readiness for joint struggle with the white workers against capitalist rationalization and enslavement.

The Communist Party must throw all its energy, mobilize all its forces for the winning of the millions of Negro workers and farmers for the revolution. The peculiar forms of racial exploitation of the Negro masses provide the basis for a race liberation movement which must be actively supported by the Communist Party. Our slogan of race equality as well as political and social equality must be translated into action and the Party become the champion and the active organizer of the oppressed Negro race for full emancipation. Gastonia proves to us the possibilities of smashing

the age-old Southern traditions and prejudices, mobilizing the white and black workers for common struggle against exploitation and oppression.

The danger of another imperialist war and of a war against the Soviet Union, into which thousands of Negroes will be drawn and sacrificed to appease the greed of world imperialism in their scheme for the re-division of the world, must be utilized to mobilize the Negro workers for struggle against world capitalism.

It is the duty of our Party to mobilize and rally the masses of white workers in defense of the Negro workers, linking up the struggles of the white with that of the black workers through all of its campaigns and activities.

A determined fight must be waged against every manifestation of white chauvinism among the broad masses of white workers and a campaign to stamp out all neglect and indifference among our white comrades toward Negro work.

The Party must intensify its work among the Negro masses, drawing them into the Party, aiding in the strengthening and building up of the American Negro Labor Congress and mobilizing the Negro workers under our leadership.



The Industrialization of the South and the Negro Problem

By M. RUBENSTEIN

All the contradictions of industrialization of the South particularly affect, although in peculiar forms, the Negro problem, the position of the Negro population both in the "black belt" of the Southern States as well as in the districts inhabited by large numbers of Negroes—the industrial centers of the North. The twelve million Negroes in the United States constituting about 10 per cent of the country's population comprise over 25 per cent of the population in the South and from 40 to 50 per cent and even more of the population of some of the districts (and even States) located in the "black belt."

The vast majority of Negroes in the South are engaged in agriculture, chiefly in the cultivation of special crops which require (or required, to be more exact) many hands. Such crops are chiefly cotton, tobacco, rice and sugar cane.

The overwhelming majority of Negro farmers in the South are either tenants or laborers. Whereas throughout the U. S. the tenants constitute 38 per cent of the farmers, in the South they comprise about 50 per cent; 76.2 per cent of the Negro farmers are tenants; in the South 80 per cent of the Negroes are tenant farmers. A considerable majority of tenants are share-croppers, and the characteristic features of the dependence of tenants on the landlords described above hold particularly true in relation to the Negro tenants. A bourgeois student of agrarian relations in the cotton districts writes that the Negro share-croppers are in a position which resembles more the position of laborers paid in kind than that of tenants. The landlord provides the share-cropper with implements, seeds, etc.; often he supplies him with food "in advance"; he supplies him with clothing and other requirements and later deducts the cost (at a considerably higher price) from the value of half of the crop which is left to the tenant. Often the same landlord buys the crop from the tenant and earns on it almost as much as on the part of the crop which he gets for nothing. The advance payments by the landlord keep the Negro tenant always indebted and, combined with the political and social conditions of the Southern Negroes, creates for most of the Negro farmers a situation which keeps them in a state of bondage which can hardly

be distinguished from slavery. One of the main differences is that when slavery was in the prime of its development on the Southern plantations the value of a healthy slave was from one and a half to two thousand dollars, and the master was interested in preserving that value, and consequently had to feed him properly. Now the landlord wants to get out of his Negro tenants all that he can, to get rid of them when they are of no use and to replace them by others. The difference between a Negro tenant and a wage laborer in the South is that he has to stand additional burdens of exploitation by merchant and finance capital, and a considerable part of the risk of the extremely precarious cotton crop, which largely depends on the weather, on pests and on sharp price fluctuations.

According to the census of 1920, there were then in the Southern States 1,200,000 agricultural laborers, the vast majority being Negroes. As the census was taken in the winter, the actual number of farm hands may probably be placed at over 2,000,000. Their standard of living is about the same as that of the tenants (and in general it is hard to distinguish one of these categories from the other). Their wages in typical cotton States (South Carolina and Georgia) are about \$20 per month and in other States about \$22-\$23. These wages most of them receive only during the season, i. e., a few months in the year. Female and child labor is very widespread in the cotton districts. They usually get about \$4 a week. These wages are lower than all minimum budgets and keep the receivers always hungry. This is the average standard of living of the vast majority of the Southern Negroes. They live in ruined wooden huts, which are never repaired, and are deprived even of a hint of the famous American conveniences, such as water supplies, canalization, electricity, etc. The average annual expenditure for the education of Negro children is about \$5-\$6, or about ten times less than the expenditure for white children. Such, roughly speaking, is the economic position of the broad sections of Negroes in "prosperous" America. Negro labor in the Southern States is considered to be as cheap as that of a new mule. The capitalists and landlords of the South take advantage of the competition between Negro and white workers for the slashing of wages. They keep down the wages of Negroes at the level of a mule, and small white tenants are forced to "compete" with the aid of female and child labor, children being sent to the field at the age of six, by means of restricted consumption and starvation, etc.

Apart from these conditions of growing economic oppression, growing precariousness and uncertainty, the Negroes have to suffer from unparalleled social oppression. The white bourgeoisie

and landlords dominate in all the economic, social and cultural life in the Southern States, in the national, municipal and judicial apparatus of the South. The Negro petty bourgeoisie is more or less successful in the sphere of retail trade and in occupations of minor importance. It cannot find a way into the banks, industry, transport, etc.

In agriculture, almost all the land and implements have remained in the hands of a handful of the heirs of the former slave owners, for whom the children of the former slaves are now working.

Out of 3,000,000 farms in the Southern States in 1925 2,300,000, i. e., more than 75 per cent, were in the hands of white farmers. Apparently these figures are not correct, because from other sources we find that only 160,000 Negro farmers own their land. Practically almost all the Negro tenants and agricultural laborers (about nine-tenths) work for white farmers. All forces of the bourgeoisie and the landlords are directed towards preserving this monopoly of exploitation. For this purpose there are numerous social, juridical and cultural institutions surrounding the Southern Negroes with an atmosphere of oppression, hatred, lawlessness, lynching, isolation and no rights whatever, creating such a state of "civilization" that even the bourgeois intellectuals of the North and the European bourgeoisie are compelled to speak against this "disgrace."

What changes have been wrought by the industrialization of the South in the position of the Negroes?

Industrialization undoubtedly hastens the process of disintegration of agriculture, impoverishment and crowding out of vast sections of the farmer population, especially the Negroes, from the villages. The effects of industrialization and of the general agricultural crisis, the floods and pests, etc., and that a large section of Negro tenants who, as it is, lead a life below the agricultural poverty line, lose their last economic positions.

In the last ten years over a million Negroes migrated to the North. Simultaneously with this migration the number of Negroes in the Southern towns has greatly increased. These Negroes perform the dirtiest and hardest and least paid work. Very few learn trades, which are in the South monopolized by the whites. The sharp competition on the labor market tends to worsen the labor conditions. In addition to that, most of the Negro workers have no hope whatever of advancement; their position is more uncertain even than that of the white workers, their jobs are unsteady and shortlived.

As in the North, they live in the worst districts and the most dilapidated houses, for which they pay much more than the whites,

as they are classified as "undesirables." The Negro quarters strike one immediately by their filth and poverty.

Essentially the conditions are the same in the industrial centers of the North. The hilly district of Pittsburgh, the Southern part of Chicago, the railway district of Buffalo, the Negro quarters of Detroit and other cities are not only far below American standards, but even below the standards of Galician and Polish towns and the East End of London. And these districts are literally only a few steps away from the most luxurious streets of the world. Filth and putrid refuse on the streets, dark and gloomy homes, desolation, groups of unemployed on the street corners, ragged children swarming the streets—such is the usual picture of a Negro district in any American industrial city or manufacturing settlement. Negro mortality in the towns is, as a rule, two or three times higher than that of whites. Five or six times more Negroes die of tuberculosis in Baltimore and Chicago than whites.

In addition to all this, we find in the South the unwritten but strictly observed Jim Crow laws, laws prohibiting Negroes to travel in the same trains with whites, to eat in the same restaurants, to go to the same theater or church. This division can be found on every step of social life and is enforced by the constant peril of being lynched by the "civilized" mob, by systematic white terror and mob lynchings, compared with which the descriptions of the inquisition of the middle ages all fade. This social super-structure aims at the maintenance of the economic base, the colossal reservoir of cheap labor power, which is to be preserved in conditions of semi-slavery. It is for this purpose that racial prejudice and hatred are cultivated; it is for this purpose that the entire educational machinery of the church and the State are used.

What are the prospects arising from the industrialization of the South for the Negroes? Some liberal bourgeois investigators, and also Lovestone and company, believe that the industrialization of the South absorbs the Negroes in industry, which weakens their racial subordination, disentangles the complicated problem of racial antagonism and relieves the contradictions of American capitalism.

But these assertions are absolutely unfounded. And the reverse would be the truth. The industrialization of the South certainly greatly hastens the process of pauperization of the Negro farmers. Tens and hundreds of thousands of Negro tenants and sharecroppers are thrown out of the farms. The hidden agrarian overpopulation in these districts is being disclosed.

Of particular importance in this respect will be the development of mechanical farming in the South, especially in the raising of cotton. As stated, cotton is one of the crops which requires the greatest

amount of labor. Cotton farms need twice as much help as milk farms, three times as much as corn farms and four times as much as the average wheat farm, for instance, in Kansas. The harvesting of cotton requires more workers than any other process of modern farming. The mechanization of one process was found profitable enough to induce the farmers to mechanize the whole process, i.e., to use tractors, seeders, etc. The cotton harvesting machine which has been perfected last year will revolutionize the cultivation of cotton and will consequently revolutionize the working conditions of the Southern Negro population.

Leaving them no perspectives and no economic possibilities, the success of mechanization will inevitably crowd out considerable sections of the Negro tenants and greatly reduce the number of agricultural laborers.

At the same time the development of industry in the South opens no possibility whatever of extensively absorbing the Negroes, absorbing them enough to counteract more or less the effects of the revolution in agriculture.

Of course, the Negroes will also in the South learn new trades and get into the various industries (especially mining and metallurgy, etc.). In some cases the employers will undoubtedly seek to bring pressure to bear on strikers and strikes by employing Negroes as strikebreakers and by giving them jobs held now by whites.

But none of these tendencies will be sufficient to counteract the effects of the agrarian over-population. This is so because of the following reasons:

1. As already mentioned, the entire development of industry in the South in the past few years proceeds with a relatively and absolutely slight increase in labor power. However, the rate of development of output at the present time shows a diminution and not an increase, while at the same time the intensity of labor is feverishly growing, industry is being rationalized, electricity and other technical changes are being introduced. As a result of these tendencies, it can be safely said that the increase of the number of workers will become still slower and in some industries will entirely stop and be replaced by a decrease in the number of workers, which is characteristic for the whole United States, accompanied by an increase in output.

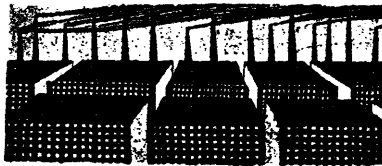
2. The effect of all these tendencies is observed in a period when the potential reserves of white labor power in the industrial districts of the South is not only far from being exhausted, but is constantly increasing under the influence of the same changes in agriculture. In view of these reserves, the employment of Negro labor in industry would be too risky for the employers, who in the course of

decades have fostered and cultivated racial hatred and prejudice in the South, convincing the white workers that industry in the South is the white man's monopoly, which does not tolerate the work of a white man and a Negro in one and the same shop.

The attempt to use Negroes instead of white workers on a big scale would so aggravate the racial hatred fostered by the employers as to go far beyond the objects pursued by them and would endanger not only "public order," but the very foundations of bourgeois class domination.

The rapid freeing of Negroes from the land in the South and the slow rate of their absorption by Southern industry will cause still greater migration of Negroes to the North. But at the same time the prospects of settling in the North also become limited. The growing organic unemployment constantly diminishes the chances of finding a job. The Negroes under such conditions become the first victims as unemployment grows and depression sets in. They are the first ones to suffer in the wholesale dismissals of workers in the last few years.

And whereas the way back to the farm in the South is closed there is no other way out for them, no other prospects, but a desperate struggle against capitalism.



Inter-racial Relations Among Southern Workers

By MYRA PAGE

The Communist Party is assuming, and must assume, a steadily increasing role as leader of mass upheavals in the rapidly industrializing south. Consequently, our program relating to Negro workers and the relations of colored and white labor takes on tremendous significance. The importance of this question is by no means confined to the south, but it does hold especial meaning for us here.

Our Party's aims and methods concerning these matters were much clarified by the Sixth World Congress, and our general line of procedure worked out. It now remains for us to continue and amplify the analysis of problems and tactics relating to racial factors among the American proletariat, and to train our membership so that correct applications to our policy will be made in concrete situations, as these arise. One very essential task is a thorough analysis of the factors and strategical questions involved in overcoming race prejudice among colored and white workers and poor farmers in the south. A number are entering the south for the first time to do Party or revolutionary union work, and some of these have little knowledge of the character or bases of race prejudice. Therefore they are unprepared for some of the tasks which confront them. On the whole our Party's recent procedure in dealing with these racial questions has been correct, but at times a dangerous, opportunistic tendency has shown its head—as when Weisbord, then N. T. W. organizer in North Carolina, allowed the lawyer Jimison to “interpret” the union's program for full racial equality and inter-racial solidarity as “being the same policy as we have always followed in our southern churches.” This gross misconception placed before southern workers was later corrected—but not until the C. E. C. received information on what had taken place. Other opportunistic mistakes could be cited, all of which have sprung from an incorrect understanding on the part of some comrades of the Party line and how it should be applied to the present situation among southern workers. Also, these errors have often resulted from an overestimation of the differences involved, and a shameful retreat before them. It would be a serious

mistake, likewise, to underestimate this problem, but in general, the danger is from the other direction.

Our attack on these misconceptions and errors must include a thorough exposition of the historical background of the present racial divisions and antagonisms existing among southern workers. It is obvious that these divisions have had their origin in economic and social conditions, and not in any "innate feelings of antagonism," as some psychologists would have us believe. Race prejudice first appeared in the "old south" of pre-civil war days, under the economic system of large-scale agriculture, manned by Negro slave labor and dominated by white slave and plantation owners. Besides the two classes of slaves and owners, another class was created by the economic forces of that time—the poor farmers, who tilled a small acreage of rented or highly mortgaged land and owned no slaves.¹ Their lot was equally as hard as that of Negro slaves, for while they were "free men," and could not be bought and sold, and personally maltreated and worked limitless hours as the slaves were; neither were they fed, sheltered and clothed by the slave holders—for the very reason that they were "free labor" and not the personal property of the plantation aristocrats. Their standard of living was often below that of the slaves, which no doubt gave rise to the Negro saying, still current in the south, "I'd rather be a Nigger than a po' white trash." The ruling class exploited both their colored slaves and the small farmers.² The exploitation of this peasant class they accomplished through their role as landlord and extender of credit. Both slaves and poor farmers were kept illiterate, and were the despised and outcast of southern society. The ruling aristocracy gave these agricultural poor derisive nicknames of "Poor Whites," "No 'Counts," and "White Trash"—terms which have clung to this day—while the utter contempt which they felt for their slaves was expressed in the term "niggers."

Both Negro slaves and Poor Whites despised their exploiters, but unorganized, isolated and backward as they were, and deluged with the master class propaganda on every side, it was natural that the exploited masses of both groups should remain inert. Only the most advanced of the slaves and poor whites dared to protest, but history reports many of these revolts, especially among the slaves.³

¹ The relative sizes of these three classes is estimated as follows: total slave holders in the south prior to civil war, 350,000. Of these, 10,000 were the large-scale producers and owners; Negro slaves, 3,200,000; Poor Whites (small farmers, artisans, workers), 8,000,000.

² It is worth noting that while the overwhelming majority of the Negroes were slaves, there were Negro freedmen in the slave south, and also Negro owners of Negro slaves.

³ More than thirty revolts took place prior to the civil war.

However, these were generally spasmodic, local uprisings and in no case joint movements on the part of slaves and white toilers. They were divided from one another by the caste system, and their relation to the economic system of this period was not the same, so that their work and daily life did not draw them together. It was under these circumstances that race prejudice among southern toilers first developed, to be passed on from generation to generation. For the bitterness which the Negro slaves felt toward their white owners was carried over to *all* whites, since their experiences gave them no reasons for differentiating among them. They had no experiences of inter-racial solidarity, or no knowledge of the possibility of the oppressed of both races uniting in a common struggle against their oppressors. The discontent which the Poor Whites felt against their position the slave-holding aristocracy tried to divert from themselves to the Negro slaves! In this they were partly successful, through their control of pulpit, press and school. The myth of "Anglo-Saxon superiority" which the masters used to justify their subjection of the colored people they now used as a bribe to these Poor Whites, offering them some shreds of "respectability." The greater economic security of the slaves gave added weight to the growing feeling among Poor Whites that somehow the slaves were partly responsible for the white toilers' predicament. Looked at from a distance, it is hard for many to see how such a ridiculous idea could gain ground—the slaves held responsible for slavery and their masters' exploitation of the small farmers as well! Yet even today our comrades will encounter this argument among southern white workers, "But for th' slaves, we'd never bin Poor Whites."

It is not a thing of reason, but of insidious emotional conditioning. Like the Negro masses, Poor Whites were isolated, unorganized, and with no other source of information to counteract the ruling class philosophy which dominated southern life. However, the mountaineer section of the White Trash were consistently opposed to slavery and have never been as prejudiced against the slaves.⁴

The civil war and reconstruction period strengthened the mutual suspicions of Poor White and Negro toilers in the south.

⁴ How deep-going and far-reaching the feelings and social tabus of race prejudice are, for both races, perhaps only those who have grown up under a rigid caste system can realize. Both colored and white children are often whipped, scolded and warned against playing and mingling with those of the other race, and lurid stories are told them. Evidence is plentiful that the young do not feel these antagonisms, they have not inherited any antipathy; but their elders, schoolmarms and pastors see to it that they develop them.

During the conflict, ruling class propaganda along anti-Negro lines became greatly intensified, being used as a means of getting recruits for the southern army. However, Poor Whites were not so easily taken in by this ruse. Large numbers were forced into the southern army but the bulk of them remained indifferent to the planters' appeals. After the freeing of the slaves many of the southern mountaineers joined the federal army, in order to help destroy slavery and ruin the slave-owning aristocrats. New bitterness was engendered in the complete disintegration of the reconstruction period, which followed the defeat of the southern plantation interests by the northern industrialists. For a short period the old political order was turned upside down; with all whites who had fought in the southern army disfranchised, and the former slaves freed, enfranchised, and in many cases promoted to high political office. (The state of South Carolina, for instance, had a colored governor for a short period). The former slave holders, stripped of economic and political power, once again utilized the race question to mobilize Poor Whites to serve their purposes. This time they were more successful. The extra-legal Ku Klux Klan was formed and used, along with murder, rape, and incendiarism, to terrorize the still unorganized and leaderless Negroes into subjection.

The Negro freedmen soon found that not only southern whites, but northern white men also were now on hand to exploit and betray them. Some of those who came down from the north, it is true, came to give aid, but in general the black man found these newcomers had ulterior purposes. After a few years of "reconstruction," the northern industrialists and their federal government realized that they had accomplished their aims, having reduced the former ruling class of the south to destitution and made it powerless as an enemy. Furthermore, they saw dangers in the political situation now in the south, and so hastened to act as silent partners in the regaining of political control in the hands of the former southern ruling class. Needless to say, these northern capitalists had nothing but indifference, fear, and contempt for the former slaves, and had only freed them as a politically strategic measure, two full years after the Civil War had broken out.⁵ The federal authorities now winked at the operation of the Ku

⁵ For a Marxian analysis of events leading up to northern forces issuing of the proclamation, declaring they would "free slaves in those states which would not lay down their arms and submit to the northern army," see Bimba's *History of the American Working Class*" (pp. 113-129). It is necessary for our comrades to become well familiar with this history in order to break the loyalty to the memory of Lincoln and the Republican party, which still has such a hold on the Negro masses.

Klux Klan, and the adoption of laws in the southern states which again disfranchised the Negroes, by one means or another. So once more the Negroes said among themselves, "No white men kin be trusted. They doan mean no good to us colored people. They're all for theirselves. When they treat you well, they got an ax to grind." This tradition of distrust of all whites and holding aloof from them, has been passed down from generation to generation, and still flourishes today. Another saying, which originated in those post-civil war days and still survives, is, that "The white man is all right to deal with, so long as the black man knows his place." (That is, accepts his role as inferior, exploited, and outcast.) But the willingness to "keep his place" is far less prevalent today, even among the unorganized southern Negroes, than it was at that period.

With the coming of the industrial revolution in the south, beginning the latter half of the nineteenth century, a new situation has developed. The emergence of the southern proletariat, composed of both colored and white, has established the necessary basis for inter-racial solidarity in working class struggle. But until recently this new basis for unity has remained a potential factor, rather than an active one. (Our Party's entrance into the south marks the opening up of a new era for southern workers, with these factors making for solidarity and struggle organized and given direction.) The old practices and traditions of racial segregation and mutual distrust still flourish, and there are, in addition, actual factors in the present situation making for racial divisions. The capitalists nourish the old racial antagonisms, especially among the Poor White workers, using, as their forbears did, their control of press, pulpit and school to this end. They also use propaganda about "racial purity" and "inferiority of the black race" to build up feelings of superiority in the white workers, while sex fears are played upon until the white population in the south is almost morbid on this subject.⁶ On the land, in the factories and other places of work, one group has been played against the other. Sections of the more skilled workers, largely white, have been bribed with better (although poor) conditions; and all whites have had the threat over their heads, that colored men will be given their jobs or let into the trade. Furthermore, these workers under capitalism, as long as unorganized and non-class-conscious, are pitted

⁶ As illustrations of this morbidity: Few southern white women could be located who would venture near a colored section after dark. Needless to say, this superstition has no factual basis. In many mill towns white workers elbow Negroes off the sidewalk into the streets, for daring to intrude into the "white part" of town.

against one another in a mad scramble for jobs, with colored usually forced to underbid whites in order to get work. Colored workers have had access to more types of work here than they have had in other parts of the country, due to the special conditions surrounding the industrial revolution in the south. Consequently, direct competition has been more keen. At the same time, the necessity for joint action has become increasingly more apparent. For wages, hours and working conditions are the worst to be found in the United States. For example, farm laborers and tenant farmers in the south make \$24.89 a month and board, or \$35.00 without board—just about half of the earnings of agricultural workers in the west or north. (U. S. Department of Agriculture Report for 1928). Wages in textiles, the south's most important industry, for 1927 averaged \$12.80 a week, or about half the average earnings of all wage earners in the United States. Wages for unskilled Negro labor run from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day, and for skilled from two to two and a half dollars. The wages of Negro women and children are the very lowest, ranging from \$1.00 to \$12.00 a week, with the bulk getting from four to six dollars. These show what the general situation is, where each racial group has been used against the other, to beat down wages.⁷

Nevertheless, due to capitalist propoganda and their general backwardness, both colored and white workers have not only despised their bosses, but have also blamed toilers of the other race for much of their misery. The A. F. of L. has played a sorry role in this connection, with its capitalist outlook and narrow craft policies. White workers have sought relief through setting up a monopoly on certain types of work. In South Carolina, for instance, there is a law forbidding any but white men to work at the machines in textile mills. White workers refuse, generally, to work alongside a Negro worker, and employers, of course, encourage this segregation. White workers have often entered the Ku Klux Klan, which was revived after the world war, urged on by the fears which obsess them that they will "be dragged down to the level of the blacks." Driven by this same fear, southern mill workers have told me that "thar is only one mo' war I'll fight in, 'n that's to drive th' Niggers out of th' country." The white workers have formed "white unions," either excluding Negroes entirely from membership, or merely allowing them in separate locals. Usually the Negroes have simply remained unorganized. Often these

⁷ Nearing's *Black America* contains a wealth of factual material on the economic situation among southern Negroes, and also, to some extent, among southern whites.

unions have been means also of "keeping the niggers in their place." When Negro locals send delegates to the central labor union, they literally "sit in the back seats," and take no active part. In some instances a meager cooperation is extended by the white unions to the colored sections, but in general it is a one-way process, with colored workers expected to support the policies and organizations which the whites have initiated and control. Nevertheless, even this very limited type of association shows that there exists a beginning—recognition on the part of both colored and white workers in the south that they must join their forces against the employers. The poor character of their union relations is primarily the fault of the American Federation of Labor, the parent body of these local associations. In practice, it has always assumed the imperialist position toward the Negro as an inferior race of men, whose terrific exploitation was not their concern. The A. F. of L. has officially denied it countenanced discrimination against colored workers, but its record, not only in the south but also in the north and west, disproves its words.

In the face of this general discrimination, not only on the part of white bosses but on the part of white workers as well, the Negro toilers have struggled as best they could. Needless to say, their traditional distrust of white men has not been lessened by their present conditions. But racial consciousness has grown apace. The increasing spirit of revolt was expressed by one southern Negro in these words, "There's agoin' to be fewer lynchin's 'n mo' riots in this here country. Th' difference between 'em is this: in a riot, we black men fights back." Obviously, this racial consciousness offers great possibilities, and also some dangers. It requires direction into constructive, revolutionary channels. The issue must be made clearly one of class against class, never race against race.

The situation between the races in agriculture, in which a majority of the colored toilers in the south are still engaged, has been even more difficult. For besides the negative factors already discussed, of segregation, mutual distrust and lack of organization, there must be added those of the extreme individualism and greater isolation of rural life. Nevertheless, there are dynamic factors in agriculture, also, which can be utilized to draw colored and white tenant farmers and agricultural laborers together, increasing misery and common enemies, of landlord and creditor. But it is in industry and thru the rapid growth of industrial forces of the south that we will make our greatest advance.

It is into this general situation which our party has entered, with its program of inter-racial solidarity of all workers in common struggle for the establishment of militant unionism and better

standards of living, for full economic, social and political equality for Negroes, against capitalist speed-up, American imperialism and its war danger and for defense of the Soviet Union. We have begun our task of building the southern section of the Communist Party into a mass organization, through which the vanguard of the Dixie workers, colored and white, in common with the rest of the world proletariat, will lead their fellow workers in their struggles for immediate demands (which today inevitably take on revolutionary significance) on to final emancipation.

It is obvious that our task in the south is not a simple one. However, the dynamics of southern economic life are today of such a character as to assure us increasing headway in bringing together workers of both races on the basis of our program. Our experiences in Gastonia and in other textile and mining centers and the Charlotte conference have demonstrated the correctness of our party line and the readiness of southern workers to follow it. At the same time, we realize that racial prejudices and caste system practices will continue to furnish us with serious problems in our work in the south (and, to a less degree, in other parts of the country). Realistically, we must recognize that as long as capitalism continues its ruling class will do all in its power to foster racial divisions among the workers, at the same time that the main dynamics of economic life and the intensifying class struggle will enable the workers to free themselves more and more from these barriers. A workers' society is necessary before the old ideological and economic factors can be entirely destroyed and the basis established for full understanding. Race prejudice is one of the curses which systems of exploitation have visited upon the toilers. However, this is not to say that the present situation must continue, where white and black are divided into two hostile camps and pitted against one another by their exploiters. The most advanced section of the proletariat, both colored and white, will be able to free themselves entirely of their former prejudices. These, naturally, will be those who are most class conscious, those who enter the ranks of the Communist Party. In fact, this achievement on their part will be one irrevocable test of their qualification for proletarian leadership, for no chauvinism can be tolerated within the party's ranks. In this connection it is necessary to keep clearly before us the double objective which we have in our work—the organization and training of the Communist vanguard for mass leadership and the organization of the less advanced masses of workers for revolutionary struggle. These two phases of our work are, of course, vitally related, but it is important that correct attention be given to each phase and to the problems and objectives in-

volved. As far as the question of inter-racial relations is concerned, we will make our best progress, on the one hand, through drawing colored and white workers into common struggle and, on the other, through equipping our southern party members with a thorough theoretical understanding of the revolutionary significance of inter-racial solidarity. Once our southern comrades fully understand the origins, history and working of race prejudice, the harm it has wrought on the toilers of both races and the necessity not only for united action for concrete demands, but also for complete and joint emancipation, once they realize that freeing the proletariat from race divisions is an essential phase of our revolutionary struggle, then these comrades will make the most effective propagandists and leaders of the southern masses along the line of inter-racial solidarity. For they will be able to speak out of their years of experience under this caste system and in phraseology which even the most backward can comprehend. Our party has already made progress in training up such revolutionary leaders from among southern toilers, but this task is so imperative that it demands even greater consideration. Also the attention being given to training of colored comrades from the south should be greatly increased, since objective conditions among the intensely exploited and ostracized Negro masses are most favorable for our work.

For the less advanced, the broad masses of poor white and Negro labor, more and more progress in racial understanding and cooperation will occur. As our party has already demonstrated, these workers can be drawn into joint struggle and into unitary, militant organizations for common objectives—objectives which combine immediate, elementary demands with far-reaching, revolutionary ones. Unions are, of course, our main base for this mass work. Workers will learn, through their actual experiences on the picket line, in mass defiance of police and state force, and in carrying on of union, defense and relief work—what inter-racial solidarity means. A policeman's club indiscriminately swinging at white and black strikers will do more in an hour to open the workers' eyes than we might accomplish by other means in two or three months. This is not to say that persistent ideological campaigns are not of prime importance. They are. Southern workers' experiences must be constantly interpreted and supplemented at union and mass meetings and through the press and workers' study groups. The problem will require patient and continual work, for at various times points of friction will occur and reactionary tendencies appear, aroused primarily by provocateurs and other agents of the employers. But now that organized struggle is an established fact in the south, the main weight of the bitterness and antagonism which the workers feel

can be more and more directed where it rightfully belongs—against the capitalist system and its ruling class.

Our work against this disruptive factor of race prejudice requires also that pamphlets and other literature be prepared, setting forth in simple, direct language the Marxian analysis of this question. Workers must be shown how the ruling class has always used race prejudice in order to “divide and rule,” but that it is the historical mission of the proletariat to smash this caste and class system and establish workers’ and poor farmers’ soviets, in which workers of all races and age groups and of both sexes will work and live on a co-operative equality basis. The accomplishments of the Soviet Union along these lines will prove useful. Furthermore, we must make it clear that if the Negro people desire racial autonomy this shall be realized, just as the Soviet Union has brought about self-governing autonomy for its national and racial minorities. We must be careful, however, both in our literature and daily activities, to keep clear of any opportunistic handling of this question. Racial consciousness is to be utilized only as a means for drawing the toilers of oppressed groups into revolutionary struggle against capitalism, and, in a workers’ society, for furthering these workers’ development toward socialism. It is clearly part of our task to expose such petty bourgeois programs and organizations as that of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, pointing out in concrete fashion how the issue is not one of race against race, but of class against class, with racial factors entering in only as a phase of this class struggle. In this connection, colored workers need to realize more fully that Negro as well as white masters exploited Negro slaves, and Negro employers, creditors and landlords, as well as white, exploit both Negro and white workers.

Our ideological campaigns must also systematically destroy certain myths which have been spread among southern workers through capitalist agencies. One is the myth of racial inferiority of the Negro to the white. This doctrine of “Anglo-Saxon superiority” is widespread among the white population. The shaky evidence on which this myth is based must be examined and its false character revealed. For our more advanced workers a detailed analysis is necessary. The scientific explanation of the origin of races and the accidental role which race has played in history should be set forth, as well as the materialistic explanations given for the present situation throughout the world, where the dominant imperialist groups happen to be largely of the white race and the subject peoples of the darker race.⁸ Furthermore, the hypocritical

⁸ For further analysis of these questions see D. Gary’s *Developing Study of Culture*, chapter in “Trends in American Sociology.”—Lundberg, editor.

claim of the bourgeois apologists that "the mental tests prove the Negro mentally inferior" must be exposed. Finally, the myth of "instinctive hatred of colored and white" must be utterly destroyed, as well as the various sex fears associated in the minds of many with race equality. The whole question of racial inter-mixture requires a clear presentation, since the current ignorance of southern whites on this matter is as great as the emotional significance which it has for them. This is evidenced by the fact that the first question put by white southerners to anyone advocating political, educational or social equality for the Negroes is, "Would you want to marry a nigger?" or, if the person happens to be a man, "Would you want your sister to marry a nigger?" This is clearly a bourgeois prejudice, yet we have to deal with it among southern workers. In the first place, the confusions and hypocritical assumptions lying back of this statement should be analyzed. A tremendous amount of intermixture has always taken place in the south, and every southerner knows it. This intermixture has been due primarily to the aggressiveness of white males toward Negro women, who usually have been in a position where they could not prevent the advances. Sexual use of colored women slaves by white slave owners and overseers was a recognized practice, and today, while intermarriage is not allowed, intermixture still flourishes. As Communists we oppose the exploitation of Negro and all women for sexual purposes and demand its abolition. At the same time we advocate the removal of all legal restrictions and social censorship of intermarriage. The establishment of personal relations, like those of sex, should be left to the choice of the individuals concerned. In addition to the methods already discussed for breaking down the caste system among southern workers, there are others which ought to be applied more widely than we have done as yet. In union and mass work we can utilize the emotional and other potentialities which music, recreation, sports and dramatic work offer us for welding new bonds of understanding. For example, revolutionary songs and mass singing should be widely developed and used to popularize proletarian philosophy. Since the traditional antagonisms which exist have strong emotional elements, it is necessary to give specific attention to this phase of our activities. As a matter of fact, the American section of the revolutionary movement has generally neglected these forms of creating and expressing working class solidarity. We can learn much from the Russian and German movements in this as in other respects. In all of our activities colored workers should be given every encouragement to assume leadership and take the initiative. This is of vital importance from many standpoints. Also workers of each group

should be encouraged to exchange experiences and describe their problems, so that all will see more clearly how similar their difficulties are and how it is the same class which oppresses them all. Under the isolation of the caste system southern toilers are apt to be unaware of these facts. In general, they are simply "niggers" and "poor whites" to each other, not human, flesh-and-blood fellow workers.

The outlook for the revolutionary movement in the south is becoming increasingly favorable. Also our drive against caste system practices and ideology among southern workers has the compelling pressure of modern economic forces behind it. The present-day south offers a striking example of the increasing contradictions of capitalist imperialism and the intensification of the class struggle, with capitalist rationalization and growing pressure on labor on the one hand and the steadily mounting radicalization of the southern proletariat on the other. Due to developments in this revolutionary epoch, Dixie workers will learn with surprising rapidity to destroy racial schisms which have formerly existed and will struggle as a united class for their objectives. Racial prejudice among wage earners has little basis in current economic life. It is largely an inheritance from past economic systems and is now perpetuated primarily by capitalist propaganda and manoeuvres. Every new factory built, every worker drawn into industry, is a blow at the caste system.* It simply remains for us to recognize and give leadership to the dynamic forces making for inter-racial solidarity of southern workers in the period of fierce class battles which is now opening up.

* The revolutionary effects of industrial developments on the caste system of India hold lessons for us here.

The Second Congress of the Anti-Imperialist League

By WILLIAM WILSON

A correct appraisal of the extent to which the Second World Congress of the Anti-Imperialist League fulfilled the tremendously important political and organizational tasks with which it was confronted is possible only on the basis of a brief analysis of the character of the world situation during the period between the 1927 Brussels Congress and the Frankfurt Congress of the League. This must include a survey of the most outstanding economic and political events featuring that period. These reveal all of the insoluble contradictions involved in imperialism. Only thus will it be possible to secure a comprehensive idea of the revolutionary perspectives presented to the Second Congress. But this alone is not sufficient. This presents us with a background; in the foreground must be shown the social forces with which the Frankfurt Congress worked. Only in the light of these perspectives and with full knowledge of the social composition of the delegates to it, is it possible to draw any definite conclusion regarding the achievements and shortcomings of this Congress.

In the examination of the picture presented by the Congress it should not be forgotten that at the Cologne Session of the League's General Council (January, 1929) a turning point in the League's program was determined. This called for a radical re-orientation of the League upon the worker and peasant movements in the colonies and dependencies. The General Council's determination grew out of the established fact that world imperialism finds the colonies its chief theatre coupled with the fact that the national revolutionary movement developing ever-increasing intensity, offered irrefutable proof that the national bourgeoisie of the colonial countries had ceased as a whole to be a revolutionary factor in the anti-imperialist movement. This orientation therefore, became one of the basic tasks of the League. There remained as one of its fundamental tasks the establishment of an indissoluble alliance between the oppressed toiling masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the revolutionary workers of the imperialist countries, and workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

The period between the Brussels and the Frankfurt Congresses of the League witnessed in the capitalist countries an enormous

intensification of labor under the process of rationalization. The disparity between the productivity of labor and the consumptive capacity of the home markets sharpened to an enormous degree the struggle of the imperialists for control of colonial and foreign markets, increasing the danger of imperialist war, which is inevitable, and forcing the imperialists to more intensive acts of provocation and aggression against the Soviet Union. Rationalization is the prelude to the war drama. Its characteristic feature is the deliberate worsening of the standard of living of the working class, the utmost exploitation of human labor power and the creation of a category of permanent unemployed.

The acute struggle of the imperialists for control of the colonies increase the exploitation and oppression of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, gave rise to an anti-imperialist nationalist revolutionary liberation movement which drew into its ranks and held there for a time nationalist revolutionary bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organizations together with the trade unions and peasant organizations. Under the driving force generated by these organizations, a new revolutionary wave was rising in China, in India, and anti-imperialist sentiment was growing more outspoken and expressing itself in a powerful strike movement; strikes were spreading in Korea; the toiling masses of Indonesia were again in revolt; counter-revolution in Mexico had encountered heroic resistance from the Mexican workers and peasants; the plantation slaves of Latin America had risen in rebellion against their inhuman exploitation and oppression. The tramp of the insurgents was still audible in Nicaragua, an armed uprising was going on in Brazil, the liberation of Outer Mongolia from foreign oppression was rapidly proceeding, the struggle of the heroic Riffs in Morocco and the Druses in Syria and of the thousands of the most thoroughly oppressed and exploited natives of equatorial Africa had taken place, in the Balkans and South Central European countries the national revolutionary movements were strengthened, particularly in Croatia, Macedonia, Bessarabia, Albania, Dobrudja and Transylvania, great strikes were developing in Indo-China and Persia, Egypt was threatening revolt. The colonial and semi-colonial world had anticipated the call to arms of the Anti-Imperialist League. Before its program reached them they were carrying into life a policy of revolutionary action.

Everywhere the national bourgeoisie and the national-reformist elements, alarmed at the magnitude of the revolutionary conflagration and the intense militancy of the toiling masses were desperately striving to retain control of the current, or were capitulating to imperialism. Fearful of their own future, they were waging a

desperate struggle to maintain hegemony and leadership of the nationalist movement in all of the colonial centers. Workers' and peasants' organizations were growing in strength and taking over the leadership of these liberation struggles, ousting the weaklings and capitulators. Class contradictions were developing ever sharper forms. The Kuomintang betrayed the Chinese Revolution and had become a bloody counter-revolutionary force sitting with the heads of tens of thousands of the best fighters of the working class in its lap; the leaders of the Indian National Congress were proclaiming the virtues of Dominion Status and trying to make the masses forget that complete independence had ever been thought of. The national reformists moving rapidly away from the revolutionary zones were seeking to prove to the masses that violence would serve no useful purpose. A policy of peaceful petition to the "home" governments was their proposal. An appeal was made to avoid all violence and bloodshed, all hateful race and color prejudices. The road of evolution was offered as the only profitable course in place of the road of revolution.

This policy immediately received the endorsement of and was further elaborated upon by Social Democracy. In innumerable instances it came forward as the hangmen of the colonial revolution. In Europe it had numbered among its achievements in the interests of its bourgeoisie the ruthless suppression of the Vienna revolt and the bloody First of May in Berlin. Large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie had passed into, or were accepting the guidance of social-fascism and fascism. The triple alliance between the government, the reformist labor bureaucracy and capital had been affected and was openly operating in many countries. The rivalries between the imperialist powers were more openly expressed. Bolivia and Paraguay, the pawns of English and American imperialism, facing each other fully mobilized, showed how the relations of these two keepers of "world peace" stood. The contradictions between the imperialists and the Soviet Union against whom they continued to express an implacable hatred, reached their sharpest point with the seizure of the Far Eastern Railway by the Chinese hirelings of imperialism. By this act of provocation the imperialists proclaimed their readiness to commence an onslaught against the workers' and peasants' republic and sought only a means to accomplish this end which would at the same time deceive the exploited masses of their own countries. This is a bird's-eye view of the colonial and semi-colonial world prior to the opening of the Frankfurt Congress.

And so the Frankfurt Congress of the League was faced with the perspective of giving organizational forms as the leading force in the anti-imperialist struggle to the new proletarian detachments

which appeared on the colonial front. The League was faced with the perspective of linking together the oppressed workers of the imperialist countries and the toiling masses of the colonies. The direct relation between the worsening of the standard of living of the one and the ruthless exploitation of the other was becoming more clear and distinct. The common enemy could no longer be shielded by social democracy behind phrases glorifying "ultra-imperialism."

But although the General Council of the League decreed an orientation upon the revolutionary workers' and peasants' organizations in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, although the desertion of the revolutionary struggle by the national bourgeoisie was an indisputable fact, although the process of differentiation in the camp of national reformism was clear and equally clear was the fact that the driving force of the colonial revolution was now the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class which proved the correctness of the decision of the General Council, nevertheless this decision had not been followed to any appreciable degree. The preparatory steps taken before the Frankfurt Congress did not follow along this line. The composition of the League therefore could not reflect such an orientation. The League was not adequately prepared to cope with the revolutionary perspectives opened up before it, and this serious weakness of composition could only be partially overcome.

Of the 260 delegates which attended the Congress, only 84 were from colonial countries and of these only 15 were directly from the colonies. The trade union representation (20 delegates) was extremely small and the peasantry (three delegates) was almost without representation. The overwhelming majority of the delegates were from non-colonial countries. The Indian delegation contained not one member from Bombay or Calcutta where the revolutionary workers were locked in a life and death struggle with the imperialists. Heading this delegation was Gupta, a large landlord, a delegate from the Indian National Congress and a Gandhite. The revolutionary movement of Africa, Indonesia, Corea, China and Japan had no direct representation. In respect to representation based on the decision of the General Council, the delegation from Latin America was unquestionably responsive. Eleven of its sixteen members were direct from the front, bringing their experiences and the lessons of the struggle. Of the delegates from the non-colonial countries, many represented social-reformists, nationalists and pacifist organizations in the imperialist countries. Many of these delegates were not only in deeds objectively, but even subjectively the tools and agents of imperialism. Such a situation was of course not unexpected. Such a situation at a Congress of the

League, however, called for the utmost tactical precaution directed towards the complete exposure of the enemy within the ranks and a clear and concise description of his role.

These "foes" of imperialism, Kirkwood of the I. L. P.; Fimmen, the Dutch left social democrat; Gupter of the Indian National Congress; Pickens of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the representative of the American Negro bourgeoisie, and Hatta of Indonesia, under the leadership of Maxton, Chairman of the British Independent Labor Party, and head of the League, formed a united front with which Baldwin, the American pacifist, associated himself. They were there to prevent by all possible means the Congress acting as an organizational-mobilizing factor in the developing colonial revolutionary movement. They were there to thwart as far as possible the League's orientation upon the workers' and peasants' revolutionary organizations in the colonies and semi-colonies. They were there to prevent if possible the formation of any alliance between the toiling masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the revolutionary workers of the imperialist countries, and the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

Let no mistake be made, however. Let no one suppose that all of these elements desired to desert the League or to destroy it. The League represented for most of them another basis from which they hoped and still hope to struggle against those who are truly fighting imperialism. It offered a cover behind which they hope to sally forth and to fool the masses now turning to the left. It offers organized contact among the nationalist movements of the colonies. These elements wished only to clothe the resolution of the Anti-Imperialist League with the formulations of reformism. The composition of the Congress did not reflect the present position of the anti-imperialist struggle either in the imperialist or in the colonial countries. As a result, it fell into several serious errors.

The left social democrats, the most dangerous enemies of the colonial people, were given a testimonial of friendship and sympathy with the anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial masses. True, the political resolution and the manifesto of the Frankfurt Congress attacks the majority of the I. L. P. and to a degree exposes social-reformism and national reformism, but the Maxton group was declared to be sympathetic towards the struggles of the toiling masses of the colonies. Maxton, under fire from all sides and forced to express his attitude towards the British Labor Party, the I. L. P. and the colonial revolutionary movement, made his "declaration," seeking to put himself forward as the advocate of a ruthless anti-imperialist policy and to be as ambiguous as possible regarding the

"labor" party and to avoid at all cost wholesale condemnation of his friends and comrades within the I. L. P. This declaration was fiercely attacked from several sources but from sources least expected it received endorsement. The apparent strength of the friends of imperialism caused the enemies of imperialism to waver. Pickens, the representative of the Negro reformists, submitted a document opposing the Negro resolution and proclaiming the immediate evacuation of Africa by the forces of imperialism to be an act extremely undesirable and his statement was allowed to go unchallenged. India was not given a place on the Congress agenda nor in the discussion warranted by virtue of the revolutionary situation existing there. The rebellion in equatorial Africa arising out of the most inhuman conditions of exploitation and oppression was hardly mentioned. The new situation in the colonies was underestimated by the League. The League as a non-party fighting organization of the workers of the imperialist countries, together with the toiling masses of the colonies, gave inadequate attention to the workers' and exploited masses' defense organization. Time as well as the organizational defects militated against a full discussion of many problems confronting the Congress.

But the Frankfurt Congress registered its positive as well as its negative points. Notwithstanding the shortcomings noted, or rather in spite of them, the League developed an imposing demonstration against reformism, imperialism and the imperialist wars, social fascism and fascism, and for the defense of the Soviet Union. For this the League attracted widespread attention and called down upon its head columns of vituperation from the social-democratic press. Coming as it did at the commencement of the military provocations of the Nanking government against the Soviet Union, the Congress ruthlessly exposed these imperialist maneuvers. Meeting as it did before, on the eve of August First, the League gave inspiration and impetus to the anti-war demonstrations of that day. The importance of the Congress must not be underestimated. The oppressed masses of the colonies have shown that they have faith in the methods it advocates. If it has not brought to them full and complete consciousness of the source and nature of their exploitation, and appreciation of all the ramifications of imperialism, we must recognize that the League has only now made a beginning.

The Congress has recognized these as being the chief immediate tasks of the League:

- (1) The League must immediately take the course for the mass revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants of the colonial countries.
- (2) It is essential to take energetically in hand the establishment

of national sections of the League in colonial and imperialist countries and resting on workers' and peasants' organizations and revolutionary national groups, taking care that the workers be given the leading role.

(3) Special efforts should be made for the organization of League sections in India and Africa. The League must, above all endeavor to attract revolutionary trade unions and peasant organizations. At the same time it is essential to start an energetic campaign for maintenance and consolidation of connection between the League and the Indian Trade Union Congress and the revolutionary trade unions of Africa. A relentless struggle should also be carried on in regard to exposing opportunist elements of the type of Gupter, Nehru and Joshi, who are endeavoring to sever the connection of the national congress and the Indian Trade Union Congress with the Anti-Imperialist League. Pickens and the Negro reformists should receive similar treatment.

(4) The absolute inadmissibility of connections between the League and the colonial countries solely through right nationalists—Gupter, Nehru, Hatta and others, must be emphasized. While carrying on the decisive struggle against the continuous treachery of these elements in regard to the national revolution in India, Indonesia, Africa, Arabia, etc., and undermining their influence in the mass movements of the colonial countries and in the League, it is essential to strive to free the League of these elements and to draw gradually into its ranks the workers' and peasants' organizations of India, Africa and of other colonial countries.

(5) It is essential to sharpen the struggle against Maxton, especially in Britain, in order to expose his new treacheries (I. L. P. approval of the new Anglo-Egyptian Agreement), reckoning with the inevitability of freeing the League of Maxton (now expelled). With this object in view, Maxton's declaration at the Second Congress of the League should be used to the utmost. It is also essential to carry on a systematic exposure campaign against Fimmen and Pickens who swear fealty to the anti-imperialist struggle, but support in reality social democracy.

The League must and will take the necessary organizational steps to assure the accomplishments of these tasks, the while carrying out its fundamental tasks among which not the least important is:

To combat the policy of preparation of imperialist war upon the Soviet Union and to rally the exploited and oppressed masses of the world to fight resolutely in its defense.

Long live the Anti-Imperialist League!

The Theoretical Knights of Opportunism

By D. BUKHARTSEV

(Concluded from the January, 1930, number)

THE estimate of the monopoly processes in present-day capitalism introduced here has by no means merely an academic interest. It is a cardinal question, determining our revolutionary perspectives. Were the Comintern to come to the point of view of the official bards of "organized capitalism," it would logically follow that it would find it necessary to reject entirely any orientation upon revolutionary upheavals *within* capitalist countries, or in any case to revise its stand on this question.

The absence of internal competition, the planned organization in the economic systems of the separate capitalist nations, the withering away of the problem of markets, prices, competition, crises, the transformation of its anarchistic nature to the basic line of international economic relations, signify the withering away of all internal capitalist contradictions and the "building up of organized capitalism within one country."

The apologists of these fortunately mythical processes, having no doubts whatever, dot the "i" and cross the "t" even on the problem of problems—the social question.

"The problem of the relation of classes and the class struggle," writes Comrade Bukharin, "is a problem related to the greatest degree with the position of this or that capitalist country on the *world market*."* The foreign friends of our "organization theorists" translate all this learned reasoning into simple political language.

In his declaration to the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party Serra emphasizes the "strengthening of the bourgeoisie on a *national scale*" (Serra's emphasis), and then he adds: "But this strengthening of the national bourgeoisie gives rise to a still greater struggle for the hegemony on an international scale.**" From this, as we shall see in the next section, Serra draws the

* *Pravda*, August 30, 1929.

** All quotations from Serra are re-translated from the Russian.—G. H.

natural conclusions on the non-revolutionary character of the present-day economic struggles of the proletariat.

The majority of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party believed that American imperialism is approaching its "Victorian Era"—that is to say, the first stages in the development of capitalism, its period of bloom.

The optimism of the majority leadership of the American Communist Party in this question did not yield in any way to the optimism of the bourgeois economists, and even took a position squarely behind it. As a result, the leadership of the American Communist Party developed right errors, finding their clearest expression in Pepper and Lovestone in conceptions such as the following:

"A crisis of capitalism, but not of American capitalism; a swing of the masses to the left, but not in America; the necessity of accentuating the struggle against reformism, but not in the United States; a necessity for struggling against the right danger, but not in the American Communist Party." (From the Address of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of May 14, 1929.)

Lovestone, one of the former leaders of the American Communist Party, returning from the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, evidently threw himself with special fervor toward those erroneous theories of the primacy of the external capitalist contradictions over the internal, which someone tried to put forth at the Sixth Congress. This theory was adopted by Lovestone, Pepper and some of those close to them because it justified their opportunist practice in the American Communist Party.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern, in handling the American question, was compelled to give the American Communist Party a lesson in the Leninist estimate of present-day imperialism. In its letters it sharply criticised the theory of "exceptionalism," which furnished the "scientific" base for the fundamental errors of the leadership of the American Communist Party.

The epoch of imperialism is characterized by the fact that world economy determines the fate of the separate national capitalist economies. Only the Soviet Union, differing in its economic and social system from the system of the capitalist sector of world economy, represents an historically more progressive system in comparison with capitalism, gradually freeing itself from the influence of world capitalist economy and building up its socialist sector. But it is obvious that any talk of self-sufficiency of the separate capitalist countries in the epoch of imperialism is out of the question. And it therefore follows quite naturally that the conception that in

a world economy torn by contradictions there can exist individual "organized" capitalist oases is theoretically incorrect.

Comrade Bukharin, in his book, "World Economy and Imperialism," gave a correct definition of world economy as a *system* of productive relations and their corresponding exchange relations. According to present "theoretical" attempts, however, that definition must differentiate between the processes produced by the system as a whole and the processes of its separate parts. Thus we leave a "dialectical" carousel in which the *whole* whirls toward one side and the *parts* to another.

The contradictions of world economy are necessarily reflected *within* the separate national economies as well. Inasmuch as contradictions in world economy exist, contradictions within the separate national economies, which are an organic part of world capitalist economy, are inevitable. No matter what degree of concentration the economies of the separate capitalist countries were to attain, the cartels and trusts would still have to consider not only the competition of the "outsiders" within, but the foreign ones as well. And this, in its turn, would be reflected anew on the internal contradictions.

Thus, just as the theory of Lovestone and Pepper on the "exceptional" paths of development of American imperialism, independent of the dynamic processes in world capitalist economy, was one of the ideological forerunners of their opportunistic practices, so the theory of the replacing of competition within the separate capitalist countries by "organized capitalism," in spite of the sharpening of the contradictions on an international scale, is one of the ideological apologies for all the practices of right opportunism.

This profound organic connection is not difficult to reveal if the analysis is transferred logically from the economic sphere to that of social relations, as given by our "theoreticians." The supporters of "organized capitalism" assert that the problem of the class struggle is one connected with the situation of this or that capitalist country on the world market. Those assertions show the most extreme interpretations of the theory of the primacy of external policy over the internal policy of the bourgeoisie.

Of course, no one would dispute the fact that the Dawes Plan or the Young Plan influence to a remarkable degree the economic processes developing in Germany, and consequently reflecting also on the internal class relations. But to trace back the roots of social contradictions *only* to the position of this or that country on the world market is atrociously incorrect.

In one of his articles during the discussion Lovestone wrote the following ("The Communist," No. 1, 1929, page 63): "What

are the relations between inner and outer contradictions? . . . It is clear that *in the present world situation the primacy, the center of gravity, lies in the world antagonism of capitalism.* For instance, in the United States: Why the attacks on the workers? They are part of the war preparations . . .”

Thus the problem of the class struggle in America is analyzed, turning the whole thing upside down. From this “analysis” it logically follows that it is not the external policies which grow out of the internal, but, vice versa, the internal contradictions are determined by external policies. But Engels, at the time he was writing, was already able to point out prophetically that the external policy is a function of the internal contradictions and internal policies of capitalism. No “exceptionalism” of the opportunist perversions of the American “rights” can warrant the revision of Engels.

The problem of the class war in each separate country is determined not only by the totality of *international* economic and social relations, but is connected in the closest way with the economic and political processes *within* each country, with the developing capitalist contradictions and their reflections on the social relations within each national economy.

Our “theoreticians” assert that the bourgeoisie is strengthening on a national scale,¹ that within the separate countries competition is dying away, that the internal contradictions are conspicuous by their absence and are being replaced by “organized” capitalism. And, naturally, the question must then arise, Where is the *miracle* which will give birth to the revolution, which the opportunists of all shades swear they are ready for at any moment?

Ignoring the processes of the internal contradictions, our “theoreticians” adopt international economic relations as their basic line and connect all problems only with the international contradictions of capitalism. Our theoreticians doom the working class of every country to their peculiar historical fatalism of hopelessly waiting for that “blessed” moment when the potentialities of the world contradictions of capitalism come to a head. And from this flows the other theory which the same authors tried to foist upon the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern: *That another revolution is possible only as the result of another imperialist war.* This stupidity which the Mensheviks have always tried so earnestly to foist onto us is made by some of the “theoreticians” the base of their ideological creation. They try to show with chronological quotations that from the international-historical point of view, wars and

* Lovestone, in *The Communist*, No. 1, 1929, page 63, wrote: “The working class may be decrepit in certain respects but not yet the American bourgeoisie.”

revolution are connected with one another, and that this is particularly true of the epoch of imperialism.

It would be incorrect, of course, to underestimate at the present time the significance and acuteness of the world capitalist contradictions which are giving rise to the problem of the second phase of imperialist wars. With the theory of the underestimation of the danger of new imperialist wars, and particularly the war against the U. S. S. R., professed as well by the right as by the "left" opportunists, it is necessary to carry on the most energetic struggle. But at the same time it would be absolutely incorrect to declare categorically that until a new imperialist war breaks out any revolutionary upheavals or any revolution in one or more countries is impossible. Such a theory would mean the admission of the impossibility for the working class to break through the capitalist front without war. Here, in the guise of a revolutionary theory, we have, in fact, the most hopeless fatalism, which in reality means the disarming of the working class.

Lenin most decisively emphasized that revolution can come about as a result of the most various causes, even the eve of a parliamentary crisis. This theory of the organic interdependence of war and revolution has been borrowed from the Social-Democratic arsenal. In the "Neue Zeit," Kautsky, in an article called "The House of Ice," wrote: "That war and revolution, though not necessarily a social revolution, but in any case one that is connected with the fall of the existing system and the removal of the ruling power, were closely connected with each other in the whole course of the last century was considered up to the present World War in a number of theses generally accepted by social democracy, and became taken for granted.*

Our "theoreticians" renovate this theory, sticking it full of revolutionary flags. But if for the "theoreticians," standard-bearers of "organized capitalism," the perspectives for revolution flow *only* from a new war, for the Comintern the problem of revolution has by no means been taken from the order of the day, has not been stowed away safely in some drawer *ad calaendus graecas*, that is to say, until the new imperialist war breaks out. For the revolutionary proletariat one of the means for averting a new imperialist war is revolution itself, and the anti-war demonstrations of August 1st were carried on under the banner of preparing this means of heading off the war.

But our "theoreticians" do not limit themselves only to world-wide historic inquiries; they attempt also to put a firmer theoretical base under their clearly incorrect position. They argue the impos-

* Retranslated from the Russian.—G. H.

sibility of revolution in a single country by asserting that on the basis of the exploitation of the colonies a certain relative community of interests is created between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat which acts as a tremendous *brake* on the revolution, as a tremendous conservative force. This conservative force can be broken down to a considerable degree by the war, which will lay bare the actual worth of imperialism.

Thus the whole theoretical conception is brought to its logical conclusion: On the one hand, the complete organization of capitalist society and, on the other, the community of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Naturally, with such objective conditions, there is no use even talking about revolution. The only means remaining is the "savior"—imperialist war.

In their enthusiasm for the theory of the inevitable connection between war and revolution the knights of right opportunism consciously slide over the fact that it is by no means the *whole* proletariat, but only an insignificant fraction of it, which is corrupted by the colonial super-profits of the bourgeoisie. They deliberately remain silent about the fact that in an epoch of sharp crises the reserve of the bourgeoisie to buy off even separate strata of the proletariat becomes more and more limited.

The Program of the Comintern says:

"The bourgeoisie in imperialist countries which is able to secure additional surplus profits from the position it holds in the world market (more developed techniques, export of capital to countries with a higher rate of profit, etc.) and from the proceeds of its plunder of the colonies and semi-colonies, was able to raise the wages of its "own" workers out of these surplus profits, thus giving these workers an interest in the development of "home" capitalism, in the plunder of the colonies and in being loyal to the imperialist states. This systematic bribery was and is being very widely practiced in the most powerful imperialist countries and finds most striking expression in the ideology and practice of the labor aristocracy and the bureaucratic strata of the working class, i. e., the Social Democratic and trade union leaders, who proved to be the direct agencies of bourgeois influence among the proletariat and stalwart pillars of the capitalist system.

"By stimulating the growth of the corrupt upper stratum of the working class, however, imperialism, in the end, destroys its influence upon the working class, because the growing contradictions of imperialism, the worsening of the conditions of the broad masses of the workers, the mass unemployment among the proletariat, the enormous cost of military conflicts and the burdens they entail, the fact that certain Powers have lost their monopolistic position in the

world market, the break-away of the colonies, etc., serve to undermine the basis of Social Democracy among the masses." (Imprecorr translation, Vol. 8, No. 92, p. 1752.)

Our "theoreticians" engage in some very evil-smelling manipulations in defense of their opportunist theories. All these investigations by the knights of right opportunism amount in reality to the ideological disarming of the proletariat in its class struggle. The doom to complete hopelessness all the political and economic struggles which are being conducted at the present time in the capitalistic countries. Justifying by theory the opportunist practices of the rights, their knights are preparing the weapons which are directed in reality *against the proletariat*.

Camouflaging quotations in such a way that it is impossible to see where the thought of the "quoter" ends, and the actual quotation begins, our "theoreticians" try to revise the revolutionary theory of the proletariat. The bards of "organized capitalism" are striking out along the trail blazed by Bernstein. When Bernstein started his campaign against Marx, he asserted that the cartels and trusts will normalize and regulate production, that they will finally do away with crises. From this "scientific correction" of Marx, based apparently on empiricism, Bernstein went over to a frontal attack on the Marxist theory of the class struggle.

The knights of right opportunism are striking out on the same artless path, only with a more rapid stride. From the "theory" of "organized capitalism" they inevitably proceed to the theory of the relative community of interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and consequently the withering away of the class struggle.

And the opportunism of the bards of organized capitalism is especially clear when, returning from the profound "theoretical" roads in the countries of capitalism, they bestow their benevolent attention to the U. S. S. R. In this respect the most characteristic is the argument of Serra with respect to the problem of the building up of socialism.

In his "celebrated" platform Serra, with all frankness, advocates *class peace* in the U. S. S. R. And that is entirely logical. If in the capitalist countries there exists a community of interests between the capitalists and the workers, then that must apply all the more to the U. S. S. R. And thus Serra sternly demands that "Nep be extended to the villages," referring to the fact that this is indeed the "basic note of all documents of the Party." It is not known exactly which documents Serra considers basic; perhaps this refers to the various literary effusions of his ideological friends in the CPSU or their personal letters to him. The Party in all its documents, even as far back as 1925, sharply disassociated itself

from the slogan of "the extension of the Nep to the villages," which the "Comsomolskaya Pravda" was the first to try to put forth in a groping prehistoric formulation.

Now Serra drags out this ideological hodge-podge as a basic document of the Party in order to prove the inevitability of a "relative community of interests" between the kulak and the worker in the U. S. S. R.

Serra considers it necessary to strive for a "general understanding of agriculture," and not to devote oneself to terrorizing "the kulaks with phantoms."

"The cardinal means of struggle with the kulak," according to the competent opinion of Serra, "is the quickening of the tempo of village life, in assisting in the prosperity of the village *as a whole.*"

All these profound remarks and advices, which, if put into effect, would inevitably turn our economy onto the path of bourgeois restoration, are logically and politically tied up with all the theoretical conceptions of the knights of right opportunism. In all these questions the laws of Aristotelian logic are carried to their conclusion. The transgressions against formal logic begin with the question of the "organization" in the U. S. S. R. Here we have a situation like in the operetta:

"Bei Tage bin ich Celestin
Doch abends bin ich Floridor."

Our "theoreticians" crawl out of their skins in order to convince us that in capitalist economy matters with regards to organization are in splendid shape. Capitalism is organizing. The cartels are regulating. The market is withering away. Prices are vanishing. Then how are matters in this regard in the Soviet Union, where we are building up a socialist economic system? We have the courage to suppose that our economic system is historically more progressive than the capitalist system, and that our economy is more organized than the capitalist economy. And from this we proceed under the banner of the five-year plan. This inspires us to the struggle not only to overtake the capitalist countries, but to surpass them. But isn't it strange that our "theoreticians," possessed with the passion of "organization" with relation to the capitalist countries, always have a sceptical attitude toward our own progress in organization.

At the time when in the capitalist countries, according to the assurances of Serra's friends, competition is decaying Serra categorically demands that in the U. S. S. R. absolutely nothing shall be put in the way of free competition.

"The struggle with the kulaks must develop on the basis of Nep," writes Serra in his platform. "In other words, on the basis of competition, with certain guarantees and limits."

"The struggle with the kulak must be carried on not in the administrative sphere; the kulak must be beaten on economic grounds."

At the time when in the capitalist countries prices, including agricultural prices, are being regulated by cartels, Serra, in every way emphasizes the significance of market prices in *our* economy. "The policy of prices must take into consideration all factors, and first of all the circumstance that prices are the decisive factors in the balance of agriculture." Serra is very anxious about prices, especially from the point of view of the necessity of assisting in accumulation in agriculture. He advocates above all a rise in prices, their flexibility. And that is characteristic of the tactics of our rights in general. Comrade Krumin ("Pravda," Aug. 4, 1929) is right when he writes: "The rights see things very simply. You see, they are concerned only about 'more flexibility' and 'more elasticity' in the price policy. But when we begin to decipher this 'flexibility' we see that the 'flexibility' of the right opportunists means nothing more nor less than the turning aside of the beginnings of planned economy and surrender to the elements of the market."

Here, indeed, we have a revolting picture of the opportunist degeneration of people who call themselves Communists. Coming forth as the apologists of planfulness in the capitalist countries, the knights of right opportunism in every way advocate the market elements in the Soviet Union. Joining up in their estimation of capitalism with the Social Democrats, in the question of the unfettering of the market elements in the U. S. S. R., they join ranks with the Kondratyevs and other bourgeois specialists.

Here is an extract from the theses of Kondratyev, devoted to our economic policy, which is the logical continuation of the theoretical conceptions of the knights of right opportunism: "It is necessary to desist immediately from the creation of artificial monopoly conditions for the state and co-operative trading apparatus in the internal market, and also from the administrative methods of regulating the market which are leading to its disorganization

| All the steps of the proletarian government directed toward regulation of the economic relations between town and country, toward the weakening of the role of the market and the transferring of the center of gravity to contracts, the drive to bring the plan of grain collections to the tiniest hamlet—all this meets with the most hostile criticism on the part of the rights, who try to discredit the policy

for strengthening planfulness by speaking of the liquidation of the Nep and the return to war Communism.

Such is the path of the knights of right opportunism.

In their noble efforts to arm their chevaliers, who are not capable of making original theoretical discoveries, these knights stop at nothing. They distort one set of facts, invent another and arbitrarily reject a third, and thus in reality they are sinking down to the level of apologists for capitalism.

"Apologetics," Marx pointed out in his *Theory of Surplus Value*, "consists . . . in falsifying the simplest economic relationships and particularly in clinging to unity as against contradictions."

Our apologists of "organized capitalism" see the internal unity of capitalist economy and do not wish to see its contradictions.

SERRA'S "SLEIGHT OF HAND"

The opportunist quasi-scientific conceptions of Ludwig, Serra and our native theoreticians logically issue from the sphere of speculative investigations into the sphere of strategy of the class struggle. The identity of ideas uniting our opportunist friends in the sphere of the estimation of present-day capitalist economy is maintained also in the sphere of the estimation of the immediate perspectives for the class struggle.

What is common to all the knights of opportunism is the ignoring of present class struggles of the proletariat and the estimate of its role in determining the fate of capitalism within each country as some *quantité négligeable*, some unimportant and insignificant element, so to speak.

This logically flows from the whole conception of the opportunist theoreticians on "organized" capitalism and the withering away of capitalist contradictions within each separate country.

Ludwig, for example, in all his doubly scientific elaborations, completely rejects such "nonsense" as the class struggle of the proletariat.

This "subjective" factor, determining the fate of post-war capitalism, has fallen from the field of vision of our man of science. Borne along by his scholastic occupation, crushed by the might of monopoly and "organized capitalism," he carefully evades one of the elements of the analysis, the potent effect of the working class on the dynamics of economic development.

While the *learned* Ludwig ignores the working class in general, the "political" Serra to a certain degree bestows his benevolent atten-

tion on it in order to show its insignificant role in the present processes of the class struggle of the proletariat.

In his declaration at the Plenum of the Italian Communist Party Serra declared:

“Comrade Stalin asserts that the ‘present struggle of the working class will shatter and disintegrate capitalist stabilization.’ That simply confuses the Communist Parties as to the degree of development which the class struggle must actually reach under their leadership and due to their efforts in order actually to be able to shatter and disintegrate capitalist stabilization.”

Such a metaphysical putting of the question is extraordinarily characteristic of the petty bourgeois opportunists. The whole present stage of economic struggles of the European proletariat, characterized by the transforming of economic conflicts into direct political struggle, does not exist for Serra. The economic struggles in Lodz, in the Ruhr, in France, in Bombay, which have taken place since the events of May 1st in Berlin and Poland, are evidently in Serra’s opinion not factors shattering and disintegrating capitalist stabilization, but *strengthening* it. The putting of the question “either—or” is characteristic of opportunist metaphysics—either the social revolution, shattering stabilization, or the complete ignoring of individual struggles and skirmishes and consequently the strengthening or, to express it in Ludwig’s exalted style, the consolidation of capitalism.

The daily stubborn economic struggle of the working class, one of the proofs of its radicalization, does not exist either for Serra nor for Ludwig. Serra, in the most impudent manner and in the face of the actual facts, denies the leftward swing of the working class. In his declaration Serra writes thus: “The working class is beginning actively to resist the offensive of capital, which has been going on for a number of years. But this phenomenon of more stubborn class struggle has not yet assumed a clearly expressed leftward swing. The economic movement which is bursting forth everywhere to some degree or other is mainly of a defensive character. However, if we ascribe a political character to this economic movement, we may, in spite of left phraseology, fall into ‘specific economism,’ that is, into a classically opportunist attitude toward events.”

This phrase most precisely expresses the utter insipidity of the political position of the so-called conciliators. Serra sees the working class beginning actively to resist the offensive of capital. That is difficult not to see because the facts strike one squarely in the face. Only the learned gray-beards, sitting within the four walls of their rooms and arming themselves against facts which explode their

scientific conceptions, do not see that immense wave of class struggles which is literally submerging the whole world. But, recognizing existing facts, Serra attempts to belittle their objective significance, giving them the most opportunist interpretation.

What characterizes the present economic struggles of the proletariat? It is that they are developing in a period of constantly accumulating class antagonism and of the extension of the class struggle front, which is assuming an international character. If we take the comparatively short period of time which has elapsed since the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, we see to what extent the economic struggles in the greatest countries have reached. In Germany, in addition to a series of great economic battles, there took place the tremendous movement of the proletariat of the Ruhr. In Poland the great general strike of 100,000 Lodz workers. In France mass economic conflicts are bursting forth and spreading from one district to another. Recently we had in France not less than 100 conflicts in a single month. In Austria—that happy hunting ground of the left Social Democrats, there took place the first strikes against rationalization being introduced by capital and against the fascisation of the factories and workshops. In the United States (the Southern States, which are in the throes of industrialization) elementary mass strike movements occurred. Even in England, where, after the defeat of the working class in 1926, a certain degree of depression reigned in the sphere of strike movements, partial strikes are beginning anew, which are by no means diminishing, but, on the contrary, are being accelerated with the advent to power of the “labor” government. In Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and France we are passing through a whole series of strikes of agricultural workers. And, finally, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that in line with the *intensification* of the economic battles, that is, their growing political acuteness, we have the extension and spreading of the strike wave which is seizing the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The strike of 140,000 textile workers in Bombay, the general strike of the banana workers in Colombia, etc., are evidence of the pronounced international character of the present economic battles.

It is worth while turning our attention to the conditions under which the strike of the banana workers occurred—indeed, one of the greatest revolutionary events on a world scale in recent times, which merits a detailed consideration.

“The United Fruit Company” is one of the strongest American companies exploiting the countries of Latin America. Hundreds of thousands of workers are employed on their plantations. Under their administration we find railroads, river and sea transport, etc.

Thus "United Fruit" is a weighty factor in American expansion in the Latin-American countries.

The strike of the banana plantations of United Fruit in Colombia mobilized 32,000 workers, organized into 70 strike committees with astonishing, almost military, discipline and organization. After the beginning of the strike the army began to disintegrate. The soldiers fraternized with the workers and gave up their arms to them. The disintegration of the army attained such dimensions that a general commanding a division fell weeping on his knees before the crowd of strikers and was compelled to take an oath before the red flag that he would not shoot upon the workers.

The bourgeoisie mobilized 300 "fresh" soldiers, which began to fire on the workers. After the shooting a crowd of 5,000 workers left the plantations, which quickly grew to 15,000, and a real war with the police and military began. Is this strike, in Serra's opinion, merely economic defense on the part of the Colombia proletariat?

"Classically opportunist attitude toward events" is just what characterizes Serra's position on the present economic battles of the proletariat as *only defensive*, and hence logically his lack of understanding of the political role of these struggles in the shattering of stabilization.

What characterizes the present class struggles is the circumstance that in their struggles even for the most modest economic demands the workers are colliding with the united front of trust capital, the state apparatus and the social-fascist trade union bureaucrats.

Thus the objective situation creates the conditions for a struggle of class against class and, in this manner, turns the economic conflicts of the various countries into political conflicts. The first stage of capitalist rationalization, which is coming to a close in the most important countries, increased the general mass of production, but at the same time increased unemployment, brought about profound structural changes in the social composition of the proletariat, considerably decreased the share of wages in the general national income and in the products of labor, in spite of the tremendous intensification of the latter. Thus the situation of the working class, in spite of the "optimistic" estimate of Comrade Varga at the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I., who based his mathematical computations on bourgeois statistics, has clearly become worse.

But at the same time capitalist rationalization has by no means cut the Gordian Knot of the basic problem of present capitalist society—the disparity between present productive capacity and the capacity of the market. On the contrary, in recent times this problem has become more acute and more insoluble, one of the evidences

of which is the unheard of sharpening of international contradictions.

The economic position of capitalist economy has considerably drained that reserve of concessions to which the bourgeoisie would agree in order to localize the conflagration of class conflicts which is flaming up throughout the world. Abandoning to a certain degree the policy of concessions, the bourgeoisie has by no means abandoned the attempt to stifle the labor movements by means of the most unheard of industrial and police terror.

All these conditions objectively transform even the most insignificant economic conflicts into political ones. The coming forth of the workers even with the most insignificant demands involuntarily assumes a political character, sometimes developing into a direct struggle for political power. At the time of the last miners' strike in the Loire Coal Basin in France, the Auvergne District was transformed into a besieged camp. French capitalism threw a whole army against the strikers. The striking textile workers of Alloigne gave first place in their slogans to the defense of the U. S. S. R. from capitalist attack. This strike was characterized by the fact that it assumed an international character, for the textile workers from across the border in the Belgian District of Vervique united with those of Alloigne.

It is absolutely wrong to look upon present class conflicts only as *defense* by the proletariat. The very thing which characterizes the present class struggles is that the working class is assuming the offensive. The new nature of the economic struggle is that they are more and more assuming the character of counter-attacks, and even frequently the offensive is taken by the proletariat. What is the strike of the textile workers in Bombay if not an offensive against the attempt to introduce rationalization?

What is also characteristic of the leftward swing of the working class is the fact that in spite of the great mistakes made by the various Communist Parties, in spite of mistakes of the revolutionary trade union movement, of the occasionally inexperienced leadership in strike struggles, the readiness to struggle of the proletariat has by no means diminished. The tremendous political significance of the present economic struggles is the constantly increasing activity of the *unorganized workers*. At the time of the Ruhr lockout unorganized workers comprised three-fourths of the participants in the movement. In France more than 90 per cent of the proletariat in general are unorganized. In India, in Bombay, out of the powerful strike of tremendous masses of unorganized textile workers developed a strong left union, comprising 65,000 workers, that is, 40 per cent of all the textile workers of Bombay.

All these are facts which only the near-sighted opportunists can fail to see. Consequently, the attempt of Serra to cover his own opportunism by accusing the Comintern of a "classical-opportunist attitude toward events" seems the height of insolence and rascality.

Why the natural striving of every thinking Marxist to find the "objective political" character of the present economic struggles is "economism," according to Serra, is beyond the understanding of any sane person! Serra, evidently, used that word in order to show off his "learning" to the Italian comrades. But this attempt is just as unsuccessful as his scientific excursions into the sphere of analysis of the problems of the building up of socialism in the U. S. S. R. The ignoring of the political character of economic struggles of the proletariat is just the most typical trait of opportunist economism.

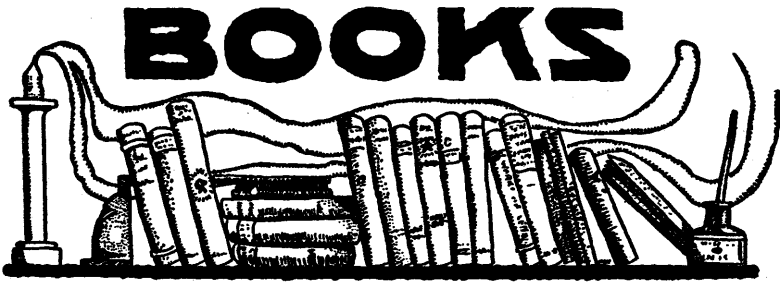
Serra tried a sleight of hand trick, and slipped up!

Such are the cardboard swords which the theoretical knights of opportunism are providing for their friends along all sides of the barricades. These swords are sometimes decorated with bright red paint, and to their hilts are fastened quotations from the works of the founders of Marxism, mixed together with Schmalenbach and Sombart.

But the very quality of these weapons determine beforehand the fate of those who will try to direct them against the revolutionary proletariat and its Party. They will suffer disastrous defeat.

Knights are always, as is proper, more cowardly than their "chevaliers," but at the moment of decisive battle, by becoming entangled underfoot, they can render the fight more difficult and turn the victorious tide of battle. In undertaking a determined campaign against the "chevaliers" of opportunism, we must first of all render their theoretical knights harmless.

We must show the wide masses of workers the quality of the weapons provided by the knights of opportunism, and the objective social law which they are fulfilling. We must show the objective role of the "theoreticians," brandishing their cardboard swords when the whole revolutionary proletariat has gone forth to the most grandiose class war.



WHEELER McMILLEN, *TOO MANY FARMERS: The Story of What Is Here and Ahead in Agriculture.* William Morroy and Company, New York. 1929. 340 pp.

"From 1919 to 1927 four million persons quit farming, 19,000,000 acres went out of cultivation, 76,000 farms ceased to exist as farms. And agricultural production increased 25 per cent." (P. 12.) "The farms are full of farmers who are unnecessary." (P. 18.) Such, briefly, is what Coolidge and Hoover "prosperity" has meant to the American farmer. McMillen in his book looks for a way or ways out. In typical petty bourgeois fashion he discovers that the "problem" is not "simple" of solution, that many things may help, of which some, however, may take a long time.* He states the task to be "assuring a majority of them (the American farmers) a satisfactory standard of living." (P. 18.) The problem stated in "four words" is that "farm profits are inadequate." (P. 1.) Ergo, the answer is that farm profits must be made adequate. His job, in short, is to delude the American farmers into believing that their "profits" under American imperialism can be made "adequate"; that the answer to their problem is a capitalistic one—"profits"; that the farm problem can be solved by American

* A similar "objectivity" is found in every solution of the contradictions of capitalism that the petty bourgeois apologists of American capitalism offer. They discover a "problem" to be solved. With McMillen it is making "farmers' profits adequate," in Walton Hamilton's "Theory of Wages," for example, it was increasing the "wages" of the proletariat. Their "objectivity" resolves itself into the statement that the particular problem is a complex one and that, in consequence, the solution is many sided and not possible of accomplishment except over a long period. They outline the "problem" as tho it were a technical one; their solution bears the same fraudulent mark of scientific analysis. They outline the "problem" as it exists aside from the class struggle, that is, as it exists only in the heads of petty bourgeois academicians. Their solution is the solution of the petty bourgeoisie, a solution confined to the categories of the capitalist economy. Their task is to mislead the working masses into believing that a solution of the contradictions of capitalism can be found while the capitalist system is maintained. Their task is to divert the working masses from finding the only solution to the problems of farm "profits" and "wages"—the abolition of farm "profits" and "wages"—that is, the abolition of the capitalist system.

capitalism. McMillen states that the farmer's problem, that is, the problem of farmers' profits, is difficult of solution. We say that the problem of farmers' "profits" is *impossible* of solution.

Almost everything has possibilities, according to McMillen. Farm education (agricultural institutes and colleges, extension work) has already done something. What? "In consequence (of farm education) two or more blades of grass began frequently to go to market where formerly one grew." (P. 7.) More products were thrown on an already glutted market. It would be well, he finds, if the use of land could be taken out of cultivation. The difficulty lies in "relocating" the farm population off of that land—preferably in non-agricultural jobs. In plain language, increasing the industrial reserve army in the cities. (The social democrat J. H. Thomas wants to "relocate" British workers that British capitalism can't exploit in agricultural Canada. "Relocation" becomes one of the slogans of capitalist rationalization.) McMillen piles up pages discussing the benefit of the farmer's keeping decent accounts, the possible uses of farm waste, possible non-food uses of agricultural products, possible new crops, the elimination of blights. Also of all the information made available to the farmer regarding the crop outlook here and abroad. The farmer is thus able to see the "personal significance to him . . . (of) . . . the national and international influences that govern farm prices." And with a vengeance! He can see that he is selling in a world market, competing with farmers in the Argentine, Canada and Australia and being exploited with them through the medium of grain, cotton, etc., brokers, speculators and similar riff-raff of the capitalist economy. It is one of the inanities of bourgeois economics that any untoward state of the capitalist economy effects a counteracting influence by which "harmony" is restored. This is the case, on its head, though, with the information made available to the farmer. And McMillen knows it. "The number of farmers who actually pay any attention to the report (of the Department of Agriculture as to the crop outlook), while large enough to justify the cost, is still small enough not to cancel its indications." The information is valuable only in so far as the vast majority of farmers *does not* make use of it—so long is it beneficial to a minority. When all use it, it becomes worthless.

Such is, in every case, the lesson of improved technique to the American farmer. McMillen sees this and expresses it in his theory of the devil-take-the-hindmost farmer! "The answer remains that the progressive individual grower serves his own interest best by producing as large a volume as he can at as low a cost as he can manage. He has no other course. He can proceed to do this fully content in the knowledge that two-thirds of farmers are satisfied to lag behind with the big crowds at the tail end of the procession, where the going requires little extra effort. Never are all the growers of one farm product going to get in the front row of efficiency, for the simple reason that farmers are human beings." (P. 21.) That is vile. All the farmers "are never going to get into the front row of efficiency for the simple reason" that it is impossible under capitalist economy, that no matter how high the average efficiency be raised farmers can still be mathematically separated into three parts, the lower two of which are less efficient than the first, and that, furthermore, and much more to the point, no matter how high the average level of efficiency, the farmers of capitalist America will be divided into a small upper crust that is able to exist halfway decently and the great mass that just exists and which contains the next four millions that are going to be "relocated" in the industrial reserve army of capitalist industry.

Industrialized agriculture is the means par excellence for producing a large volume at a low per unit cost. "The old units of farm side, which became customary in the era of two-horse cultivation, are obsolete." (P. 281.) "These machines (that double, treble and often more than quadruple the productive power of one farm worker) are best adapted to, and for best efficiency require, large land units." (P. 303.) "Now the man, already informed on how to make two blades of grass flourish where one grew before, can farm four acres where before he could manage only one!" (P. 7.) Corporation farming, capitalist farming, farming with great agricultural machines makes it possible to produce at prices appreciably below those at which the "independent" farmer goes bankrupt—assures capitalist profits in agriculture. McMillen finds, in discussing the possibility of an American peasantry, that "neither in the characteristic spirit of American people nor of American institutions have we the basic essentials out of which to create a peasantry." What's more, "the thought itself is repugnant." (P. 274.) He comes down from this tripe to brass tacks, though, and realizes that "with the rapid mechanization of farming more surplus labor than now will be available (!) in rural regions." The growth of capitalist farming will create on the one hand a new agricultural proletariat and on the other an agricultural reserve army. What of it? The presidents of U. S. Steel and General Motors, as of the great banks, are also "hired men," according to this sycophant who progresses from increasing farmers' "profits" to recommending capitalist farming to the American farmer. "They (the farmers) will be relieved from dependence upon the vagaries of weather and the play of circumstance, the burden of which will be shouldered by the corporation, and will be able to be freed of the "play of circumstance" and "will be able to depend on a regular pay envelope" just as the workers are who now slave in U. S. Steel and General Motors, just as the industrial proletariat is that now walks the streets unemployed.

The crisis in American agriculture will continue. Capitalism cannot bring about its solution. The crisis will mean for the American farmer increased exploitation through the medium of farm mortgages, increased tenantry, etc. He will be driven to the cities to join the reserve army of capitalist industry. The only "solution" capitalism has to offer is the dissolution of the independent farmer, his conversion into a tenant and later into an agricultural wage slave. Capitalist agriculture will create an agricultural reserve army which it can use to oppress and exploit to a higher degree the employed agricultural proletariat. McMillen's book attempts to deceive the American farmer into believing that the agricultural crisis can be resolved within the bounds of capitalist economy. First, he would have the farmer believe, with a great display of all the possible (that is, impossible) way in which the farmer can increase his profits, that the farmers' "problem" can be solved on the basis of the present system of individual farms. Then, as he considers the dangers to that system inherent in large scale industrialized farming, he preaches the glories of capitalism, of capitalist farming. Within the confines of the capitalist system the crisis in American agriculture cannot be overcome. Every technical advance made in agriculture is made at the expense of the farmer—capitalist farming is the final form of such technical progress in the capitalist state. Only after that state, that economy, has been shattered will technical progress—in a workers' and farmers' state—benefit the working class.

ERIK BERT.

THE NEW EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC, by ALBERT P. PINKEVITCH, translated by N. Perlmutter, edited by G. S. Counts.

In the preface to the American edition the author, who is President of the Second State University of Moscow, points out that the book was designed primarily for use in the training of teachers in the Soviet Union. This, unfortunately, is one of the reasons why the book is beyond the understanding of most American workers. Particularly difficult for workers are the chapters on theory and method, where Prof. Pinkevitch makes use of some of the contributions of the more serious bourgeois educators the world over, and is therefore forced to employ their abstruse terminology. The more intelligent American educators Hall, Dewey, Thorndike, Monroe, Kilpatrick, have strongly influenced the technique of Soviet education. Such American innovations as the Dalton Plan, project method, standard tests and measurements have been introduced into the Soviet Union, even tho their fundamental assumptions are untenable for Marxism.

Prof. Pinkevitch makes a thoroughgoing and searching Marxist analysis of the general theory of education, of mental growth and of the foundations of method. No correct pedagogy can be expected without an objective psychology. A scientific approach to psychology teaches us the plasticity of the human organism and the overwhelming influence of the social environment in molding one's *Weltanschauung*. Because teaching involves not the imparting of information but "the mastery of habits, skill and knowledge by the pupil under the guiding influence of the teacher," learning is an active process, even a struggle, and not a passive activity.

Lenin spoke of "the living tree of living, prolific, true, powerful, omnipotent, objective, absolute human knowledge." It is the consciousness of the power of knowledge which the working masses can use as the most effective weapon in building socialism that has helped to cover the Soviet Union with an astounding network of schools. Only the Soviet state requires and carries out the genuine enlightenment of all the toiling masses. On the other hand, the school, even in the most cultured bourgeois state, as Lenin remarked, "was wholly an instrument of class domination in the hands of the bourgeoisie; it was thruout permeated with the spirit of caste, and its aim was to give the capitalists obliging serfs and competent workers."

The various pre-school institutions, nursery, kindergarten, playgrounds, children's homes, which already train the infant in the self-governing, collectivistic, materialistic life, are also indispensable in helping to free woman. Then comes a whole chain of schools whose central purpose is to train the youth for productive work in all the spheres of Soviet economy. But in order to carry out successfully the building of socialism it is also necessary to enlighten the tens of millions of adult toilers. For this reason there is a network of schools for adults, starting with the school for liquidation of illiteracy and ending with the Communist University. Of cardinal importance in addition to the political education of workers and peasants is the vocational-technical education which aims to serve persons actually engaged in production and to train skilled workers, technicians, engineers, etc.

Prof. Pinkevitch points out correctly that the content of education, the activities of the school (as well as other cultural institutions) are determined by the demands of the class that rules the state. In the period of transition to Sovietism the ruling proletariat must crush the organized and ideological resistance of the whole bourgeoisie and at the same time aid "in the all-around development of a healthy, actively brave, independently thinking and acting

man, acquainted with the many sides of contemporary culture, a creator and a warrior in the interest of the proletariat and consequently in the final analysis in the interests of the whole of humanity." For we must remember that "by acting on nature outside himself and changing it, man changed his own nature." (Marx.)

Recognizing *that* profound Marxist truth that "the mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life," the center of instruction of all Soviet educational institutions becomes human labor and the labor process in manufacture. The Soviet schools are Socialist labor schools, "miniature factories," where the students learn the meaning of building socialism and driving forward the world revolution by grappling with the actual social problems of the day. Thus is the vicious chasm between theory and practice bridged for the first time in history.

It is only thru the union of knowledge and power in the hands of the masses that socialism can be built up. The colossal growth of enlightenment of the tens of millions of workers and peasants and their children and the mighty development of Soviet economy, which go hand in hand, are an omnipotent threat to imperialism and a living inspiration to the exploited masses thruout the imperialist and colonial world. Prof. Pinkevitch's book is a stone laid in the growing monument of the World Soviet.

N. ROSS.



OUT OF A JOB!

By EARL BROWDER

An invaluable analysis of the problem of UNEMPLOYMENT—an inherent disease of the Capitalist system. The author destroys, by means of facts and Marxist-Leninist deduction, all illusions created by the hypocritical efforts of the Hoover-A.F.L. Socialist combines to cure this evil, now facing millions of workers in this country. Not a REMEDY—but a program of STRUGGLE!

FIVE CENTS

HELP TO SPREAD IT AMONG YOUR SHOP MATES

Order from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
39 East 125th Street, New York City

Special discounts on orders in quantity lots

SOUTHERN COTTON MILLS AND LABOR

By Myra Page

96 pp. 25 Cents.

EARLY REVIEWS

"Myra Page is well qualified to write of Southern textile workers. As a southern woman herself, she has lived and worked in mill villages and knows the situation at first hand. "SOUTHERN COTTON MILLS AND LABOR" should be read by every worker in order to understand what is back of the great struggles in the Southern textile field."

—GRACE HUTCHINS, *author of "Labor and Silk."*

"... The author performed a surgical operation upon a portion of the body of American imperialism, an operation which discloses in detail the misery of the masses. This is no 'study' by a social welfare worker. Sympathy and understanding are there, but primarily it is an incision, sharp and merciless, by a scalpel with a Leninist edge."—WM. F. DUNNE.

Order from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
39 East 125th Street, New York City

Discounts offered on orders in quantity lots

FREE BOOKS WITH ALL

Daily Worker

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Go to Shop, Mine and Mill

Go Into Workingclass Neighborhoods

Secure New Readers for the Daily Worker

Make Valuable Contacts for the Party

Help the Party Reach the Masses

Build the Party Into a Mass Party

Read the writings of Lenin!

Become a better fighter in the class struggle!

*You Can Secure Lenin's Collected Works
With Subscriptions to the Daily Worker*

Vol. IV of Lenin's Collected Works: *The Iskra Period* (1900-1902) two books, price \$3.00 each, total value \$6.00

FREE with four yearly subscriptions at \$6.00 each.

Vol. XX of Lenin's Collected Works: *The Revolution of 1917*, two books, price \$3.00 each, total value \$6.00

FREE with four yearly subscriptions at \$6.00 each.

Vol. XIII of Lenin's Collected Works: *Materialism and Empirio Criticism*, price \$3.00

FREE with two yearly subscriptions at \$6.00 each.

The Fight for a Program, Party Organization and Tactics (1893-1904), by Lenin, price \$1.25

FREE with one yearly subscription at \$6.00.

The Bolshevik Party in Action (1904-1914), by Lenin. Price \$1.75

FREE with one yearly subscription at \$6.00.

TWO BOOKS WHICH SHOULD BE IN EVERY WORKER'S HOME:

Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution, in two volumes. |

Vol. I—Price \$2.75

Vol. II—Price \$4.00

Elaborately illustrated and authentic. You can secure both volumes
FREE with four yearly subscriptions at \$6.00 each.

**The Daily Worker Is Offering 50 Additional Books
FREE With Subscriptions Sent to Us.**

(Write for a complete list of all books offered.)

DAILY WORKER

Central Organ of the Communist Party of the United States

26-28 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Subscription Rates: 1 year \$6; 6 months \$3.50; 3 months \$2.00