

PK

Edition of the
Daily Worker



Vol. V. No. 10

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1928

Three Sections—Section Three

Growing Crisis of International Capitalism and Position Internationally of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

Political Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at Its Fifteenth Party Congress

By **JOSEPH STALIN**

Speech made at XV Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

OUR country, comrades, lives and develops amid capitalist surroundings. Its international position depends not only on its internal forces but also on the condition of this capitalist environment, on the situation of the capitalist countries that surround us, on the strength, or weakness, of these capitalist countries and on the strength or weakness of the oppressed classes throughout the world, on the strength or weakness of

the revolutionary movement of these classes. I need not even add that our revolution is part of the international revolutionary movement of the oppressed classes. Therefore I believe that the report of the Central Committee ought to begin with an outline of the international position of our country, with a sketch of the conditions in the capitalist countries and of the state of the revolutionary movement in all countries.

1. The Economy of World Capitalism and the Sharpening of the Fight for Foreign Markets.

(a) The first question must be as to the state of production and trade in the great capitalist countries.

It is a fundamental fact in this connection, comrades, that the production of the capitalist countries should during the two years here under review have exceeded the pre-war standard considerably. Some figures in point. The index of the cast iron output of the world stood in 1925 at 97.6, and in 1926 at 100.5 per cent. of the pre-war level. For the year 1927 we have no complete returns; there are only returns as to the first half of the year, which speak of a further increase in cast iron output. The index of steel production in the whole world stood in 1925 at 118.5 per cent., and in 1926 at 122.6 per cent. of the pre-war level. The index of the coal output of the world was 97.9 per cent. in 1925 and 96.8 per cent. (a slight regression) in 1926, obviously due to the lock-out in Great Britain.

The world's consumption of cotton figured in 1925-26 at 112.5 per cent. of the pre-war figures. The world's crop in the five grain varieties stood in 1925 at 107.2, in 1926 at 110.5, and in 1927 at 112.3 per cent. of the pre-war level. The total index of the world's production is thus slowly advancing and leaving the pre-war level behind it.

On the other hand there are capitalist countries which advance not with small steps but with leaps and bounds, leaving the pre-war level far behind them, e. g. the United States and in part Japan. In the United States the output of the finishing industries figured in 1925 at 143 per cent. and in 1926 at 152 per cent. of the pre-war average, while that of the raw-material industries was 143 per cent. in 1925 and 154 per cent. in 1926.

The growth of world trade. World trade does not develop so fast as output, but it also reaches the pre-war average. The index of the foreign trade turnover of the whole world stood in 1925 at 98.1 per cent. and in 1926 at 97.1 per cent. of the pre-war average. Regarded according to individual countries, the United States showed 134.3 per cent. in 1925 and 143 per cent. in 1926; France 98.2 and 99.2 per cent., respectively; Germany 74.8 per cent. and 73.6 per cent.; Japan 176.9 per cent. and 179.1 per cent.

In general world trade has already reached the pre-war level, which in some cases, as for instance in the United States and Japan, it has surpassed.

Added to this there is another group of facts, such as regard technical progress, the rationalization of the capitalist industries, the creation of new branches of production, and the increasing amalgamation and trustification in industry on an international scale. These facts, I believe, are all well known. I shall therefore not dwell any longer upon them only pointing out that capital has succeeded in attaining great results not only along the line of growth of production and along the line of trade, but also as regards the improvement in production technique progress, as also the rationalization of production, all this leading to a further strengthening of the great trusts and to the organization of great new monopolies.

Those are the facts, comrades, which we must mention and from

which we must start.

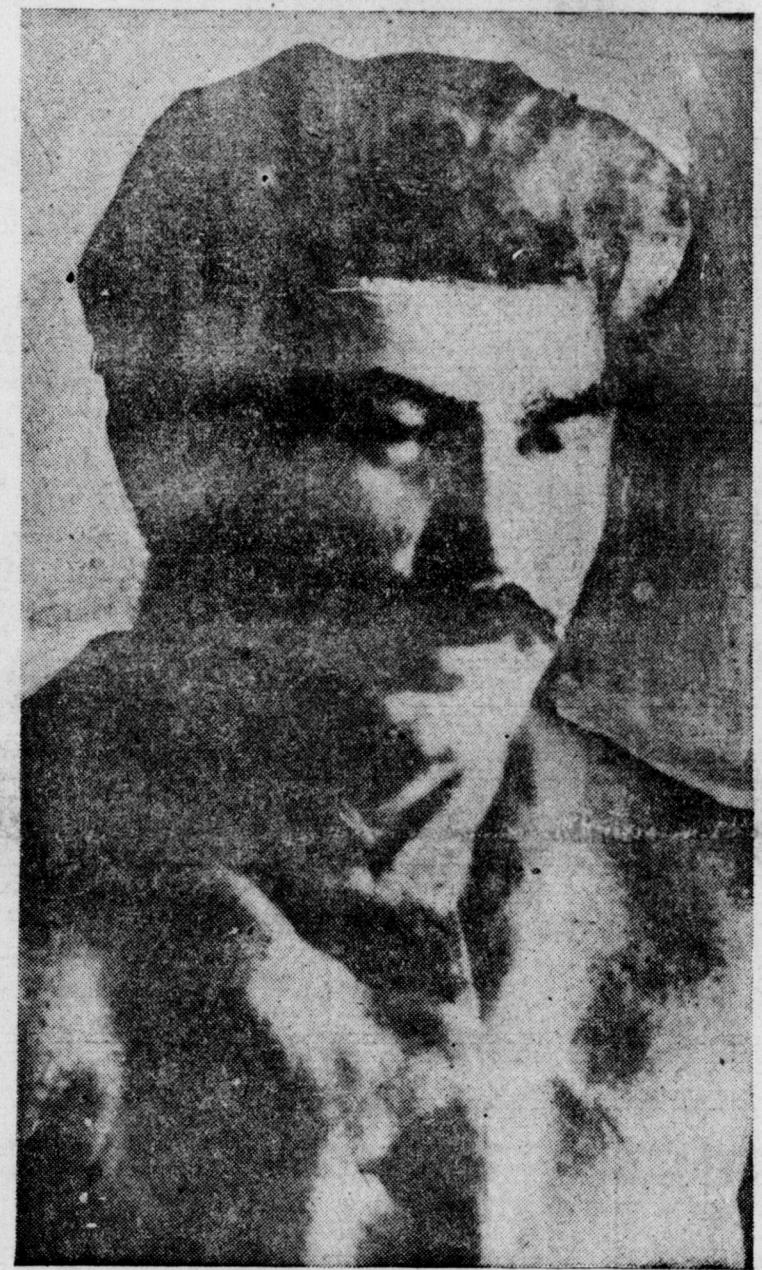
Does all this mean that the stabilization of capitalism has become a firm and lasting fact? Naturally not. On the occasion of the XIV Party Congress the report pointed out that capitalism might reach and surpass pre-war averages and that it might rationalize its production, but that this would not mean that the stabilization of capitalism would thereby become any firmer or that capitalism would regain its predominant pre-war stability. On the contrary, this stabilization, the very fact of the growth of output and trade, the fact that technical progress and the possibilities of production are increased, while the world market with its limits and with the spheres of influence of the individual imperialist groups remain more or less stable—just these facts entail a very acute far-reaching crisis of international capitalism, pregnant with new wars and endangering the existence of all stabilization.

Partial stabilization entails the aggravation of the crisis of capitalism, which in its turn annihilates stabilization. Such is the course of development of capital at the present historical moment.

(b) The most characteristic thing about this growth of the production and trade of international capitalism is the fact that the development proceeds unequally. The development does not ensue in the sense of a smooth and uniform advance of the capitalist countries, one after another, without mutual disturbance or collisions but rather in the sense that some of the countries are ousted and ruined while others become prominent and rise, all this in a life-and-death struggle among the different continents and countries for the hegemony on the market. The economic center is shifted from Europe to America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Thereby the specific weight of America and Asia increases internationally at the cost of Europe.

Some figures in illustration of the above: Whereas in 1923 the share of Europe in the foreign trade turnover of the world stood at 58.5 per cent., that of America at 21.2 per cent., and that of Asia at 12.3 per cent., the European share had fallen by 1925 to 50 per cent., while that of America had risen to 26.6 per cent. and that of Asia to 16 per cent. Beside the countries of vigorously progressive capitalism (United States and partly also Japan), we see countries undergoing economic decline (Great Britain). Alongside the increasingly powerful capitalism of Germany and the rise of countries which have of late come to the fore, such as Canada, Australia, Argentina, India, and China, we have countries with a stabilizing form of capitalism, such as France and Italy. The number of competitors on the selling market increases, the possibilities of production grow, the supply of goods is enhanced, but the absorbing capacity of the markets and the boundaries of the spheres of influence remain more or less stable.

(c) This contradiction between the growth of productive possibilities and the relative stability of the markets forms the basis of the fact that the market problem has now come to represent the crucial question of capital-



JOSEPH STALIN.
General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

ism. The aggravation of the market problem in general and that of the foreign markets in particular, quite especially as regards the market for capital exportation, is characteristic of the present state of capitalism. This is really the explanation of the fact that the insufficient degree of occupation in the works and factories has become an every-day phenomenon. The strengthening of the customs-barriers is only oil on the flames. In the limits of its present markets and spheres of influence, capitalism is beginning to feel cramped. The peaceful attempts to solve the market problem have led to no positive result,

2. The International Policy of Capitalism and the Preparation for New Imperialist Wars.

(a) In this connection the question of redistribution of the world and of the spheres of influence which represent the foundations of the foreign market, is now the crucial question of international capitalist politics. I already pointed out that the present distribution of the colonies and spheres of influence which resulted as an outcome of the last imperialist war, is already obsolete. It contents neither the United States, which is desirous of penetrating into Asia (China in particular) and are no longer satisfied with South America, nor yet Great Britain, which is losing its hold on the Dominions and on a number of very important markets in the Orient, nor yet Japan, which is just now "disturbed" in China by Great Britain and America; no more does it content Italy or France, which have innumerable bones of contention both in the Danubian states and in the Mediterranean; finally, it by no means pleases Germany, which is still without colonies. Hence the general desire for a redistribution of the markets and raw-material sources. It remains to be added that the Asiatic markets and the routes thereto are the main objects of conflict.

This gives rise to a number of knotty points, representing whole foci of new conflicts. One of these points is the so-called Pacific problem, the

nor could they lead to any. The well-known declaration of the bankers in 1926 in regard to the freedom of trade ended in failure. The economic conference of the League of Nations in the year 1927, which set as its aim the "alliance of economic interests" of the capitalist countries, likewise ended in a fiasco. The peaceful way of solving the market problem is closed to capitalism, which thus has only one way left to choose, viz., a redistribution of the colonies and spheres of influence by force of arms, military collisions, and new imperialist wars.

antagonism between America, Japan, and Great Britain, a source of strife as to the hegemony in Asia and the countries giving access thereto. Another is the Mediterranean problem, the antagonism between Great Britain, France, and Italy, as a source of strife to the predominance on the shores of the Mediterranean and as to the control of the nearest route to the East. Yet another point is the aggravation of the oil problem between England and America, for without oil there is no possibility of waging war and whoever has the advantage in regard to oil has the best prospects of victory in the coming conflict.

Only recently Chamberlain's latest plan for the settlement of the Mediterranean problem was published in the English press. For the accuracy of this plan I cannot guarantee, but that its publication was symptomatic cannot be doubted. The plan was as follows. The Syrian "mandate" to pass from the hands of France into those of Italy, Tangier to be left to France against a financial compensation to Spain, Germany to get back the Cameroons, Italy to pledge herself to cease all intrigues on the Balkans, etc. All this naturally proceeds under the flag of the fight against the Soviets. No villainy is now committed without the Soviets

"The growth of intervention tendencies in the camp of the imperialists and the danger of war against the Soviet Union are two of the most characteristic facts of the present situation."

being dragged in the dirty plan. And what is the actual import of the above arrangement? Its object is the ousting of the French bourgeoisie from Syria, from all times the door to the East, to Mesopotamia, Egypt, and so forth. From Syria, Great Britain can be harmed both in the Suez Canal region and in Mesopotamia. Now Chamberlain obviously desires to put an end to this disagreeable situation. Without doubt, the garded as a mere matter of chance. The value of this fact consists in the publication of this plan cannot be re-circumstance that it is highly characteristic of the quarrels, conflicts, and military collisions preparing in the present relations among the so-called "great powers."

As regards the present state of the oil problem and the fight for naphtha, the October issue of the well-known American publication "World's Work" outlines the situation pretty clearly.

"There is a very real danger to peace and mutual understanding between the Anglo-Saxon peoples. The support of American business circles by the Ministry will inevitably be emphasized according to necessity. If the British government identifies itself with the oil industry of Great Britain, the American government is bound sooner or later to identify itself with the American oil industry. The struggle, however, cannot pass into the realm of the two governments without a serious aggravation of the menace of war."

There cannot be any further doubt on the subject. The organization of new coalitions of power for the preparation of new wars for foreign markets, for raw-material sources, and for the control of traffic-routes is already in progress.

(b) Were there in the period under review any attempts at a "peaceful settlement" of the approaching warlike complications? There were indeed several such attempts, but they led to no result. Nay, these very attempts served as a cover for the preparations of the Powers for further wars and as a blind for the purpose of duping the workers and peasants.

Let us take the League of Nations, which the mendacious bourgeois press and the no less mendacious press of the Social Democrats call an instrument of peace. To what end has the twaddle of the League of Nations about peace, disarmament, and the restriction of armaments really led? To no good, at any rate. To nothing but a deceiving of the masses, to rival armaments, to an aggravation of the coming conflict. Can it be looked upon as a mere matter of chance that the League of Nations should talk of peace and disarmament for three years, with the support of the so-called Second International, and that at the same time the "nations" should arm and arm again, aggravating their old quarrels and creating new ones and thereby undermining the cause of peace? What is proved by the failure of the Three-Power Conference for the restriction of armaments (Great Britain, America and Japan), if not the fact that the Pacific problem is a source of new imperialist wars, and that the Powers will neither disarm nor restrict their armaments? What has the League of Nations done to obviate this danger?

The corruptible bourgeois press of all countries, from England to Japan and from France to America, shouts vociferously about the "insincerity" of the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union. Why should the sincerity of these suggestions not be tested and serious steps be taken towards disarmament, or at least towards a restriction of armaments? On what does it depend? Or what is, e. g., the present system of "amicable alliances" among the capitalist countries, the Franco-Yugoslav agreement, the Italo-Albanian agreement, the "amicable" agreement prepared by Pilsudski for Poland and Lithuania, the "Locarno system," the "Lo-

carno spirit," etc.—what is all this but a system for the preparation of new wars and the array of forces for the forthcoming military conflicts?

Or let us take the following facts. Between 1913 and 1927, the numeric strength of the armies of France, Great Britain, Italy, the United States and Japan together increased from 1,888,000 to 2,262,000. In the same period the military budgets of the said countries grew from 2,345 to 3,948 million gold rubles. The number of fighting airplanes of these five countries rose from 2,655 in 1925 to 4,340 in 1927. The tonnage of the cruisers of these five Powers rose from 744,000 in 1922 to 864,000 in 1926. The situation of war-chemistry may be illustrated by the following declaration of General Fries, the chief of the chemical war service of the United States:

"An aero-chemical bomb, weighing 450 kilograms and filled with lewisite can make ten precincts of New York uninhabitable for at least a week, while a hundred tons lewisite, flung down from fifty airplanes, can have the same effect on the entire city."

What else do these facts prove but that preparations are being made with full steam for renewed warfare?

These are the results of the "peace policy" and the "disarmament policy" of the bourgeois states in general and of the League of Nations and the Social Democratic toadies in particular.

Formerly the growth of armaments was explained by the existence of a Germany armed to the teeth. Now this "justification" has collapsed. Is it not obvious that this growth of armaments is necessitated by the need of new wars among the imperialist Powers and that the war spirit forms the nucleus of the Locarno spirit?

I believe the present "peace relations" may be compared with a worn out shirt, consisting of rags scantily kept together by thin threads. You need but tug a little at these threads or tear them quite a little, and the entire shirt will fall apart, leaving nothing but rags. You need but scratch the present "peaceful relations" at some spot or other, somewhere in Albania or in Lithuania or in China or America, and the whole construction of peaceful relations will collapse. So it was before the last imperialist war, when the Sarajevo murder led to the outbreak of hostilities. So it is again today.

From stabilization there results the inevitability of new imperialist wars.

3. The Condition of the International Revolutionary Movement and the Signs of a Renewed Revolutionary Advance.

(a) The growth of armaments and the organization of new coalitions do not suffice for the purpose of making war. It is also necessary to secure the hinterland in the capitalist countries. There is not a single capitalist country that could wage war seriously without having first secured the hinterland and gagged "its" workers and "its" colonies. Hence the general development of the policy of the bourgeois governments in the direction of Fascism. It is no matter of chance that power should now be in the hands of the Right Bloc in France, of the Hicks-Deterding-Urquhart bloc in England, the bourgeois bloc in Germany, the military party in Japan, and the Fascist governments in Poland and Italy.

Hence the pressure on the working class, hence the trade disputes and Trades Union law in England, the law of national defence in France, the abolition of the eight-hour day in a number of states, and the combined attack of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat.

Hence the increased pressure on the colonies and dependent states, the reinforcement of the imperialist armies in these countries to a total strength of one million (700,000 thereof stationed in the British possessions and spheres of influence).

(b) It is not difficult to comprehend that this inhuman pressure on the part of the Fascist governments should meet with the resistance of the oppressed nations, the colonies, and the working class at home. Facts like the development of the revolutionary movement in China, Indonesia and India cannot remain without influence on the fate of international imperialism. Judge for yourselves. Of the 1905 million inhabitants of the entire globe, 1,134 millions live in the colonies or semi-colonies, 143 millions in the Soviet Union, 264 millions in the intermediate countries, and only 363 millions in the great imperialist countries which oppress the colonies and semi-colonies.

It is obvious that the revolutionary awakening of the colonial countries marks the beginning of the end of world imperialism. The fact that the Chinese revolution has not yet led to the direct victory over imperialism cannot be of decisive importance for the prospects of the revolution itself. The great popular revolutions never win through at a blow. They grow and extend subject to a certain ebb

and flow. This was the case even in Russia, and thus it will also be in China. The most important event of the Chinese revolution was the fact that it put into movement hundreds of millions of exploited persons, unmasked the counter-revolutionary spirit of the clique of generals, tore the mask from the face of the Kuomintang counter-revolutionary lackeys, confirmed the authority of the Communist Party, put the entire movement on a higher level, that of the Soviet organization, and awakened new hopes in the breasts of millions in India, Farther India, etc. Only blind men or cowards can doubt that the Chinese peasants and workers will proceed to another revolutionary movement.

As regards the revolutionary movement among the working class in Europe, we can here too observe definite signs of a turn to the Left and a revival of revolutionary activity. Such facts as the British general strike and the struggle of the British miners, the revolutionary action of the workers in Vienna, the revolutionary manifestations in France and Germany in connection with the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, the electoral successes of the Communists of Germany and Poland, the obvious differentiation in the labor movement in England, in which the leaders proceed to the Right and the workers to the Left, the deterioration of the Second International into a mere appendix of the imperialist League of Nations, the diminishing authority of the Social Democratic party in the broad masses of the workers, the general growth of the influence of the Comintern and its sections among the workers of all countries, the growing influence of the Soviet Union among the oppressed classes of all the world, the Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union—all these facts show unmistakably that Europe is entering upon a new phase of revolutionary activity.

If an event like the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti could arouse such gigantic manifestations of public opinion, it is a proof that there is pent up revolutionary energy among the workers, energy which is only waiting for the opportunity to flare up and attack the capitalist regime. We are on the eve of a new revolutionary advance both in the colonies and in the mother countries.

Stabilization has engendered a new revolutionary rise.
(Continued on Page Two)

"Europe Now Obviously Entering on a New Phase of Revolutionary Uprise"

(Continued from Page One)

4. The Capitalist World and the Soviet Union.

(a) There are thus all signs of a far-reaching crisis and a growing instability of international capitalism. Although the temporary post-war crisis of 1920-21 with its internal chaos and a decay of the foreign trade connections among the capitalist countries may be considered to have passed and a period of partial stabilization has ensued, the main crisis of capitalism, which has become apparent in view of the victory of the October revolution and the secession in the Soviet Union from the capitalist system of economy, has not only not been overcome but is more and more pronounced and is undermining the foundations of international capitalism. The stabilization has not only not prevented the development of this main crisis of capitalism, but has also furnished the ground and the source for its further development. The growing fight for markets, the necessity of a redistribution of the world of the spheres of influence, the breakdown of bourgeois pacifism and the League of Nations, the feverish work of creating new coalitions and setting up of forces for a new war, the insane piling up of armaments, the inhuman pressure on the working class and the colonies, the development of the revolutionary movement in the colonies and in Europe, the growing authority of the Comintern throughout the world, and finally the growing power of the Soviet Union and its increasing authority among the workers of Europe and the colonies, all these are facts which must shake the very foundations of international capitalism.

The stabilization of capitalism is growing more and more rotten and shaky.

If two years ago there was much talk of the ebb of revolutionary activity in Europe, we have now every reason to assert that Europe is now obviously entering on a new phase of revolutionary uprise. This quite apart from the colonies, where the situation of the imperialists is growing more and more catastrophic.

(b) The hopes of the capitalists of a capitalistic degeneration of the Soviet Union and the sinking of its authority among the workers of Europe and the colonies have been doomed to disappointment. The Soviet Union grows and develops as the country of socialist construction. Its influence with the workers and peasants of all the world increases and deepens. The existence of the Soviet Union as a country engaged in building up socialism is one of the greatest factors making for the decay of world imperialism and the undermining of its stability both in Europe and in the colonies. The Soviet Union is obviously becoming the hope of the European workers and the oppressed colonial peoples.

So as to prepare the ground for future imperialist wars and so as to strengthen the capitalist hinterland by yet more thoroughly gagging and fettering the workers at home and the native population in the colonies, the first step is the subjugation of the Soviet Union, that focus and stronghold of revolution, which is at the same time one of the greatest markets for the produce of the capitalist countries. Hence the revival of the intervention policy in capitalist circles. Hence the policy of isolating, of encircling the Soviet Union and that of creating all premises for waging war on the Soviet Union.

The growth of the intervention tendencies in the camp of the imperialists and the danger of war against the Soviet Union are two of the most characteristic facts of the present situation.

It is the British bourgeoisie which is most threatened by the imminent crisis of capitalism, and it is this same bourgeoisie which has seized the initiative with a view to strengthening the tendency of intervention.

It is obvious that the support of the British miners by the workers of the Soviet Union and the sympathies of the Soviet working class with the revolutionary movement in China could but cast oil on the fire. All these facts called forth the rupture between Great Britain and the Soviet Union and the worsening of our relations with a number of other states.

(c) In consequence thereof the fight between two tendencies in the relations of the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, the tendency of bellicose aggressiveness, mainly on the

part of England, and the tendency towards continuation of pacific relations, urged by a number of other capitalist countries, is the fundamental fact of our foreign relations at the present moment.

The facts characterizing the tendency of pacific relations in the period under review are as follows: The treaty of non-aggression with Turkey, the guarantee agreement with Germany, the customs agreement with Greece, the credit agreement with Germany, the recognition by Uruguay, the guarantee compact with Afghanistan, the guarantee compact with Lithuania, the draft of the guarantee compact with Latvia, the commercial treaty with Turkey, the settlement of the conflict with Switzerland, the treaty of neutrality with Persia, the improvement in the relations to Japan, and the growth in economic relations with the United States and Italy.

The facts characterizing the tendency towards a policy of bellicose aggression in the period under review where the British note in connection with the financial support of the locked out miners, the assaults in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai, the raid on the Arcos, the rupture of relations by the British government with the Soviet Union, the murder of Comrade Voykov, the terrorist action of British hirelings in the Soviet Union, and the aggravation of the relations with France in regard to the recall of Rakovsky.

If a year or two ago there was talk of a period of relative equilibrium and of "peaceful co-existence" of the Soviet Union on the one hand and the imperialist countries on the other, we have now every reason to affirm that the period of peaceful co-existence is passed, giving place to a period of imperialist attacks and the preparation of intervention against Soviets.

The attempts of Great Britain to set up a united front against the Soviet Union have hitherto failed, and that for the following reasons: The contradiction of interests in the camp of the capitalists, the interest of certain countries in economic relations with the Soviet Union, the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the resistance of the working class of Europe, and the fear of the imperialists of an outbreak of revolution at home in the event of a war against the Soviet Union. This does not mean, however, that Great Britain has abandoned its work of organizing the united front against the Soviet Union or that it will not succeed in bringing this front about. The danger of war remains in spite of a temporary failure on the part of Great Britain.

Therefore it is our task to keep our eye on the differences in the camp of the imperialists, to delay the war, ransom ourselves from the capitalists and to take all steps towards maintaining peaceful relations. We must not forget the words of Lenin to the effect that very much in our work of construction depends on whether we succeed in delaying the inevitable war with the capitalist world either until the moment when the proletarian revolution in Europe has become ripe or else until the revolution in the colonial countries is so far advanced, or else again until the time when the capitalists begin to fight against one another over the distribution of the colonies. Therefore the maintenance of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries is a matter of the utmost necessity for us.

The foundations of our relations with the capitalist countries consist in the sufferance of the co-existence of two antagonistic systems. This has succeeded very well in practice, though the questions of debt and credit are at times a stumbling block. Our policy in this regard is very simple, being expressed by the formula "If you give, I give too." If you give credits to fructify our industry you will get back a certain proportion of the pre-war debts, which we look upon as extra interest on loans. If you give nothing, you get nothing.

These facts show that in regard to the acquisition of industrial credits something has been attained. I am not thinking only of Germany but also of the United States and Great Britain. The secret lies in the fact that our country is the greatest market for the import of industrial accessories and equipments, a form of market of which the capitalist countries are greatly in need.

5. Concluding Remarks.

In summing up we see:

In the first place the growth of the contradictions within the capitalist world around us; the necessity for capitalism to redistribute the world by means of a new war; intervention tendencies on the part of some capitalist countries, with Great Britain at their head; the reluctance of another section of the capitalist world to take part in any active operations against the Soviet Union and a simultaneous preference of these countries for economic relations with the Soviet Union; the existence of a struggle between these two tendencies and a certain possibility for the Soviet Union to take advantage of the desire for the maintenance of peace.

In the second place we have the decay of stabilization, the growing revolutionary movements in the colonies, signs of a new revolutionary movement in Europe, the growing authority of the Comintern and its sections throughout the world, an ob-

vious strengthening of the sympathies of the working classes of Europe for the Soviet Union, the growing power of the Soviet Union internally and the growth of the influence of the working class of our country on the oppressed peoples of all the world.

Hence the tasks of the party are as follows:

Firstly, on the lines of an international revolutionary movement:

(a) A fight for the development of the Communist parties throughout the world.

(b) A fight for the consolidation of the revolutionary unions and for a united front of the workers against the offensive of the capitalists.

(c) A fight for the consolidation of friendship between the working class of the Soviet Union and the working class of the capitalist countries.

(d) A fight for the consolidation of the alliance between the working

The Daily Worker Is a Class Organ

By ELLIS CHRYSOS



Secretary Greek Language Bureau of Workers (Communist) Party

In the midst of imperialist reaction here and abroad, with American marines butchering the workers and peasants of Nicaragua who are fighting heroically for the independence of their country, and with the co-sacks of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Colorado persecuting the heroic miners in order to realize the schemes of the coal barons, to smash the backbone of the American labor movement, the Miners Union. In the midst of such capitalist reaction we are celebrating the fourth anniversary of the only English Communist daily in the world, THE DAILY WORKER.

The DAILY WORKER, the expression of all class conscious workers of America and the leader and organizer of the wide toiling masses of this country, is the only labor paper which continuously and energetically exposes the role of the capitalist state, and American imperialism in Latin-America, China and all over the world.

It educates the workers and farmers of this country how to carry on the fight against their exploiters and conducts this struggle with the labor movements of the workers and peasants of American colonies, which are exploited and oppressed by the same boss, the American imperialistic capitalism.

In Everyday Struggle. The DAILY WORKER is the real expression of the every-day struggle of the workers in all fields, political as well as economical. It is the only paper that supports and leads the movement against the bills proposed by Congress to fingerprint and photograph the foreign-born workers of this country.

In our efforts to organize the Greek workers of the fuel industry, the food and steel industries, the coal miners, economically and politically, we find The DAILY WORKER the most earnest supporter. And since the overwhelming majority of the Greek workers of this country are still unorganized, we earnestly urge the Greek workers of America to support and widely distribute The DAILY WORKER, their leader and organizer, in order to make the first steps towards their liberation from exploitation and finally to deal the last blow to their class enemy.

The fact that The DAILY WORKER is the central organ of the Workers (Communist) Party, the vanguard of the working class is a living proof that it represents the interests of the wide masses whom it leads into power.

The Daily Empros, the organ of the Workers (Communist) Party in the Greek language, is bringing the same message to the Greek workers, in order to bring them into the stream of the American labor movement, of which they are a part.

In the name of the Daily Empros and the Greek Bureau of the Workers (Communist) Party, I greet the fourth anniversary of THE DAILY WORKER.

class of the Soviet Union and the emancipatory movements in the colonies.

Secondly, on the lines of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union:

(a) A fight against the preparation for fresh imperialist wars.

(b) A fight against the intervention tendencies of Great Britain and for the increase of the defensive forces of the Soviet Union.

(c) A policy of peace and the maintenance of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries.

(d) Expansion of our goods traffic with the outer world on the basis of a confirmation of the foreign trade monopoly.

(e) An approach to the so-called "weak" and "not fully qualified" states, which are oppressed and exploited by the ruling imperialist Powers.

(The foregoing is the first part of Stalin's report. The second part will appear in later issues.)

GREETINGS
to the **DAILY WORKER**
on Its Fourth Anniversary
BRANCH 4--SECTION 7.

M. Kushinsky,
Organizer.

GREETINGS
to the
LABOR PRESS
from
2C 2F.

NIGHT WORKERS' MORNING BRANCH
GREETS
The **DAILY WORKER**
on its 4th Anniversary.

GREETINGS
To The **DAILY WORKER.**
3D 3F
We Are With You in the Struggle!

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS
To The **DAILY WORKER**
2B 2F

GREETINGS
from
2C 1F.

GREETINGS
to
Labor's Press
3E 1F.

GREETINGS
to the
DAILY WORKER
on the
Occasion of Its 4th
Anniversary
1AC 4F

Executive Committee of
Harlem and Yorkville
Sections Workers (Com-
munist) Party, Dist. 2

GREETS

The
DAILY WORKER
on Its Fourth Birthday.

M. NEMSER,
Section Organizer.

GREETINGS
Of
Factory District
No. 1
Sub-Section
2 E

GREETINGS
from
2C 4F.

GREETINGS
from
SHOP NUCLEUS
No. 4
SUB SECTION
3C
New York City

GREETINGS
to the
Workers'
Press.
3D 1F.

Revolutionary
GREETINGS
from
EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE
of
SECTION 6.

GREETINGS
to
The Labor Press
2A 3F.

GREETINGS
from
3D 5F.

GREETINGS
from
2B 1F
Long Live
The
DAILY WORKER!

Down With Poison Boss Press! To Victory With Daily Worker!

By W. J. WHITE.

ONE of the bulwarks of the capitalist class, and one which helps them to hold power and to keep their ownership of the mills, mines, factories and other means of life, is their daily papers. With this means of disseminating their poison, going into the homes of the workers they hypnotize the working class, or a great portion of them, into the belief that they are dependent upon the masters for their jobs. The press is one of the many means they use in the mental control of the working class, their wives and children. When strikes or lockouts occur, it is then we can see the true mission of the brass check press of the capitalist class. It is then that tons of ink are spilled to poison the minds of the workers and the landless farmers and make them believe that the country will go to the damnation bow-wows unless the strike is settled and at once. In every battle between the workers and the owners these papers of the owning class play a deciding part in the battle.

In like manner the workers must build up a press which will voice the wrongs and miseries of the workers, their hopes and aspirations, which will do battle for them in every crisis—whether it be a strike, lockout, or a fight for the life of some leader whom the capitalists are trying to strangle with a rope, or to burn to death in the electric chair. When the battle is raging and the issue is one of life and death or the right to organize, to stop a reduction of wages, or a refusal to submit to the lengthening of the working day, it is in such struggles that a working class press will hearten and strengthen and give courage to the battling workers, and help them to win their fight.

Up to the launching of The Daily Worker, the press of the working class was a weak and vacillating weapon of our class. In many instances it not only did not enter the struggle of the workers, but in too many instances openly espoused the cause of the masters. Up to the time that The Daily Worker stepped into the ring and issued its clarion call to the workers to do battle and fight for a workers' and farmers' government, there was no clear outstanding voice calling on the workers to rally for the fight for a government in which the workers would be fighting for the right to direct, own and control the things which they now use to produce wealth, not for themselves but for a master class.

The building and strengthening of the working class press is a significant barometer of the progress of the radical movement, a barometer by which to judge how it is growing and planting its roots deep in the ranks



WM. J. WHITE
Member of Central Committee,
Workers (Communist) Party

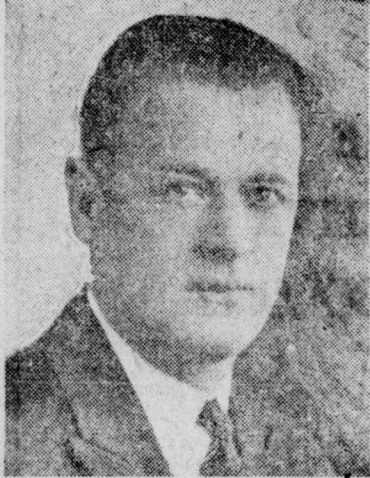
of the working class. As the radical working class movement builds, expands and grows, its growth will be paralleled by a like growth of The Daily Worker, and the other papers and magazines of the radical working class movement. The Daily Worker is the voice of the radical and revolutionary workers. The Daily Worker voices and gives out to the benighted workers a message of how the battle is going, and it is only playing its true role in the working class struggle when it directs the workers and shows them how to win to power.

The Daily Worker has now passed the fourth milestone in its great mission of educating and directing the working class. It enters this new year of its life of struggle and travail, not out of danger but strong and vigorous, alas, too weak to be in a satisfactory position for those who have watched its struggle. Yet in spite of this The Daily Worker has played a magnificent part in the past years, and it has militantly held to the breeze the flag of the working class.

Hail to The Daily Worker! May The Daily Worker grow and expand to voice and express the revolutionary mission of the workers and farmers of this imperialistic class government. May The Daily Worker become strong and vigorous as it battles in the arena of the international working class. Long live The Daily Worker!

Italian-American Workers Must Support Daily Worker

By GIOVANNI PIPPON.



Editor H Laboratory

I BID a hearty welcome to the fourth anniversary of The Daily Worker.

On this event the comrades of Italian descent should remember that they have not given every effort to bring our official organ to one high standard among Italians.

The Italian comrades must understand that a powerful party press is

absolutely necessary for the fight against barbarous fascism.

I am sorry to see a great many of our comrades and sympathizers prefer to read the press of our enemy, instead of the press of the working class.

The Italian comrades should employ every energy to bring The Daily Worker among many thousand Italians who live in this country. The Daily Worker must lead the fight against influence of the Mussolini government in this country.

Let our comrades in Italy take care of the bloody Mussolini. He is the last and extreme hope of the capitalist class.

The Italian comrades should lead the fight against the capitalist class in this country.

We should show the American working class that no defeat will influence their hopes in the Communist Party.

Our victory is the victory of the Italian working class.

We should love our press.

We should fight together for a powerful Daily Worker.

The glowing spirit of the Russian working class must lead us on to victory.

Long live The Daily Worker!

The Daily Worker, Champion of All Oppressed!

By MANUEL GOMEZ.

THE fourth anniversary of The Daily Worker is an occasion for rejoicing thruout Latin-America and in China and the Philippines, as well as in the United States—in fact among all those struggling for liberty against American imperialism. Many who cannot read it have heard its name and greet it with enthusiasm. During its four years of existence The Daily Worker has performed many valuable services to the anti-imperialist cause. Perhaps the recent signal achievement which comes most easily to mind is the exposure of forged documents printed in Hearst newspapers thruout the country in an effort to attack Mexico. The Daily Worker was the first paper to secure photostatic evidence of the Hearst forgery.

It is not necessary to pick out individual instances—the Chinese revolution, the Mexican crisis, the Philippine independence campaign, the imperialist war in Nicaragua. The essential achievement of The Daily Worker in the struggle against imperialism has been its constant, indefatigable, day-by-day support to the movements of the oppressed peoples. There have been many some-time friends in the United States of the



colonial and semi-colonial peoples. The Daily Worker has been a consistent friend—always dependable, always to be relied upon in the struggle against Wall Street and Washington. It is no accidental circumstance that a labor daily of the American class struggle should be at the same time the outstanding organ of the anti-imperialist struggle. Long live to The Daily Worker!

GREETINGS

from the

UNITY ARBETER COOPERATIVE

Registration for Rooms in the NEW UNITY COOPERATIVE HOUSE

Still Going on

Price of Rooms are:

Rooms for Two, from \$25.00 to \$44.00

2 Room Apts. from 50.00 to 54.00

Single Rooms, from 18.00 to 26.00

Every Room Furnished Tastefully.

Unity Cooperative House is situated across Central Park. It is one of the most Beautiful Apartments in Harlem. Nine floors, over two hundred rooms. Elevator Service Day and Night. Fifth Avenue Buses stop in Front of the House. House situated one block from Sixth Avenue elevated and 7th Avenue subway. Payment for each person \$125.00. Money refunded when you move out.

Office open daily for Further Information

UNITY ARBETER COOPERATIVE

1800 Seventh Avenue

New York City

Phone: Monument 0111

UNITY CAMP

Building Going on in Full Swing

One Hundred new Bungalows—New Dining Room with Seating Capacity for 1000 People. Modern Comfort Stations with Hot and Cold Showers. Tank on the Lake. (For Those Who Cannot Swim).

Become a Member of the Unity Arbeter Cooperative

GREETINGS

to

THE VOICE of LABOR

from

THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD
of CARPENTERS and JOINERS
of AMERICA

GREETINGS

to the 4th Anniversary of
The DAILY WORKER

from the

BAKERS' UNION NO. 164
AMALGAMATED FOOD WORKERS
BRONX, N. Y.

GREETINGS

to the Fourth Anniversary of
The DAILY WORKER.

FREIHEIT SINGING SOCIETY

(New York and Paterson)

133 SECOND AVENUE.

GREETINGS

from

The Brooklyn Finnish Socialist Club

764 -- 40th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Hopeful that you will continue as courageously as you have done since your birth, until you grow into a giant of the proletariat, leading it to the dawn of human aspirations.

WE GREET YOU.

YUGOSLAV WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL
AND DRAMATIC CLUB, NEW YORK.

GREETINGS

to

The DAILY WORKER.

FEDERATED WORKINGMEN'S
SINGING SOCIETY

350 East 81st Street
NEW YORK CITY.

The Daily Worker—a Fighting Paper

By MEILACH EPSTEIN,
Editor Daily Freiheit.

WE whose task it is to spread communism among the Jewish workers feel very keenly the need of a fighting daily paper that should carry the same message to the millions of English-speaking workers throughout the country.

Because of various circumstances, the Jewish labor movement in this country has advanced considerably on the road of the class struggle. The entire trade union bureaucracy was mobilized for the purpose of destroying the wedge which the needle workers last year, drove against the reaction in the American Federation of Labor. Only the Left Wing and the organized communists came to the aid of the rank and file of the needle-trade unions in their heroic struggle to fight off the combined attacks of the union bureaucrats, bosses, police and courts. The rank and file of the other unions, because of their backwardness, remained passive and indifferent.

A COMMUNIST daily in the language of the land is not only the collective organizer of the party, but in the present situation, also a pioneer in the work of agitation in rousing the masses to class struggle, in dispelling the spirit of apathy and discouragement. Such a newspaper is face of the party and the voice of the rank and file.

In the four years of its existence The DAILY WORKER has had its ups and downs, but one thing has



MEILACH EPSTEIN
Editor Freiheit, Jewish Daily Organ of the Workers (Communist) Party

been and remains certain: that the development and growth of The DAILY WORKER is a prerequisite for the development of the class struggle in the United States, for the successful organization of the unorganized and for the upbuilding of a communist mass party.

Those who have followed The DAILY WORKER closely cannot help but notice and applaud the sizable improvements in its matter and manner. Yet it is clear that further and more strenuous efforts are needed to make The DAILY WORKER what it should be—an effective fighting daily reaching the masses of the American working class.

As one at the head of a communist daily, I appreciate only too well the difficulties The DAILY WORKER has to cope with. It requires a good deal of communist courage, consistency and energy to blaze the trail for our party daily.

Knowing as I do the comrades in charge of The DAILY WORKER and the sentiment of our party membership, I have no doubt that The DAILY WORKER is on the right way of becoming a mass newspaper with mass influence.

On behalf of the Freiheit I congratulate The DAILY WORKER on its fourth anniversary and wish it to become very soon the fighting organ and the beacon of the working class in the United States.

U. S. Grinds Its Coal

The Fuel Conservation Committee of the U. S. Shipping Board is planning to equip six Shipping Board steamers, now lying idle, with apparatus for the burning of pulverized coal. Experiments with this fuel by the board on the steamship Mercer have cut operating costs, according to a report.

Four Years of Bitter Struggle

By M. NASTASIWSKY.

The need of a daily newspaper in the English language was, four years ago, a serious problem. This problem could be solved only by a really active and revolutionary party of the working class, and now we know that the problem was solved and the work was accomplished just by such forces.

They were organized in the Workers (Communist) Party of America which never fails in performing those tasks, no matter how difficult, that are essential for the development of the labor movement of this country.

The Central Executive Committee of the Party took upon itself the burden of establishing a daily labor paper, and so, as the result of these efforts, The Daily Worker began to appear. The story of four years of existence of this paper is well known to its readers, its friends and to the members of our Party—it's a story of a real and true struggle for existence. And it was always a successful and victorious struggle showing the indomitable will of the front line fighters of American working class to have, to maintain and to firmly establish their revolutionary daily paper.

Those efforts were not in vain, for The Daily Worker proved itself a very efficient weapon of the workers. Its influence is now being felt everywhere in the American labor movement, inclusive of the foreign language labor press of this country that is being brought into closer contact with the workers.



M. NASTASIWSKY
Editor Ukrainian Daily News

And so on the Fourth Anniversary, when every foe of The Daily Worker would like to see it among the dead, we rejoice in its existence and its valiant struggles for the rights of toiling masses, and join this celebration with the hearty proletarian greeting—

Long Live The Daily Worker!

All to the Battlefront of The Daily Worker

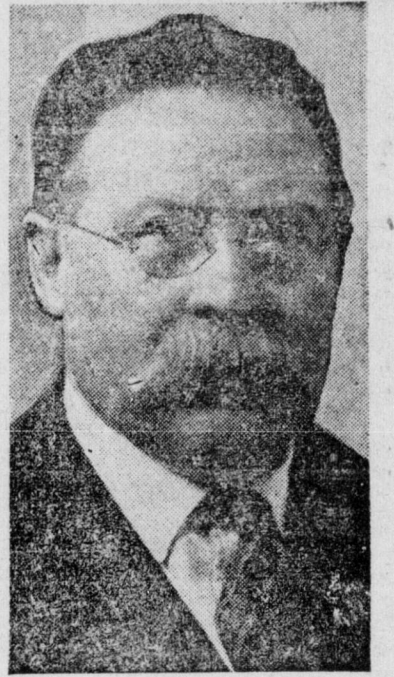
By A. KOBEL.

THE fighting organ of the American revolutionary workers, "The Daily Worker," is celebrating its fourth anniversary.

This is a great victory to the working class in the strongest imperialistic and capitalistic country. The American working class is not yet able to value the importance of its only working class paper in the English language, The Daily Worker, but the Wall Street bankers, Rockefeller, Morgan, and the other exploiters of the workers know very well how harmful The Daily Worker is to themselves. This is proven by the attacks upon The Daily Worker in the past year, the arrest of its editors, business manager, and fines, all these for the purpose of destroying the most powerful weapon of the working class. We must remember that these attacks are not past as yet.

For a stronger protection of The Daily Worker the masses of workers of all nationalities should organize themselves as subscribers and contributors to The Daily Worker. United we stand, divided we fall.

"Organizing of the working masses around The Daily Worker" should be the slogan of all the revolutionary workers of every nationality and every revolutionary language paper in America, on the fourth anniversary of The Daily Worker.



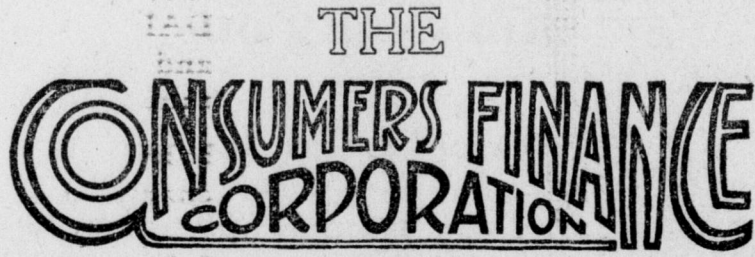
A. KOBEL
Editor Uus Iilm

The only Estonian Revolutionary Weekly paper in America, the "Uus Iilm" sends its revolutionary greetings to The Daily Worker on its fourth anniversary, and calls all class conscious Estonian workers to the battle-front of The Daily Worker.

Long live The Daily Worker, the fighting organ of the American revolutionary workers!

Invest in a Cooperative Finance Institution Right Now!

Gold Bonds in Denominations of \$100, \$300, \$500 and \$1000 are being now sold also on easy installments

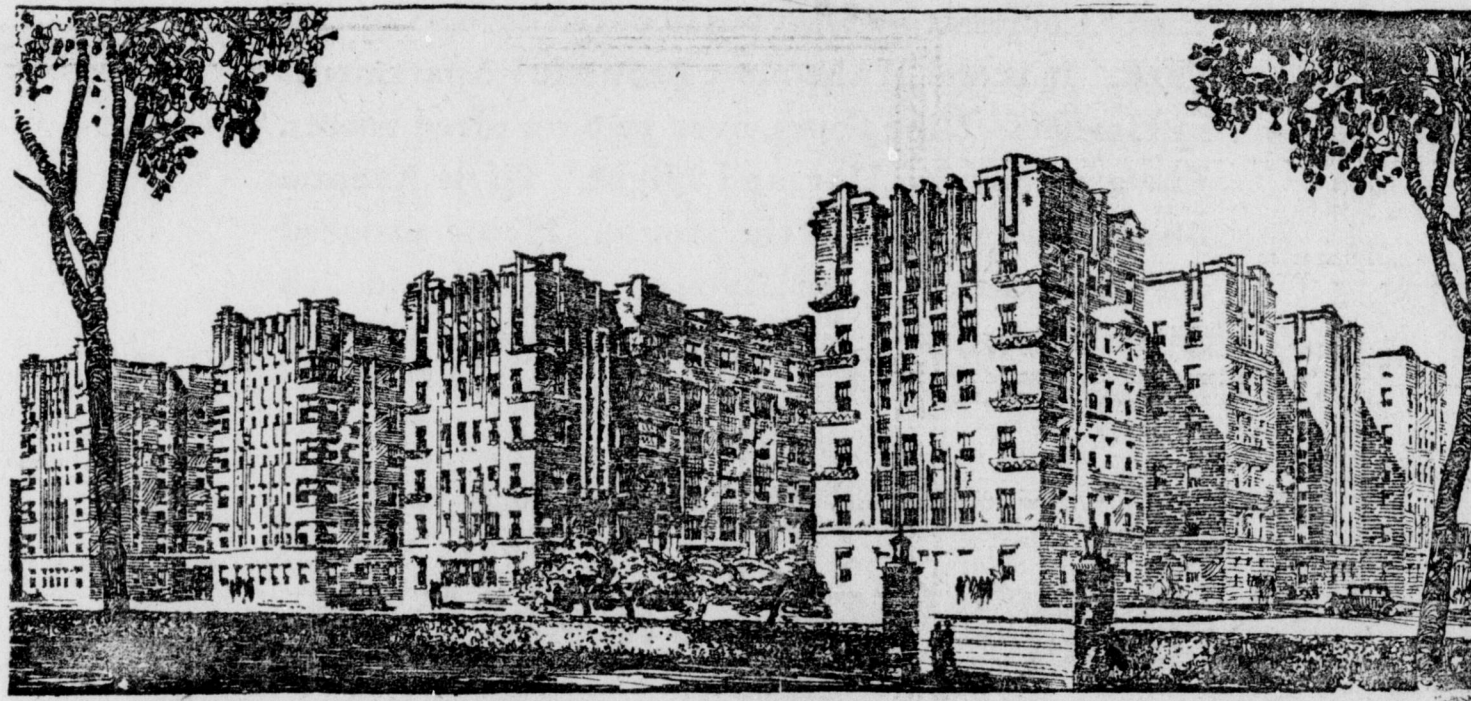


Subsidiary of the United Workers Cooperative Association

Guaranteed 6% Dividends
From First Day of Deposit

A New Gold Bond Issue of \$250,000, secured by a second mortgage of the second block of houses, opposite Bronx Park East

SECOND BLOCK
OF
HOUSES



(At Allerton Avenue Station, Bronx, N. Y.)

IN THE
COOPERATIVE
WORKERS COLONY

Office: 69 FIFTH AVENUE

(Corner 14th Street)
(Tel. Algonquin 6900)

NEW YORK CITY

Spend your winter vacation at

CAMP NITGEDAIGET

BEACON, N. Y.

Subsidiary of the United Workers Cooperative Ass'n

Airy, steam heated rooms, delicious food, scaling ring, a large social room, cultural and many other activities

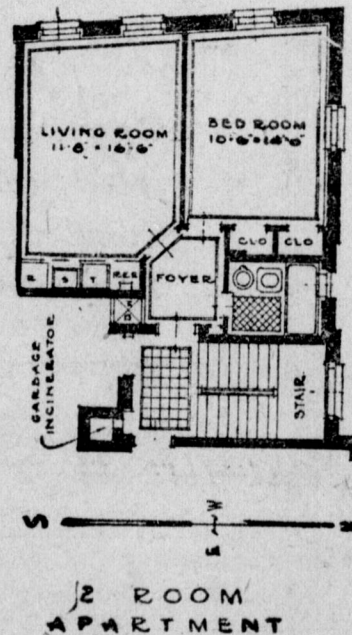
ONLY \$17 PER WEEK

Take the 2 o'clock train at Grand Central station and our machine will wait for you at the station in Beacon, N. Y. Camp Telephone Beacon 862.

3rd
block of
Co-op.
Houses

Opposite
Bronx
Park

4th
block of
Co-op.
Houses



TWO BLOCKS of COOPERATIVE HOUSES

will soon be built in the
Cooperative Workers Colony by the
United Workers' Coop. Assn.

Come right now and select an apartment of
2, 3, 4 Airy, Sunny, Spacious Rooms

Imperialism and Counter-Revolution in China

By M. N. ROY (Moscow).

THE Soviet power in China is suppressed with inhuman ferocity. Even the imperialist news agencies which have no sympathy with the workers and peasants occupying Canton, report 5,000 killed on the first day the counter-revolutionary troops occupied the city. The communists, even those suspected of having communist sympathy, were massacred wholesale.

Dead bodies of revolutionary workers and peasants were carried in carts to be dumped in the river. The streets were strewn with murdered communists.

A good one-fourth of the city has been totally destroyed, not by the workers and peasants, but by the counter-revolutionary army. Thousands of houses are burnt down as a result of the bombardment of the city. The Soviet consulate was raided, all the inmates arrested and five, including the vice-consul and a woman employee, shot.

This gruesome terror of death and destruction was let loose because a government of the workers and peasants was established in Canton. The bourgeoisie would demolish the city rather than see it in the possession of and governed by the workers. For four years the workers and peasants had defended the nationalist Canton against imperialist aggression. But for the heroic efforts of the workers the nationalist government of Canton would have been overthrown. Now the nationalist bourgeoisie have made a united front with imperialism against the workers and peasants. As soon as the establishment of Soviet Government was declared British battleships rushed to the scene and American field guns were levelled upon the city. This was to encourage the counter-revolutionary army in its bloody undertaking.

Complete surrender of the nationalist bourgeoisie to imperialism is testified by the decision to break off relations with the U. S. S. R. While issuing the order for the closure of the Soviet consulates, trade missions and the Far-Eastern Bank, Chiang Kai-Shek stated:

"In the early stage of the revolution Soviet assistance was beneficial but during the past few months communist intrigues have created class dissension that has disrupted the Kuomintang and threatened to destroy its work in China."

This is a very significant statement. It means that as long as the Chinese bourgeoisie were carrying on a revolutionary struggle they needed and appreciated the assistance of the Soviet Republic; but since they have abandoned the revolution and seek the support of imperialism in the counter-revolutionary struggle against the workers and peasants, they must turn back upon the former benefactor.

Class dissension indeed disrupted the Kuomintang. To defend feudal and capitalist interests the Kuomintang betrayed its revolutionary tradition. The disruption of the Kuomintang began as soon as it turned against the working class. Chiang Kai-Shek, who accuses the communists of having disrupted the Kuomintang, was the first to deal a blow to it. Until the Kuomintang won the confidence and secured the active support of the workers and peasants, it could not organize an effective struggle against imperialism. It was with the help of the communists that the Kuomintang found its way to the masses and succeeded in organizing them in a gigantic struggle against imperialism. Under the pressure of the masses the Kuomintang became a revolutionary democratic party. Chiang Kai-Shek began the destruction of the Kuomintang when he raised the banner of anti-communism. As the majority of the Kuomintang would not accept his counter-revolutionary lead, Chiang Kai-Shek split the party and made a united front with imperialism.

The work of disruption thus begun is complete today. The Kuomintang does not exist except as a flag of counter-revolution. It is broken up into warring factions who are, however, united in their hatred for the communists, determination to drown the workers' and peasants' movement in blood and their willingness to surrender before imperialism.

Hostility to the workers' and peasants' movement and servility to imperialism are the two sides of the same policy. Experience has demonstrated that an effective struggle against imperialism can only be carried on by the working class. It has also been experienced at the same time that a revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle unavoidably quickens the social struggle. The workers and peasants demand something concrete from the national independence for which they willingly suffer and sacrifice. Anti-imperialist struggle develops by attacking such classes of native society as are related to imperialism.

National revolution must be a social revolution. The Kuomintang turned against the national revolution as soon as its social character became manifest. It became hostile to the workers and peasants because they attacked native reaction simultaneously with imperialism. By turning against the working class the Kuomintang forfeited the support of the only class which can conduct a real struggle against imperialism. With

the support of the workers and peasants the Kuomintang became a terror for imperialism; as an enemy of the workers and peasants it must surrender before imperialism.

Went with internal dissensions, personal jealousy and mutual suspicion, the Chinese bourgeoisie are not able to cope with the powerful workers' and peasants' movement. As nationalists fighting against imperialism and its agents, they had the support of the U. S. S. R. By betraying the national revolution they have forfeited that support. Now they must sell themselves to imperialism or be swept away by the mighty tide of revolution. They have sold themselves to imperialism. The native bourgeoisie have made a united front with imperialism against the national revolution and all its supporters.

The nationalist government's declaration to break with the U. S. S. R. coincided with the following statement by the assistant minister of foreign affairs, Ko Tai-Chi:

"Since Western-educated Chinese are convinced that the Anglo-Saxon road is best for China, they will exert their influence in support of the nationalist government to bring about a new orientation of Kuomintang policy."

This declaration of surrender to Anglo-American imperialism was prefaced by the usual diatribe against communism. The worthy spokesman of the Chinese bourgeoisie declared China was determined "to rid herself of communist influence, which is threatening to wreck the revolution." Of course, a "nationalist" government of China massacring workers and peasants to win the good graces of imperialism could not possibly have the friendship of the U. S. S. R. On the other hand, Anglo-Saxon imperialists demand a break with the U. S. S. R. as the sin qua non for any agreement with the nationalist government. In order to prove themselves fit to "co-operate with the Powers on a basis of equality" (words of Ko Tai-Chi) the Chinese bourgeoisie break with the U. S. S. R. and flood the country with workers' and peasants' blood.

The above are not words accidentally pronounced. The day before Ko Tai-Chi declared in Shanghai that the foreign policy of bourgeois nationalist China has changed from Soviet to Anglo-Saxon orientation, a very important meeting took place in New York. At that meeting representatives of British imperialism met American financial magnates to define the attitude of Anglo-Saxon imperialism towards the Chinese bourgeoisie that have deserted the revolution and broken up relations with the U. S. S. R. The leading lights of the meeting were Sir Frederick Whyte, former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly; J. D. Rockefeller Jr. and Thomas Lamont. As head of the British delegation to the Honolulu conference on Pacific relations, Whyte spoke with knowledge of the situation in the East. He said: "China, having — at least temporarily — spurned Russian influence in her internal affairs, is now open to the help that America and Great Britain could give her, and would welcome it."

When this statement made in such a gathering in New York is read together with that made in Shanghai the next day by the spokesman of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the full implication of the situation becomes clear. It is seen how the Chinese bourgeoisie have completely capitulated to Anglo-American imperialism, under whose pressure they break off relations with the U. S. S. R. and perhaps before long will aid in the preparation of war against it.

The debacle of the Kuomintang, the betrayal of the national revolution by the bourgeoisie, is hailed by imperialism with great relief. It is hoped that with the aid and encouragement of imperialism the Chinese bourgeoisie will defeat the revolution and make China once again a happy hunting ground for finance capital.

The Wall Street magnate, Lamont, who had just returned from the East where he had been to arrange about the \$40,000,000 loan to the South Manchurian Railway, spoke optimistically about the situation in China. He declared:

"If only our friends, the Chinese, realizing how keen our sympathy and interests are, could compose their differences to the point of jointly inviting the amicable co-operation of foreign interests, I am certain that the American, British and Japanese would go a long way in assisting national interests in an earnest and sincere endeavor to serve the common cause."

Undoubtedly Ko Tai-Chi's declaration as regards the Anglo-Saxon orientation of the national government was the invitation Lamont asked from the Chinese. If the Chinese bourgeoisie can beat down the revolutionary movement, they will render such a great service to imperialism that this will reward them, maybe with the revision of the unequal treaties.

By themselves the Chinese bourgeoisie are not strong enough to stem the tide of revolution for any length of time. The strength of the Chinese counter-revolution lies in the fact that world imperialism stands behind it.

The forces of world revolution must be mobilized in aid of the Chinese workers and peasants.

Negroes Need Truthful Labor Paper

By Dr. W. E. B. DuBOIS.
Editor "The Crisis"



DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

The struggle for the liberation of the working classes in general and of the Negro race in America in particular is, of course, at bottom the same struggle. But great difficulty faces both the workers because the essential identity of the problem is not recognized either by white workmen or black.

Black workmen are the heirs of every effort which the white working masses have made toward freedom; the bestowal of universal suffrage; the shortening of the hours of labor; the protection of women and children in industry; the recognition of the right to collective bargaining; and all the rest of the victories more or less completely won by the working class movement. Through these victories Negroes were emancipated from slavery in America; partially enfranchised; and given at least a fighting chance for a living wage. On the other hand, all this story has not been told Negroes and they are not born knowing all about it. The working class movement has seldom attempted any intelligent propaganda to let them know of the past struggle; the Negro home does not know it and the Negro school does not teach it. And to make the matter worse, both white and black workmen have come under the sinister influence of the white employer.

Vicious Race Prejudice

The white workman has swallowed the white employer's race prejudice, lock, stock and barrel; so that he doesn't want to work beside Negroes; he doesn't want to live in their neighborhood; he doesn't want anybody to think that he is as low as a Negro!

The black workman has taken from the white employer a different set of beliefs but equally composed of prejudices and assumptions. If he hunts a job, he is told that the white employer is willing to employ him but that the white workmen will not work with him and that his only chance to work is to "scab." And the difficulty is that this is largely true. He finds the white workmen voting against his schools and civil rights and excluding him from his trade unions; and the white employer is not at all loath to let the Negro know these facts in detail.

Subsidized Negro Schools

In addition to this and on the positive side, through the white employer and capitalist, the Negro receives many of the things which the City and State backed by the white workers' vote refuse to give him: all of the Negro colleges, most of his secondary and high schools, a large part of the better school buildings, have been the gift to him from white philanthropists, and they stand as a tremendous bribe to make Negroes hate white fellow workers and look upon them as his enemies.

All this would be important if it affected only the United States where the Negro forms perhaps one-ninth of the working class. But with local differences all this is essentially true of the colored workers throughout the world, and a majority of the world's workers today are colored. White workers are today as yesterday voting armies and navies to keep China, India, Mexico and Central America in subjection and being paid high wages to do this while "niggers" and "dagoes" and "chinks" starve, slave and die.

United Action Imperative

What chance is there then for the real liberation of any working class until the white and colored workers who now compete for each other's bread understand each other and know the history of the labor movement? And what better medium is there for understanding than periodicals,—monthly, weekly and daily, widely disseminated, which tell the truth to both groups?

Eighth Wonder

I saw the state hangman
Yesterday.
He was in a restaurant
Eating.
And once,
When he pricked his finger,
Blood did come,
Really

From the Joint Board Cloak & Dressmakers Union

The Joint Board, representing thousands of workers who have been engaged in a bitter struggle for the past year against the attempt of a bureaucracy to convert our organization into a Company Union to do the bidding of the bosses, sends its hearty greetings to The DAILY WORKER on the fourth anniversary of its existence.

The DAILY WORKER has at all times loyally championed the interests of the great mass of the workers in our Union and was amongst the first to expose the cowardice and treachery of the reactionary officialdom of our Union. The DAILY WORKER has brought before the labor movement the issues of our struggle and has mobilized thousands of workers in support of the Joint Board.

The cloak and dressmakers, who represent the more militant and class-conscious workers, appreciate the important role of a real workers' press in all of labor's struggles, and will in the future continue to support and spread the message of The DAILY WORKER with even greater devotion and enthusiasm. In this critical period in the history of the American labor movement, when the trade union bureaucracy has surrendered to the capitalist class, the voice of The DAILY WORKER is a clarion call to the exploited masses and will serve to organize and lead the workers in a militant struggle against all their enemies.

LONG LIVE THE DAILY WORKER, the spokesman and champion of the workers of this country.

I. STENZO, Chairman. L. HYMAN, General Manager.
JULIUS PORTNOY, Secretary.

Greetings to Labor's
Militant Weapon, the
Daily Worker, on Its
Fourth Anniversary
A FRIEND

What Price Daily Worker?

By T. RADWANSKI.
(Editor of "Novy Mir.")

I do not intend to discuss the merits of The DAILY WORKER nor its shortcomings, if any. I am not allowed the space required and moreover it would not be the proper time to do it on the solemn occasion of its fourth birthday.

My purpose is to show the importance of the very existence of our Daily, and I shall try to do this by comparison.

Of course, each one of us who has done his bit in supporting this standard-bearer of the revolutionary labor movement in U. S. rightfully boasts of its existence as a glorious achievement for such a small detachment of the army of the proletarian revolution as our Workers (Communist) Party of America is for the time being. And yet, because of the heavy burden which the upkeep of The DAILY WORKER imposes on our Party and its closest sympathizers, there are some who are not so sure whether it is worth while to hold on to the Daily in this period of stagnation of the American labor movement.

A Journalistic Experience.

For these I want to give some of my reminiscences.

In the years of blackest czarist reaction, 1910-1911, I happened to be the city editor of a semi-legal paper in Warsaw, published by the then Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania (now Communist Party of Poland).

Those were truly hard times for a revolutionary labor paper. Our chief editor, Comrade J. Tyska, who was murdered in January, 1919, by the social-democratic government of the German republic—was compelled to stay abroad and had to edit the paper by mail under the greatest secrecy; our office in Warsaw used to be raided by the gendarmes every few weeks; all of its visitors were shadowed; I myself had to "report" very frequently to the "Ochraná" (secret service) for my regular third degree; every second or third issue of our paper was confiscated; in two years of our existence four of our so-called "responsible editors" were convicted and we had to pay several thousand roubles in fines—and yet we could not obtain a circulation of more than 1,500. It was a period of a severe industrial depression, terrible unemployment, wage cuts one after the other and no possibility of fighting them on account of the beastly terrorism of the police. The labor movement was at its lowest ebb.

Sacrifice for Paper.

"Is it worth while to keep up the paper under such circumstances? Could not we use our small resources in a more efficient way?" some of our comrades asked.



THADEUS RADWANSKI
Editor of Novy Mir

We got the answer—from the other side—when we were finally suppressed. The traction interests demanded it from the governor-general of Warsaw after a strike of street-car motormen and conductors, although we were able to write very little on behalf of the strike; and the police commissioner of Warsaw supported their plea by a statement!

Feared by Enemy.

"I decline the responsibility for peace and order if this damned paper does not cease to exist."

This is how important they estimated the value of a revolutionary labor paper for the actual class struggle. And they were right!

Now, The DAILY WORKER has not yet attained the first 100,000 of circulation which will mark its beginning as a real mass paper. And, nevertheless, its very existence is of the utmost importance for every class fight of the American working class. And indeed there would be no greater joy for the American capitalist class than to see The DAILY WORKER beaten down. I am sure they would gladly give their regular income tax reduction—about 166 millions for this year, I suppose—to bring this about. And it would not be a bad deal for them.

As for us, the class-conscious workers of America, no one of us, even if he does not read English himself, should mind being taxed twice as much as he is now taxed to bring nearer the goal of the first 100,000-copy issue of our DAILY WORKER.

Congratulating The Daily Worker

By WM. PICKENS

I certainly sympathize with the struggle of the Daily Worker to see that the unpopular and neglected phases of our economic and social problems get publicity. But even those who do not sympathize with that aim can yet admire and congratulate The Worker for accomplishing that task in a country that is absolutely dominated by those who are opposed to the ideals supported by that paper.

A Marvelous Record

It is a marvel how a paper that espouses uncompromisingly the cause of working people in the United States can actually live and breathe for four long years—without the financial backing of some wealthy sponsor. Nearly all the "propaganda" papers must be paid for out of the pockets of one or more of their espousers who happen to have a little money, or such papers soon perish. The lives of many of them have been measured in months. It is needless to observe that any paper espousing the causes of American working people today will not only fail to get the financial support of the masters of our economic system, but will encounter their bitterest opposition. By recent injunctions of American judges, notably in the coal fields, the working people have even been forbidden to help one another.

Daily Should Live

Whether one agrees with the program of the Worker or not, he can see that the freedom of speech and opinion and the liberty of action of all American citizens are involved in the success or failure of the Worker's efforts to speak out and to live. The ability of this paper to survive without compromise will react favorably upon the struggles of all other "underdogs" and minorities, racial, political and economic.

I am one of those who have faith in the human mind and who believe that out of the free and tolerant conflict of truth and error the mind will eventually verify and choose the truth!

I wish for The Daily Worker a long and uninterrupted future.

"This generation needs it more than a fat and lazy horse needs a gadfly."

COOK MUST SERVE TERM

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10.—Dr. Frederick Cook, fake North Pole discoverer and seller of worthless oil stock, must serve out his fourteen year sentence in Leavenworth Prison, the Supreme Court held here. Cook was convicted in Texas in 1923 for using the mails fraudulently, and began serving time in 1925. A Texas District judge who paroled him last February, was overruled.



WILLIAM PICKENS
Field Organizer National Association for Advancement of Colored People

Gives Leadership in Every Labor Struggle

By B. K. GEBERT.

(Editor Trybuna Robotnicza.)

ALTHOUGH The DAILY WORKER is a party organ in the English language it is very close to the life not only of the English speaking workers in this country but also to all the workers. The significance of The DAILY WORKER for foreign-born workers cannot be over-estimated.

Who, if not The DAILY WORKER, carries on the struggle for organizing the unorganized, for a Labor Party; who gives leadership in every workers' struggle?

And at present in the campaign for the protection of foreign-born workers, it is The DAILY WORKER that is leading the campaign, which mobilizes the working class against all discrimination between workers.

Polish workers are in great number in American industries, by hundreds of thousands they are working in stockyards, mines, steel mills, railroads and on the farms. Who is helping them in the every-day struggle?

Yes, The DAILY WORKER is on the job for the whole working class, because it is a Communist organ, it is not only a newspaper that gives the truth to the workers; it gives them more. The DAILY WORKER gives the American working class a

Hail to 4th Anniversary of Our Daily

THE workers of this country have their monthlies, weeklies and dailies, some of which are only craft-conscious, looking after the mere pitance they can get from the employers for a small section of the working class. Some of which, parading under the name of labor papers, are nothing but auxiliaries of the capitalist class to crush the efforts of the working class to emancipate itself from the parasites in human society, and some of which, calling themselves radicals, socialists, etc., are nothing but compromisers with capitalism and misleaders of the working class.

Up to four years ago the class-conscious workers were longing for a real working class daily in English, the common language of all the workers of this country. Only the virile and the real advance guard of the workers, the organized Communist movement in this country could satisfy that want, and the Workers (Communist) Party, four years after its own birth, gave birth to The Daily Worker.

We hailed the advent of this child four years ago and our joy has been justified during the four years of its life, fighting fearlessly for the whole working class without any discrimination against any of its sections, whether they be whites or blacks, foreign or native born.

The Daily Worker stood for the needle workers as well as the traction workers, miners as well as textile workers. It championed the cause of all the down-trodden and the despised of the capitalist world. It fought for the liberation of the class prisoners and fought against the persecution of the foreign-born by the hirelings of the capitalist class.

Workers of all nationalities are fast realizing that The Daily Worker is the only English daily that gives the truth about the workers' every-day life in or out of workshop, and the Armenian workers are now behind their brother workers in following and supporting Our Daily. Its four-year life is an accomplished victory for the cause.

Then long live Our Daily Worker!
A. S. ZARTARIAN.
(Member of the Bureau of Armenian Fractions.)

political education in every struggle.

The DAILY WORKER is also the leader of all of the foreign-language press of the Workers (Communist) Party. It gives the tone to all our papers. Therefore the role of DAILY WORKER is of a greater importance.

Greeting The DAILY WORKER on its fourth anniversary in the name of the revolutionary Polish-American workers, we also pledge ourselves to

Factor in American Class Struggle

By LOUIS KOVETS.

Editor, UJ ELORE.

Heartiest greetings of the class conscious Hungarian workers of America to The Daily Worker, the militant and leading organ of the American working class!

The Daily Worker began its fighting existence in a period of the American labor movement when the fiercest struggle was going on.

The battle has not subsided ever since.

American imperialism has reached the highest peak of its development—it has corrupted the upper strata of the working class, and first of all labor bureaucracy. Misleaders of the trade union movement have become 100% executives of American imperialistic policy within the pale of the union movement, itself at a time when millions of unorganized and unskilled laborers are eagerly waiting for guidance.

The Daily Worker right from the beginning sought and found contact with the toiling masses. Right in the first year of its existence it took the lead in the battle fought by the slaughter house workers in Kansas, has strongly supported the fighting Pullman factory workers, and has shown the road that was leading to a Labor Party.

In the second year it became a moving force and an important factor in the struggle carried on by the anthracite miners, by the textile, by the needle workers. It stood strongly for an amalgamation, for the organization of the unions, for a 40 hour working week, for class struggle instead of class collaboration, for a workers' and farmers' government.

In the third year it was fighting in the fore and led on the workers in the battle against the onslaught of injunctions. It is now doing its share in saving the miners' union from destruction.

Throughout these struggles The Daily Worker has become the recognized leading organ of the American working class.

The Uj Elore, as in the past, always will consider it a duty to make the hundred thousand Hungarian workers not only to know The Daily Worker but to follow it.

do everything possible to build The DAILY WORKER to a mass paper so that it will reach new tens of thousands of American workers with the message of Communism, for militant trade unionism, for a labor party, for a workers' and farmers' government in the United States.

Hail The DAILY WORKER!
Hail The DAILY WORKER!
of America!



LOUIS KOVETS

The Warden Couldn't Inform Lenin Where Marx's Grave Stood

As the time for the Lenin memorial celebrations in New York and other centers throughout the United States approaches the workers are more than ever interested in the life of the leader of the Russian revolution.

"In London, on the first free Sunday we had, Ilyitch took us to Marx' grave," M. Laidov writes in 'My Meetings With Lenin.' "Evidently he had often been there before us. Although we had to go right to the other side of the tremendous town and had to change trams and buses several times, Ilyitch disclosed an excellent knowledge of the city, and took us by the shortest and cheapest route. In the cemetery, although he knew where Marx' grave was situated, he asked the wardens where it was, just to see if they knew.

"As he foresaw, none of them knew, and told us to go to the office to inquire. 'It is obvious that it is not very often visited,' said Ilyitch, and led us straight to the grave."

The New York Lenin memorial meeting will be held at Madison Square Garden Jan. 21.

COOPERATIVE RESTAURANT

AND

CAFETERIA

30 UNION SQUARE
NEW YORK

Homelike Meals in Comradely Surroundings

Best food obtainable at the cheapest price possible

Only Union Help Employed

Do Your Share in Building of the Workers Cooperative Movement

Join the

PROLET COOPERATIVE STORES INCORPORATED

PROLET COS

PATRONIZE THE COOPERATIVE ENTERPRISES

COOPERATIVE SHOE REPAIR SHOP

419 1/2 SIXTH AVENUE
near 25th Street
NEW YORK

We Also Repair, Clean, Dye and Press Clothes

Careful and Responsible Attention

Only Union Repair Shop in New York City