

Background of the Textile Strike
Company Unions in the U. S. A.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!

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THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COMPANY UNIONS

By B. SHERMAN

SINCE the N.R.A. the company unions in the United States have grown very rapidly and have been assigned an increasingly important role by the employers and the government to head off the powerful movement for organization of the workers into trade unions and to smash the big strike struggles which have been sweeping the country. Before the N.R.A., the company unions had a membership of 1,263,000. Today it is estimated that they have a membership of three to five million, embracing 85 per cent of the steel workers, 50 per cent of the railway shopmen, and large sections in auto, rubber and other important industries. These company unions are organized either directly or indirectly by the employers, who by various means of compulsion force all or the majority of the workers to belong and pay dues. They usually take the form of benefit associations for mutual aid, insurance, etc. (which is effective only while the worker is employed in the factory). At other times they masquerade under the name of "employee-representation committees", or "employee-shop committees". "Elections" are held under the watchful eye of the employer, who sometimes uses marked ballots to blacklist any workers who show opposition to the company slate; in the Republic Steel mill in Youngstown, every ballot carried the badge number of the workers. The leading organ for which elections are held is usually a joint board consisting (supposedly) of an equal number of workers' representatives and employers' representatives; however, through intimidation and trickery, the company manages to have only loyal company tools elected. In the U. S. Steel Corporation mines, gunmen were used to supervise the elections. Even if in rare instances honest workers are elected, the presence of the employers' agents either intimidates them from taking up the workers' grievances, or blocks any action on those grievances that are discussed. Quite often the workers, as in the Bendix Aircraft Company, are required to join the company union as a condition of employment, and dues are deducted from their wages (check-off system).

The bourgeoisie, fearing that the A. F. of L. leaders would not be able to hold the masses in check, has followed a policy of giving simultaneous recognition to the company unions, even in those industries where the A. F. of L. unions have been granted a certain amount of recognition. The N.R.A. code authorities have given open recognition to company unions, as did statements by the N.R.A. heads, Johnson and Richberg, and decisions of the Labor Boards. An example is the decision of a Regional Labor Board, in the case of a Rochester packinghouse,

where the firing of workers who resisted the company union was upheld on the grounds that these workers were "inefficient". In order to make these organizations more palatable to the workers, the employers have made a gesture of "democratizing" them to give the outward impression that they are free from company control. This was especially true in railroad and steel. An example is the Pennsylvania Railroad shops at Altoona; the constitution and by-laws of the company union were changed, and did not carry the signatures of the company officials, but those of "dummies" instead. Instead of the company bearing the entire expense, which appears on their books, a system of dues-payments was set up to make it look like the men had formed a "voluntary" organization—\$1.00 monthly for mechanics and 50 cents for others. The Wagner Labor Disputes Bill, which was introduced into the last session of Congress, and the Labor Adjustment Act, which was finally adopted, show that the intention of the Roosevelt government was to strengthen the company unions, in spite of the fact that the N.R.A. was hailed by the A. F. of L. officials and the leaders of the Socialist Party as **guaranteeing the workers'** right to organize into trade unions of their own choice.

One of the main features of the present strike wave is that it is directed against the company unions and for the right to organize. A few results of ballots taken at random show the workers' attitude to the company unions; Pacific Fruit Express R.R.—1,313 for the trade union, 260 for the company union; Colorado Southern Railroad, a three-to-one vote against the company union; Richfield, a 3 to 1 vote against the company union; Cleveland Welding—163 against, 2 for the company union. In the company union elections in the sheet mill of Inland Steel in Indiana Harbor, only 10 per cent of the workers participated; the rest refused to vote.

The growth of company unionism confronts the American Party with a most serious task. While we cannot mechanically characterize the company unions as fascist organizations, they can very easily become the base for further fascist development in the United States. Our task is to organize a struggle against company unions, and to win the workers in these organizations for the class struggle, and for the organization of the workers into genuine trade unions. But we have said this many times before. What is necessary is to examine the tactics we have used in the past, and see what has hindered us from organizing an effective struggle against the company unions.

The resolution of the Eighth Party Convention has, in the main, stated correctly our tasks regarding the fight against company unions, and the necessity of working inside them in order to win over the workers and expose the company unions as instruments of the employers. But in the practice of the Party and the revolutionary unions there have been tendencies which led to the neglect of work inside the company unions. These were expressed in such formulations as "Smash the company unions", and "Boycott the company union elections", which in practice led away from working inside these organizations and in the factories on which they are based. In the Calumet region the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union told the steel workers to boycott the elections. In the Pittsburgh district, tendencies still exist to repeat these formulations.

Where the revolutionary unions did, however, carry on work in the company union elections by putting up slates of militant workers, important successes were gained and in many instances the slates of the revolutionary union were elected to the leading organs of the company union; a number of such examples were shown by the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union in the recent elections in the steel industry. In company union elections at the Shenango-Penn mill in Sharpsville, two out of three representatives elected were members of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, and ran openly as such. In the Republic Steel mill in Youngstown, where the ballots were marked with the workers' badge numbers, many workers defied the company's intimidation and voted with the sticker distributed by the Industrial Union, stating, "I vote against the company union and for the recognition of a real union". In the mills in the Gary area, candidates endorsed by the Industrial Union were nominated for the final election. In the National Tube mills, a young militant was elected president of the company union. These experiences could be multiplied many times by the more energetic work of the Party and the revolutionary unions.

But to elect militant workers into the organs of the company unions is not sufficient. A concrete program for work inside these organizations is necessary, utilizing all legal, semi-legal, and illegal possibilities of work in them, where such demands are raised as will develop a struggle of the workers against the form of company unionism itself, such as: calling of general meetings of the workers to discuss grievances and putting forward demands on wages, hours of labor, and other questions; the exclusion of the company representatives from the workers' meetings and from the leading organs of the company union; the workers to have the right to use the funds of the company union, or at least to control and account for them; against the compulsory dues (check-off) system; for the formation of commissions to in-

vestigate conditions of women's and children's labor; participation in the struggle for social insurance; for a poll of the workers to decide which union they prefer, with workers' supervision of the polling-places and the counting of votes to insure a secret ballot without intimidation, without marked ballots, etc.

When the company union elections take place, slates of militant workers who have influence in the factories should be entered, with the aim of electing them to leading posts. During the period leading up to the elections, immediate demands should be raised which will answer the needs of the workers in the factory, and also a demand against the interference of the company management in the workers' affairs. Generally, the Party and revolutionary unions should not advocate the boycott of company union elections, as even an effective boycott, where the company union already exists, cannot possibly gain as much for the workers as effective participation in the elections and winning of the leading posts in the company unions. There may be cases, of course, where the sentiments of the workers in the factory are against participation in these elections, and they utilize this elementary form of struggle against the company union. Here it must be the task of the Party and the Red trade unions to prepare the groundwork for participation in the elections by explaining clearly to the workers that this passive form of resistance against the company unions is insufficient to defeat them and to convince them of the necessity of actively participating in the voting and electing of trustworthy militant candidates to leading posts, bringing forward especially the older workers who, by virtue of their long service in the factory, have great influence among the workers.

If such a militant slate has obtained a majority in the elections, and if the majority of the workers in the factory have participated in the voting, the workers' representatives in the leading committee of the company union should take steps to convert this elected organ into a factory committee of the workers, functioning without the presence of the company representatives. Upon the strengthening of the position and authority of the factory committee among the workers, the question should be raised of transforming the company union into a genuine trade union, or affiliating it with an already existing trade union. Whether this is to be a revolutionary union, independent, or a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, will, of course, depend on the given situation in that particular factory, locality and industry.

In such factories where the employers are attempting to form a company union, it is necessary to organize a united front struggle, together with the trade union organizations, socialist workers, fraternal organizations, etc., against this attempt and against the compulsory enrollment of workers into a com-

pany union of either the old or new "democratized" type. The demand must be raised of the right of the workers to join any union of their own choice, the establishment of elected factory committees and their recognition by the employers, who are not to be admitted into these organs representing the workers. The most varied forms of struggle must be developed against the formation of company unions, including the organization of workers' meetings and protest strikes against any attempt to force the workers to join them or pay dues. There may be exceptional cases, where the employer will attempt to establish a company union, and the sentiments of the masses of workers are against it, that by mobilization of the workers in the factory it is possible to organize an effective boycott of the company union elections which will hinder or prevent its establishment in the factory, or at least discredit its authority. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude from this that we should advocate a boycott of company union elections in factories where the company unions exist.

The work in the company unions must go on parallel with a systematic campaign in our press, through leaflets, and at workers' meetings, against

the form of company unionism, exposing it as an instrument of the employers to prevent the organization of a genuine class trade union organization which will fight for the workers' interests. In order better to bring this forward clearly to the workers we must raise such concrete questions in the company unions themselves, as wages, conditions of labor, sickness, accidents, provisions for old age, protection of women and child labor, etc., which will actually develop a struggle of the workers against the company.

At the same time, we must link up this whole activity with the struggle against the N.R.A. and its section 7a, particularly the steel and auto codes, and against the Labor Adjustment Act and the still-pending Wagner Labor Disputes Bill, which foster and recognize company unions. With such concrete methods of struggle, the Party and revolutionary unions can not only deal a blow at the growth of company unions, but the struggle against them can be transformed into a movement for the strengthening of the revolutionary trade union movement and for the development of still greater struggles of the workers against the employers and the Roosevelt government.

THE BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS AT WEYMOUTH

By A. LOZOVSKY

THE British Trade Unions are the oldest workers' organizations in the world. They have existed for about 150 years. They have accumulated a tremendous amount of experience. It would seem that at such a respected age the Trade Union Congress should be able to give a reply with a wisdom worthy of its age to the problems facing the British working class.

In reality the Sixty-sixth Trade Union Congress, despite the boasted practicability of its leaders, consciously sidetracked the attention of the masses from real problems and occupied itself with expressing pious wishes, the carrying out of which the Congress left to the good will of the ruling classes. The crisis, which has considerably impoverished the working class, the growth of fascism, the approaching war, all occupied a place on the agenda of the Congress, but the assembled delegates, under the leadership of the General Council, did not consider it necessary to raise the question as to what are the causes for the conditions which have arisen, but mainly dealt round-about these vital questions.

The Congress was not convened for the organization of the struggle but in order to talk on the sub-

ject of how, in a peaceful manner, to get out of a blind alley. The peaceful, well-meaning and complacent nature of the Congress was disturbed by a few speeches from the revolutionary delegates, but this did not change the general picture. The bourgeois press welcomed the decisions of this Congress as an expression of wisdom on the part of the tried leaders of the trade unions, and it must be recognized that the British bourgeoisie know their trade unions. Hence their mutual trust and satisfaction with each other.

* * *

The Congress was, of course, unable to get around the question of *fascism*. Firstly, fascism had conquered in Germany and the German colleagues of the British trade unionists had gone bankrupt and had become the laughing stock of the whole world. On the other hand, fascism was beginning to take root in Great Britain—and not only in the form of Mosley's Black Shirts. Fascism finds an expression in a number of laws by the Conservative government, which, concealing itself behind the flag of democracy, is increasing the pressure on the working class and the living standard of the proletariat.

It would seem that the Congress should have definitely and sharply raised the question of fascism and that the British trade unionists should have criticized the conduct of their German colleagues, should have shown the British workers how to fight against the British fascists. At any rate that is what should have been done by people who claimed that they are caring for the interests of the working class. But the leaders of the Trade Union Congress acted in a very different way. They did not speak at all of the conduct of their German colleagues. They merely referred in passing to the question of the growth of fascism in Great Britain and they launched the whole force of their dissatisfaction against Hitler, Mussolini and Co. Was it worth while wasting so much powder and shot to prove that Hitler and Mussolini are killing and torturing workers? Was it worth while talking on this subject when every worker knows what the German and Italian fascists are? It would seem that the British trade unionists should have fought against the British fascists first of all. It would seem that the British trade unionists should have disclosed to the entire working class of Great Britain the causes of the collapse of the German trade union movement and should have drawn corresponding conclusions. But the leaders of the Trade Union Congress preferred to evade this question.

Why did the question of the conduct of the leaders of the German trade unions not come under consideration by the organizers and leaders of the Congress? Because the leaders of the British trade unions had no objection to make to the policy of their German colleagues, because they themselves were acting in the same way as the leaders of the German trade unions had acted.

In reality, had not the German trade union officials howled everywhere against dictatorship from the Right and from the "Left"? They had. Mr. Citrine did not think up anything original, he simply translated into English the things which his German colleagues had said before him.

What does this attack against dictatorship from the "Left" mean? It means an attack against the U.S.S.R., an attack against the forceful overthrow of the bourgeoisie and against the capturing of power by the proletariat. This is not only an attack against the workers of the land where they have already taken power, but it is a direct defense of their own bourgeoisie and that of other countries against the danger of the proletarian revolution. This is being done at a time when the worst enemies of the U.S.S.R. are forced to admit the great achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Trade Union Congress reiterated its belief in freedom and democracy. It stated that "great freedom and more effective democracy can only be secured by strengthening the trade unions, the Labor

Party and the Cooperative Movement and by uniting the struggle of these three sections of the working class". Let us admit that the British trade unions, the Labor Party and the Cooperative Movement are still too weak to bring about "effective democracy", but German social-democracy, the German trade unions and the German Cooperative Societies were, in their time, powerful organizations. Why did things terminate with the smashing of the reformist trade unions in Germany? The leaders of the British trade unions pretend that they do not understand the reasons. They pretend this in order that the members of their trade unions will not understand the essence of the question. But, nevertheless, the question is a very simple one. *The German trade unions were smashed because their leaders carried on the same policy of class collaboration as do the British trade unions. The British trade unions are approaching serious cataclysms because they are following in the footsteps of the German trade unions.* This, for example, can be seen from the fact that Mr. Citrine denies fascization in Great Britain. He states that there is not and will not be any resemblance between the unemployed training camps in Great Britain, whatever the condition in them, and the forced labor camps in Germany. He and his colleagues are for police protection for fascist meetings. He and his colleagues spoke against the anti-fascist demonstration appointed for September 9. This means that the leaders of the British trade unions literally repeat word for word what their German colleagues formerly said. And they want to assure us that for this very reason the result will be better.

* * *

If the British trade union leaders have taken the position of their German colleagues on the question of fascism, then on the question of *war* they have dragged out ancient finery and have repeated what Burns, Henderson and Shaw said and did during the World Imperialist War. The Congress first of all establishes in its resolution *the difference between a defensive and offensive war*. It promises complete support to the British Government "in all the risks and consequences" connected with participation in collective measures against those who break the peace. But, remembering that Britain also may be the one that violates peace, the resolution proposed by Henderson promises to call a "special Congress for discussing the best way out of the situation" if England is recognized as the aggressor. This resolution shows that the leaders of the British trade unions are giving *carte blanche* in advance to the Conservative Government. And this is in peace time! What will these gentlemen say when war actually begins? The thing becomes still more expressive when the resolution gets to the forms and methods of the struggle against war. Here we find

a perfectly open abandonment even of the decision made by the previous trade union Congress. The resolution of the 66th Congress states:

"The absence of an independent trade union movement in countries like Germany, Italy, Austria and other countries makes it impossible to declare a general strike against the governments of those countries. In other countries like Japan, for example, the weakness of the trade union organizations makes it impossible for them to exert pressure on the government."

The position is, therefore, as follows: As the trade unions of Germany, Austria, Italy and Japan cannot declare a general strike against war, the trade unions of Great Britain must support their government. In general, here is set out, in different words, the position on war of the leaders of the British trade unions, a line which was branded so fiercely by Lenin during and after the war.

One of the delegates was right when he pointed out that the resolution is a step backwards from the position of last year's Congress, that it says nothing on the question of the U.S.S.R. and only aims at "giving the trade unions sleeping sickness" and thus making it easier for the Conservative Government to support Japan. But it was difficult to move the assembled delegates by pointing out such "trifles". The trade union leaders were resolved to show their patriotism and loyalty. They were resolved to show to the British bourgeoisie that they were, are and will remain the defenders of the capitalist fatherland, and moreover they did this so openly that no mistake is possible on this question. All this took place at a moment when the British government is intriguing with Japan against the U.S.S.R., when the tenseness of international relations, as the result of the aggressive policy of Japan and Germany, has reached its boiling point. Truly, no better service could have been given to the Diehards!

* * *

The *united front* also received the attention of the assembled delegates. But the speakers, the general council, and the official orators did not think it necessary to raise the question of the united front seriously, to explain its advantages, to concentrate the whole energy of the masses for resistance to the capitalist offensive. The thing in the united front which interested and worried them was not the struggle against the bourgeoisie but the fact that it was a *united front with the Communists*.

The united front with the Conservative government for the defense of the imperialist interests of the British bourgeoisie—this they understood, this they could agree to and this they looked upon as their duty. But to create a united front with the Communists—this seemed to them absolutely inadmissible! The report of the general council which was discussed

at the Congress condemns the Trade Union Councils which "established the united front with organizations subordinate to the Communist Party". The reporters were interested only in one question—how to avoid being in the united front with the Communists against the bourgeoisie. It could be seen from the speeches, from the discussions at the Congress and from the actions of the trade unions that the trade union leaders genuinely prefer the united front with the bourgeoisie against the Communists, against the revolutionary wing of the workers' movement.

To do justice to the leaders of the trade unions, they talked of this openly, not wrapping up their anti-Communist views and objections in cloudy phrases. They consider that the trade unions, the Labor Party and the Cooperative Movement can do everything themselves. But even the British trade union leaders are liable to make a mistake! The demonstration on September 9 in Hyde Park showed that the little Communist Party carried with it in the struggle against fascism large masses of organized workers, although the trade unions, the Labor Party and the Cooperative Societies called on their members not to take part in this demonstration.

* * *

The Congress at Weymouth had no time to deal with such prosaic questions as *wages*, although over two million workers in Great Britain are now demanding wage increases, that were discussed at the Congresses of the separate trade unions this summer. The Congress made a few decisions on *social insurance*, but—and this is the essence of the whole policy of the trade union leaders—it did not say how and what to do to abolish the old insurance law and create a better one. It is true that in its decisions, the Congress points out the path for carrying out social insurance—a path which has already been tried and tested in Great Britain. The Trade Union Congress calls on the Labor government of the future to repeal this law. But on what grounds can we feel sure that a third Labor government will repeal this law? Do we not remember how the so-called Labor government refused to pass a law limiting the working day to seven hours for the miners, how it cut wages, how it supported strike-breakers in a number of strikes, etc.? What guarantee have we that the Labor government will repeal this law? For, despite the refusal of the Labor government to establish a shorter working day in the mines, it nevertheless continues to have the support of the trade unions. On what grounds can we suppose that the third Labor government will be better than the first two? It will be better, say the trade union leaders, if it receives a majority of votes. But in Germany the social-democratic government had a majority for quite a long time after the November Revolution. In Sweden the social-democratic government has a majority at present.

Why have they given nothing to the working class? Evidently it is not merely a matter of obtaining a formal majority, but of the fact that the first and second Labor governments of Great Britain preserved the inviolability of private property, and there are no grounds for thinking that a third Labor government will not occupy itself with this same pious matter! The appeal to the third Labor government, the demagogic promises that the third Labor government will make some radical changes, must meet with strong resistance from the revolutionary workers. It may be objected that MacDonald and Thomas are no longer there, that they have gone over to the Conservatives, and that now the Labor government will be more "Left" without them. It is true that MacDonald and Thomas are no longer there, but their friends, their fellow thinkers, Henderson and Co., still remain! On what grounds are we to suppose that the Chairman of the Disarmament Commission and the delegate of the Conservative government to Geneva, Arthur Henderson, will be more radical than MacDonald on questions of home and foreign policy? There are no grounds for such a supposition and there could not be.

* * *

In order to distract the attention of the working masses from the difficult and concrete questions of modern life, the Congress occupied itself with the big questions of the "socialization" of the iron and steel industry. The Congress adopted a resolution on the *reorganization of the cotton and coal industries*. What is this socialization of industry as understood by the trade unionists? In essence, the proposal of the Trade Union Congress amounts to the *trustification of all industry, the greater concentration of all industry and the transfer of the management of all industry to the biggest trusts*. Of course united control, national ownership and control of all industry, self-government, responsible representatives, conditions of the workers, the development of the spirit of self-government, the right to participate in the control and management of industry, etc., all find a place in the resolution. But all this is extremely vague and indefinite. Who must socialize industry? And why must the capitalists agree to socialization? But the decisions of the Congress take as their starting point the consent of the capitalists to this proposal. It is well known that capitalists only agree to combinations which give them an additional income. And if the Trade Union Congress is calculating to obtain the agreement of the employers, this means that it is not averse to guaranteeing them an additional income compared with what they receive under the present form of management of industry. But these motives for socialization are our old acquaintances! We heard this song from the mouths of the leaders of the German trade unions. They also "socialized" industry, organized control, participated in the management of

industry for long years. In reality this was merely empty talk, socialization on paper to throw dust in the eyes of the broad masses of the working class. The English trade unionists know what German "socialization" led to. The aim of "socialization" advanced by the Trade Union Congress at Weymouth was to convince the working masses that it was possible to bring about socialization without the means of production passing into the hands of the workers, that socialization was possible without revolution, without the expropriation of the expropriators, that it was possible to have a radical reconstruction of all industry by bringing the method of conviction to bear on the employers. We know how the German song on socialization ended. Where is our guarantee that the British melody on the same theme will not lead to the same results?

* * *

How can we explain that this British Trade Union Congress failed to resort to "Left" phrases to which they resorted at former congresses? This is explained above all, by the approach of the general election. The trade union leaders wanted to show the petty bourgeoisie and the big "progressive" bourgeoisie that the coming of a Labor government to power has nothing in common with revolution. What was it that caused uneasiness to the British bourgeoisie? The fact that a year ago the British trade unions decided in favor of a strike against war. In order to prove their loyalty to the interests of British imperialism, the leaders of the trade unions and the Labor Party repudiated the strike and announced that they would support their own country in case of a "defensive" war. The bourgeoisie did not want the Congress to take up seriously and thoroughly the struggle against British fascism. The trade union leaders directed all their rage against German fascism and thus left their native fascists and the fascist measures of the Conservative government in the shadow. The bourgeoisie did not want the Congress to occupy itself seriously with the question of increased wages. The trade union leaders avoided this question, demonstrating their readiness to prove in practice the harmlessness of the future Labor government for the ruling classes. By means of the decisions of the Congress, the leaders wanted to say to the bourgeoisie: "See how moderate and respectable we are. You have no need to fear a replacement of Conservatives by Laborites. We guarantee you the continuity of British policy and a loyal attitude towards the Constitution and the pillars of Great Britain." The meaning of these decisions cannot be understood in any other way.

This means that the trade union leaders did not think it necessary to conceal their well-intentioned patriotic face. There was no change in type in the policy of the trade union leaders. There was a more

open exposition of their policy in view of the approaching general elections and the sharpening inner and outer contradictions. Thus and only thus is it possible to explain the political meaning of the Weymouth Congress. But this means that the break between the upper ranks and the rank and file of trade unions has deepened still further. In reality, while the trade union leaders think it necessary to demonstrate their deep loyalty to the capitalist system, the trade union members are displaying an ever-greater readiness to fight for an improved standard of living, a readiness to fight against fascism. The demonstration on September 9 was a brilliant example of the gulf which separates the lower trade union organizations from their leaders. Can the decisions of the Weymouth Congress bridge this gulf? There is no basis for such a supposition. On the contrary, the trade union members will be profoundly disappointed at this Congress. They will be deceived in their hopes and will begin to seek for a way out along new revolutionary lines. It could not be otherwise. In the places where the trade union leaders want to cast in the reformist mold the entire workers' movement, where the class struggle is replaced by loyal expectation, where all the demands of the workers are postponed until electoral victories by the Labor Party, and where all plans are based on the idea of working in common with the "progressive" bourgeoisie and on the many forms of class collaboration—the gap between the upper and lower ranks of the trade unions cannot help but increase. Everything depends on our activity in the trade unions. Everything depends on how the revolutionary workers are able to utilize the conditions for drawing the trade union members over to the side of the class struggle.

* * *

The Congress of the British Trade Unions at Weymouth could freely produce its reformist brew because there was an insignificant revolutionary opposition at the Congress. Only five or six delegates spoke against the official attitude, against the translation of the theory and practice of the German trade unions into English. But the opposition was too weak properly to brand the policy of the trade union leaders, and this is an important question for Great Britain. It is plain that discontent is growing among the masses. It is known to everyone that deep down among the British trade unionists this dissatisfaction is becoming extremely sharp. But why has the opposition been so weak up till now? Why have the British trade union leaders been able to carry on their policy, which has already led the British proletariat to severe defeats and will do so in the future? Because the *revolutionary workers, members of the Communist Party, are not all members of trade unions; because not all those who are in trade unions work there in a planned manner, seeking to win functions in the trade unions,*

because among our comrades in Great Britain there still exist a number of incorrect conceptions which prevent our penetration into the midst of the trade unionists.

On the one hand, there are Communists who think that they should act in trade unions in such a way as not to touch the feelings of the leaders, that they should adapt themselves to the tactics and policy of the General Council. Hence they keep quiet at the meetings of the local branches, at the Congresses of the various unions, in respect to our revolutionary aims and tasks, our tactics; hence some of the speeches are entirely colorless. On the other hand, there still exist tendencies to underestimate the significance and role of the trade unions in the labor movement in Great Britain. The comrades forget that the trade unions are the oldest and most influential workers' organizations in Great Britain, that they carry with them not only the members of unions but big masses of unorganized workers, and that failure to work in the trade unions or a conciliatory attitude towards the failure to work in the trade unions is a *crime against the working class of Great Britain.*

In order to carry on revolutionary work in the trade unions in a way that will be useful for the British proletariat, it is necessary to know exactly what is the Labor Party, what the leaders of the trade unions are like, etc. An incorrect approach to this may hinder our work of liberating the broad masses from reformist illusions. And the fact that such incorrect views exist can be seen, for example, from the last article of Comrade Mahone in the *Labor Monthly* on the Trade Union Congress. We read in this article that

"... the British bureaucrats have learned nothing from the events in Germany and Austria [which is true]. They are doing more than simply repeating the policy of their colleagues in these countries [this is already an exaggeration]. They offer themselves to the bourgeoisie, imagine that they are capable of doing the work which was performed by the National-Socialist Party in Germany [but this is altogether incorrect]."

What is meant by the last statement? That the Laborites and the trade union leaders are the same as the national-socialists in Germany. This statement shows that many comrades do not yet understand the difference between social-fascism and fascism, though the Twelfth and Thirteenth Plenums of the E.C.C.I. explained popularly and in great detail what is the difference. To say that the labor leaders, the leaders of the trade unions of the Labor Party, are the same as the German fascists, means to put oneself in a ridiculous position before the members of these organizations. It means to cut off the path towards these masses, because the members of the Labor Party and the trade unions, however bad may be their opinion of

their leaders, nevertheless cannot agree (and quite correctly) that the Laborites and the trade union leaders are the same as the national-socialists. And then, who wants such a theory? What use is it and what can it give to the labor movement of Great Britain and our Party? It is true that the Laborites and trade union leaders are clearing the path for fascism. As they do not struggle against fascism, as they do not mobilize the working class against the fascist measures of the English bourgeoisie, as they lump together dictatorship from the Right and dictatorship from the Left, as they struggle against the united front, *they are clearing the path for fascism*. But does this mean that they themselves are fascists? No, it does not. Our comrades in Great Britain must understand this and not write in an influential magazine such sentiments which are only able to hinder the revolutionary workers from coming closer to the broad masses of the organized workers of Great Britain.

* * *

Trade Union Congresses are extremely important events in Great Britain. Both the workers and the bourgeoisie pay great attention to them, for in Great Britain the trade unions have an enormous weight. They have many advantages and therefore we have the right to demand a great deal from them.

The Weymouth Congress took place under the banner of struggle against the united front. The leaders of the British trade unions are more responsible than any others for the fact that a resolution hostile to the united front, a resolution demanding the dissolution of all revolutionary trade union organizations, the dissolution of the Red International of Labor Unions (R.I.L.U.), was introduced at the General Council of the Amsterdam International which met at Weymouth on the eve of the Trade Union Congress. The idea of this ridiculous resolution permeated the work of the Congress of the British trade unions in Weymouth.

Instead of bringing to light their own weaknesses, the causes for the destruction of the trade unions in

Germany and Austria, instead of admitting the bankruptcy of their own policy and tactics, instead of this, the General Council of the Amsterdam International, under the leadership of Citrine, the leader of the British trade unions, proposed that all the revolutionary trade unions and the R.I.L.U. should dissolve, *i.e.*, should admit the unlawfulness of their own existence and bow down to the political bankrupts. Can we take a serious attitude towards such decisions? Of course not!

While the revolutionary trade unions in all countries are under the hurricane of fire from the bourgeoisie, while in a number of countries the revolutionary trade union movement has been driven underground, the Amsterdam International, at the head of which stand the British trade unionists, *demand the dissolution of our revolutionary organizations, i.e., they come to the aid of the bourgeoisie*. At present the British trade union leaders are not only answerable for the policy of the British trade union movement, but also for the policy of the Amsterdam International, because the British Trade Union Congress contains about half the members of the entire Amsterdam International. As the strongest organization of the Amsterdam International, the Trade Union Congress determines its policy and tactics, determines its decisions, plays a leading role and therefore must take the responsibility. While the Amsterdam leaders demand the dissolution of the revolutionary trade union organizations, the R.I.L.U. does not present such a demand to the reformist unions. The R.I.L.U. does not, and never did, demand the dissolution of the trade unions. We propose the united front of the revolutionary and reformist trade unions in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. In a number of countries we sharply raised the question of the *unity of the trade union movement on the basis of the class struggle*. This comparison alone testifies to the fact that the Amsterdam International is continuing its splitting policy, while the R.I.L.U. is stubbornly and systematically continuing its policy of the united front and the unity of the trade union movement.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE GENERAL STRIKE IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY*

By SAM BROWN

FIVE hundred thousand workers are out in a general strike in the textile industry in the United States. The general strike, embracing the cotton textile workers, began in the first week of September, and may any day spread to the woolen, rayon and silk branches of the industry, involving close to a million workers in the industry. Such is the magnitude and sweep of the present general strike in the industry. The decision for the general strike was made on August 13, at the convention of the United Textile Workers Union (affiliated with the American Federation of Labor), under whose influence the general strike took place.

The textile workers are displaying heroic strike militancy and determination to win the strike. This is met by a most brutal and savage attack by the employers and the government. Already in the first week of the strike ten workers in the South were murdered on the picket line by the National Guardsmen and the police. Troops are being mobilized in practically every one of the Southern and New England states in the country.

The general strike in the textile industry comes close upon the heels of the historic San Francisco general strike. The persistence of the strike wave and the general strike character of the strike struggles continue to charge the social atmosphere in the country.

Why are the textile workers striking? Why have they resorted to the general strike weapon? Why have all the attempts of the A. F. of L. top bureaucracy at the head of the U.T.W., to prevent the general strike, failed so miserably? *They are striking first of all because of the slave and pauper conditions imposed upon them by the N.R.A. textile codes. Secondly, because the promises of the McMahons, the Gormans, the Rieves (the heads of the U.T.W.) that without strike struggles they will gain the right to organize and abolish the hunger conditions of the textile code have only disarmed the workers and strengthened the hand of the employers.*

The textile code was the first N.R.A. code introduced by the Roosevelt administration. The A. F. of L. leaders were a party to this code. The workers were promised, both by the Roosevelt administration and the A. F. of L. leaders, that the textile code would raise wages, heavily cut down the unemployment in the industry, if not abolish unemployment

altogether, and, of course, eliminate child labor. What happened, however, to the food basket of the workers when the textile code was put into effect? The very low weekly wage of \$12 set by the textile code, with the differential wage for the South, has actually brought about such miserable conditions that the workers in the industry are now getting \$6 and \$7 a week. But that is not all. The vicious stretch-out system compelling the workers to tend more machines has increased the speed-up and, of course, increased unemployment. And on top of it all, with lower wages and more unemployment, the cost of living has risen skyward! These bad conditions were beginning to come to a head when the Textile Board Code Authority, with the approval of General Johnson, had, in the beginning of the month of June, decided to curtail production by 25 per cent. What did this order mean? It immediately resulted in more wage cuts, more unemployment and more of the grave-digging stretch-out system.

When the order was issued for the 25 per cent cut of production the workers were clamoring for struggle. The cry went up for a general strike in the industry. The demand for a general strike already then was so great, that McMahon, the old experienced strikebreaker at the head of the U.T.W., felt compelled to issue a formal threat for a general strike. To fool the workers he even set a date for the general strike for June 2. After setting the date, McMahon began to confer with General Johnson and the general strike was called off. In this case the only concession McMahon got was—another labor representative on the Textile Code Board Authority!

Following the calling off of the general strike the conditions in the industry had become unbearable. McMahon may have succeeded in calling off the general strike but the workers were beginning to fight back. At the beginning of the summer a wave of local strike struggles surged through the textile centers in the South. These Southern local textile struggles distinguished themselves by the great militancy of the workers and the murderous tactics of the employers (several workers were killed in the strikes). At the same time a veritable wave of organization took place amongst the workers, forging a weapon of struggle against the intolerable conditions imposed upon them by the N.R.A. textile code.

The organization surge amongst the textile workers took place through the medium of the United Textile Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Within a period of one year,

* This article was written at the beginning of the general strike.

573 new locals and 230,000 new members were added to the Union. A growth of 200,000 new members in one union in such a short period, is unknown in the history of the American labor movement. It is only in the light of the tremendous sweep and the growing political importance of the present strike wave that we can understand the full meaning and phenomenal growth of the membership in one union. And under such conditions of a great ferment among the masses and raging local struggles, did the convention of the U.T.W. take place. In a nutshell, what forced the A. F. of L. top leaders to issue the call for the general strike? There are two main forces which give the answer to the question. *One—the convention met in the midst of raging local struggles in the industry and against the background of a series of threatening local strikes. Two—the fact that the union was composed almost entirely of a new membership, a large number of the delegates and local strike leaders at the convention came from the midst of the striking workers themselves.* Herein lies the key to the understanding of the development of the general strike in the textile industry.

The tactics of the top leadership of the union at the convention was first to try to prevent the strike, and, failing in this, to cripple the growth of the general strike movement.

The overwhelming majority of the delegates demanded that the convention go on record in favor of the general strike. In fact the decision for the strike was almost unanimous. Out of a reported attendance of 500 delegates only ten voted against a general strike. It is clear that under such circumstances the top bureaucracy did not dare openly to oppose the general strike. Their maneuvers, however, were to retain in their hands the right to set the date for the general strike. The top leaders introduced a motion that the Executive Board be empowered to set the date. But the workers thought better. The convention passed a motion that it be *mandatory* that the general strike begin on or about September 1. Here we can clearly see how the workers have been learning from the experience of the threatening strikes in steel and auto. In both of these industries, the A. F. of L. leaders, under the pressure of the workers, issued general strike calls. In the steel industry, the A. F. of L. convention made an official decision for a general strike. And in both cases the general strikes were called off by the bureaucrats. The decision to make the strike call mandatory was indeed based on the lessons the textile workers have learned from the experiences of the treacheries of the A. F. of L. leaders in the steel and auto industries.

The delegates at the convention demanded that a strike call immediately be issued to the other branches of the textile industry, such as rayon and silk. This would mean that close to a million workers would be immediately involved in the general strike.

The bureaucracy fought this proposal tooth and nail. Finally, a compromise amendment was passed, that in principle it is agreed that the other related branches of the textile industry should go out on strike, but the actual call and the date be left in the hands of the Executive Committees of the respective unions.

The bureaucracy succeeded, with the help of the socialist leaders, in retaining in their hands the leadership of the general strike. Up to the very last minute the top leaders hoped to prevent the outbreak of the general strike. Right after the convention, Gorman, the head of the general strike committee, declared that despite the convention decision that the strike call was mandatory, there was still hope for arbitration and negotiations which would avoid the calling of the general strike. At the convention the McMahons and Gormans praised President Roosevelt to the skies. Gorman said that "if the President knew of the bad conditions in the textile industry he would never tolerate it". McMahon, the head of the union, declared that "only President Roosevelt can stop the strike". Green (President of the A. F. of L.), who was compelled to endorse the textile strike, threw in a good word for the President. What was the object of this lavish praise for the President? To prepare the ground for the calling off of the strike by some compromise agreement and promise which will be made by the President, with the enthusiastic endorsement of the A. F. of L. leaders. It was the same strategy applied by the bureaucrats to call off the general strike in steel and auto. But the textile workers upset the neat strike-breaking strategy of the A. F. of L. leaders. *On the date set by the convention, the unions in the localities, the workers themselves, went out on strike, thus making the general strike an accomplished fact before the strikebreaking leadership had a chance to call it off.*

The attitude of the delegates to the convention towards the N.R.A. was very hostile. A resolution was introduced terming the "N.R.A. as agencies and associations of employers" and, what is most significant, the resolution also demanded that all officials of the union now serving as members of the N.R.A. Boards should resign from them. The bureaucrats succeeded in defeating the resolution. The real sentiment of the delegates, however, was such that the correspondent of the *New York Times* in describing the discussion on this resolution, writes as follows: "The defeat of this (N.R.A.) resolution came after a stormy debate in which Emil Rieve . . . [socialist trade union leader] urged the convention to vote down the resolution as an extreme measure." The militant attitude of the delegates at the convention can also be seen in their resolution to condemn President Green for his strikebreaking utterances in reference to the general strike in San Francisco. Here, too, the top leadership succeeded in defeating the

resolution, but by a small margin. The vote against the resolution was 193, and for, 103.

The political militant temper of the workers is also revealed by the convention's unanimous endorsement of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill, and condemning fascism and the Nazi regime. The convention adopted a resolution for the formation of a labor party.

* * *

The revolutionary opposition, under the leadership of the C.P., undoubtedly exercised political influence at the convention and among a large number of the delegates. The resolutions for Unemployment Insurance, for the withdrawal from the N.R.A. Boards, and condemning Green for his attitude on the San Francisco general strike, are measures that are being sponsored by our Party. Of special significance is the resolution against the N.R.A. Boards. The textile convention of the U.T.W. was the first A. F. of L. convention where a resolution attacking the N.R.A. Boards received such a large vote. The vote also indicates that as the strike wave continues it is developing more and more *consciously* against the N.R.A., while the A. F. of L. leaders cling to the N.R.A.

But, despite our political influence, the strength of the revolutionary opposition within the A. F. of L. textile union, as a *trade union force*, is very weak and does not exist at all in many of the strategic locals and strike areas. What are the main reasons for our isolation from large sections of the textile workers? Why is it that in the face of such a militant convention, yes, and in the face of our political influence at the convention, the national leadership of this momentous and historic general strike remained in the hands of the A. F. of L. leaders? And, what is even a more burning question: why, in the face of such an upheaval of the textile workers, cannot we say that we are a *determining* force in a single local of the U.T.W. and in a single local strike area? To give a general answer one may say that it is due to the sectarian character of the work of the *National Textile Workers Union*. However, it is necessary to lay our fingers on the concrete expression of this sectarianism. Two hundred thousand workers, in a period of one year, joined the A. F. of L. textile union. This, indeed, was a mass movement of great dimensions. But where were we? Unfortunately, this mass movement passed us by. While tens of thousands were flocking into the U.T.W., some thought that the U.T.W. was declining in membership and influence. In the early summer months of this year over 30,000 textile workers were striking in the South, yet we were hardly in contact with them. To be sure, we issued united front appeals to the textile workers, we adopted resolutions and issued slogans in favor of one united

trade union movement in the textile industry. But those united front appeals had to be given flesh and blood. Concretely, what did unity and a united trade union movement mean under the specific conditions in the textile industry when 200,000 workers joined the A. F. of L. union and the N.T.W.U. (with a membership of 2,500) became much weaker? *It means that we should have gone along with the 200,000 workers into the U.T.W. It further meant that without dissolving completely our independent force (N.T.W.U.), it was necessary to place the whole weight of our united front work inside the U.T.W., and to concentrate to win the leadership in some of the union locals and regional strike struggles.*

How can we overcome our past mistakes and our present weak position in the general strike? The demands adopted by the convention, for higher wages, shorter hours and against the stretch-out system, must be adopted as our own. We will not succeed in developing any real united front actions, if we attempt now, in the midst of the strike situation, to counterpose the "code" of the National Textile Workers Union to the demands adopted by the convention. Our forces should become the best fighters for these economic demands. Our forces should become the best fighters for the recognition of the union, chosen by the overwhelming majority of the workers, the U.T.W. union. Of course, we must fight the attempts of the top leaders to eliminate from joint struggles the workers belonging to the independent and the revolutionary union in the textile industry. But the way to defeat the bureaucrats is to become one with the mass of the striking workers who belong to the U.T.W. It is the action of the local unions, it is the action of the workers in the local strike area, which will ensure the success of the general strike. It is, therefore, necessary to concentrate *on the development of local rank-and-file control of the local unions and especially to developing and organizing strike committees from the midst of the workers themselves.* In issuing the slogans for rank-and-file control, etc., we must also remember that many of the local leaders come from the ranks of the workers and are workers in the mills. These local leaders must not be lumped together with the top bureaucrats. *We must learn to differentiate.* Of course, many of these local leaders are confused, inexperienced and suffer from many illusions. It is, therefore, also necessary to be critical of them, criticize them before the workers when necessary. However, this must be done in a spirit of giving them sound advice and thus winning them for our united front actions and proposals.

What are the maneuvers of the A. F. of L. leaders and the general strike committee? It is to place the whole strike into the hands of Roosevelt. Knowing the temper of the workers, the leaders move cautiously, but all of their steps are in the direction of break-

ing the strike. Roosevelt appointed a committee to investigate the cause of the strike. This committee is already negotiating with the top leaders. Wherein lies the danger of these negotiations? The leaders and Roosevelt will find some "formula" which will be satisfactory to the Administration and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. The formula will most likely consist, due to the militancy of the workers, of a nominal and partial recognition of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and to refer to arbitration the burning economic demands raised by the workers. It is clear that while we must be in the forefront in the struggle against company unionism and for the recognition of the union, we must tell the workers that the general strike cannot be considered won until the economic demands are granted. Here, we should popularize amongst the workers, the lessons and experiences of the maneuvers of the A. F. of L. leaders and Roosevelt in the auto and steel strikes. We must organize the workers against calling off the general strike, until the economic demands are won.

Upon the basis of an agreement with Roosevelt the A. F. of L. leaders will announce a victory and call off the general strike. Just as the strike in the localities on the set date of the general strike forced the leaders to give official sanction to the strike, so the continuation of local strike struggles despite the Roosevelt formula, will defeat the attempts of the A. F. of L. leaders to call off the general strike.

The ease with which the A. F. of L. leaders have nipped in the bud the general strikes in the steel and auto industries, can be explained by the fact that not a single plant in these industries struck on the date set for the general strikes. The situation in textile will be different, however. If the strikers do not feel that they have gained anything, in many localities, even after the decision of the top leaders to call off the general strike, local strike struggles will continue. *If these local strike struggles will be given sustained vitality they can become the means for the continuation and further spread of the general strike. But this indeed in a large measure depends upon us, on how well our forces will be mobilized to work inside the U.T.W. A few local strategic points under our influence will give power to our slogans and seriously interfere with the strike-breaking actions, and policies of the A. F. of L. leadership.*

The A. F. of L. leaders do not feel quite able by themselves to "lead" the workers. They look for partners. The workers are too militant and it is necessary to give a more convincing "Left" coloring to strikebreaking actions. And for the first time in many years an outstanding leader of the Socialist Party addressed the recent convention of the U.T.W. Thomas attacked the N.R.A. as a bird of prey. He

did not spare any words in his condemnation of the N.R.A. This was insofar as words are concerned. But when it came to deeds that would really decide the fate of the general strike the Socialist Party leaders showed their true colors. Emil Rieve, the outstanding socialist trade union leader in the textile industry, gave support to practically every move of McMahan and the other top leaders at the convention. It was Rieve who was put forward, to launch the attack on those delegates who demanded that the labor officials should withdraw from the N.R.A. Boards (this despite the resolution adopted at the recent S.P. convention favoring such a proposal) and it was he who bitterly opposed the demands of the delegates for the extension of the general strike call to all related branches of the textile industry. And in speaking of the Socialist Party leaders we should not forget the little nests which Muste has been building in the textile industry. In practice the S.P.-Muste leaders are supporting the A. F. of L. strike-breaking leadership and at the same time they are retaining their independent role. This is exactly what happened in the Toledo strike. In the textile industry, where there is so much militancy and opposition moods amongst the workers, there is great danger that the S.P. and Musteites will, through their phrases and sham "Left" policies, arrest the discontent of the workers. The outcome of the general strike in the textile industry to an extent depends on how well we will combat the A. F. of L.-S.P.-Muste open or tacit alliance.

The bureaucracy of the U.T.W. knows that the C.P. is the only political force in the country which opposes their strikebreaking tactics and leadership. The strikebreaking leaders realize that the revolutionary trade union opposition groups and the National Textile Workers Union are the trade union forces that will expose the strikebreaking tactics of the top leadership of the U.T.W. The McMahons, the Rieves, are haunted by the splendid leadership which our Party gave to the San Francisco longshoremen and they know that the C.P. was the driving force in the San Francisco general strike. These gentlemen know that our Party is not only active in the leading strike struggles in the country, but that the Party's leadership and its united front policies are beginning to take effect amongst the workers. Any wonder that Gorman, the head of the General Strike Committee, sent a wire to the governors of the states demanding that the strikebreakers and . . . Communists be driven off the picket lines? This, indeed, is very clever of Mr. Gorman, it shows great strikebreaking statesmanship. However, the self-sacrificing, revolutionary, clear-headed leadership of the Communists will convince the workers that in order to win the strike, that in order to drive the scabs off the picket line, it is necessary to drive out from their midst the Gormans and place at the head

of their pickets—their most devoted fellow workers, the Communists.

Our Party is grasping the full significance of the general strike in the textile industry. It is mobilizing all its forces behind the strike. The line of the Party, based on the recent experiences in the various strike struggles, is clear. In a leading editorial in the *Daily Worker*, the Party correctly stated that:

“The textile workers who have already voted for strike must not allow the N.R.A. and their union misleaders to betray their demands with these fake concessions.

“All local unions in the textile industry and all individual textile workers should at once tell William Green and the president of the U.T.W., Francis McMahon, that they are not going to permit their strike once more to be betrayed by the signing of ‘agreements’ with the N.R.A. which do not grant a single one of their demands.

“The local unions of the U.T.W. should take immediate steps to set up their broad, united front strike committees, with every department in the mill represented, the committee to include those workers outside the U.T.W.

“The strike must be organized at once. McMahon and Green will not organize the strike. It is up to the local unions, the opposition group and the National Textile Union to take the strike preparations into their own hands. Unity of all textile workers and thorough strike preparations is now the task.”

The Party is also organizing united front solidarity action in support of the general strike.

The line of the Party in the midst of the general strike situation is clear and correct. All depends now on how this line will be carried out in practice.

THE TASKS OF THE SOVIET TEXTILE INDUSTRY DURING THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

By I. YEREMIN

THE Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. adopted the Second Five-Year Plan of National Economy, which is a stupendous program for the further advance of Socialism along the whole front, for the final liquidation of capitalist elements and classes in general, and the construction of classless Socialist society. It is a program for the completion of the technical reconstruction of national economy as a whole and for an unparalleled improvement in the well-being of the toiling masses. One of the most important tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan is to bring about a sharp increase in the production of articles for general use.

Of decisive importance for the further powerful development of light industry is the enormous growth of the national income planned by the Congress (from 45,500 million roubles to 100,000 million roubles or an increase of 120 per cent), the increase of the quantity of products to be consumed, by 140 per cent, the increase in the commodity turnover by 150 per cent (from 31,900 million roubles to 80,000 million roubles) and likewise an increase of 150 per cent in the manufacture of articles for general consumption. The Second Five-Year Plan provides for immediate consumption as compared with the manufacture of the means of production, in spite of the further tremendous growth of the latter.

The brilliant victories secured by the working class in the U.S.S.R. during the First Five-Year Plan

and above all the great victories obtained in the development of heavy industry have created all the conditions necessary for a development of the light industry such as can only be achieved in a Socialist system of economy and be carried out under the leadership of the Leninist C.C., headed by Comrade Stalin.

THE GROWTH OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND THE TASK OF IMPROVING QUALITY

The C.C. of the C.P.S.U. has paid a great deal of attention to questions concerning the textile industry, and has indicated a series of very important shortcomings in the work of this branch of national economy.

The work of the basic branches of the textile industry has not been sufficiently satisfactory for a number of years. As a rule, most of the textile factories have systematically failed to fulfill their annual plans, either in respect to quantity or quality. Raw material has been stored or utilized without sufficient care, as the result of which thousands of tons of cotton, wool, flax, etc., have been expended every year, more than was necessary.

In the rush to reduce cost of production, the textile industry frequently took the line of least resistance, and did away with some necessary intermediate technological processes, hiding these “innovations” under the name of rationalization.

Inadequate attention was paid to the assortment of the products and to their quality. Substitutes were put into the manufacturing process without proper preparations. An extensive practice was made of manufacturing flimsy qualities (the so-called "aziki"). The proportion of spoiled goods was extremely high, and the demands of the consumers were inadequately studied and not always taken into consideration.

It may be mentioned that most of the branches of the textile industry met with difficulties during the last few years in connection with the supply of raw material. Nevertheless the fundamental cause of the unsatisfactory work of the textile industry goes much deeper than this. The prime causes responsible for this state of things have been unsatisfactory organization and insufficient concreteness of leadership, the large number of intermediary bodies in the system of management, the extensive practice of functionalism, equalitarianism in wages and absence of personal responsibility in many of the textile factories, the inability properly to distribute labor power, to allocate clearly personal responsibility and individual responsibility in all spheres, and primarily the inability to organize work in the factory departments. At a series of conferences of leading workers in the textile industry, held in 1933 and 1934, Comrade Kaganovitch disclosed these shortcomings in the work of the textile industry and sharply criticized them.

After the middle of 1933 a certain improvement set in with respect to the quality of our textile goods.

The Party and the government gave instructions to the textile workers that they should first of all restore all operations abandoned under the pretense of rationalization, since the absence of these operations lowered the quality of the product.

The attention of all the workers of the textile industry was focused on the question of the assortment, the struggle against spoiled goods and on the struggle for the production of good cloth.

At the present time we are making a thorough change in the work of the textile industry, particularly in regard to the quality and assortment of the material manufactured. This improvement, however, is still quite inadequate and by no means corresponds to the heightened demands which are put before the textile industry by the broad masses of consumers.

The program adopted by the Seventeenth Party Congress, under the Second Five-Year Plan, is not only a militant program, requiring a tremendous increase in the quantity of textiles manufactured, but is also an instruction regarding the all-around improvement in the quality and assortment of Soviet material.

The whole of the future work of the textile industry must be conducted under the slogan: "Soviet textiles must be the best in the world".

Let us examine the quantity and quality to be pro-

duced by the textile industry in 1937 in accordance with the instructions of the Seventeenth Party Congress.

In 1937, the volume of production for light industry as fixed by the Seventeenth Congress is to be 19,500 million roubles, or 248.8 per cent of the 1932 figure. This rate of growth for light industry is in excess of the rate of growth for industry as a whole (which is to be 214.1 per cent of the 1932 figure in the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan).

Correspondingly, the average annual rate at which the light industry is to grow is over 20 per cent, whereas the average annual increase of industrial production as a whole is to be 16.5 per cent, while the rate at which the manufacture of the means of production is to increase is 14.5 per cent.

The textile industry will develop in the following way (in million roubles, at 1926-27 prices):

Branch of Industry	1932	1937	1937 as % of 1932
Cotton, including cotton wool	2,571.4	5,360.0	208.4
Wool	586.0	1,470.0	250.9
Felt	93.4	242.0	259.1
Linen	205.9	981.0	475.7
Hemp and jute	99.1	253.0	244.6
Silk	224.5	615.0	274.4
Knitted goods	504.3	2,300.0	456.1
Total	4,284.6	11,221.0	261.8

The average annual increase for the textile industry amounts to 21.8 per cent. The output of the textile industry will increase from 54.9 per cent of the total production of light industry in 1932 to 60 per cent in 1937. Considerable changes will take place among the various branches in the direction of an increase in the proportion of knit goods, linen and silk, to be produced, which is a clear proof that a higher level is being reached in the demands made by the toiling masses of the country regarding assortment and the quality of goods.

The increase in the output of the textile industry in actual goods is shown by the following figures:

	1932	1937	1937 as % of 1932
<i>All figures in millions</i>			
Cotton cloth, meters	2,596.4	4,900.0	192.6
Woolen cloth, meters	91.2	220.0	241.2
Linen cloth, meters	130.0	600.0	421.1
Silk cloth, meters	19.3	59.0	305.6
Hosiery, pairs	154.3	725.0	470.6
Underwear, garments	16.3	100.0	671.1
Knit goods, outer wear, garments	6.0	30.0	500.0
Gloves, pairs	7.2	80.0	1,067.0

This increase in output ensures the doubling or trebling of the consumption of the chief textile prod-

ucts. In a number of branches the increase is much higher, as in the case of hosiery, knit outer wear and linen cloth.

In the Second Five-Year Plan, the Party set before our textile and knit goods industry the exceptionally important task not only of tremendously increasing the quantity of output, but of improving the quality of the products and introducing changes into the assortment with a view to coming as closely as possible to the ceaseless growth in the demands of the toilers.

"... Now we have to fight for good cloth, good shoes, good clothing . . . and this is just as honorable a task as participating in the construction of the Dnieprostroys of heavy industry." (Report of Comrade Kuibishev at the Seventeenth Party Congress.)

The decisions of the Seventeenth Party Congress set out the following extremely concrete measures to be taken for improving the quality and assortment of textile manufactures:

"To produce yarn of higher numbers, to make a sharp improvement in the quality of cotton and linen cloth, to increase the proportion of the fine cloth and worsted branches of the woolen industry and to increase the proportion of fine wool in the cloth."

In respect to the cotton industry there will be an increase in the proportion of fabrics, cambric and mixed cloths by reducing the proportion of calico.

The manufacture of blankets will increase by 14 times. There will be an increase of nine times in the manufacture of plain toweling, an increase of ten times in turkish toweling, etc.

There will be a big increase in the manufacture of cloth using artificial silk in the form of weft or warp, which will give the cloth a more pleasant appearance, satisfying the artistic taste of the consumer.

The outward appearance of the cloth must be regarded as a matter of primary importance in the work of every textile factory.

The directors and Party organizations of the factories must make the most determined efforts to eliminate the tendencies towards super-simplification and pseudo-rationalization which have become widespread of late years among some of the workers in the cotton industry.

The treatment processes which were abolished have already been restored, particularly mercerization.

The patterns must be highly artistic. For this purpose everything that is best in foreign samples must be utilized, and special attention paid to the question of forming our own staffs of skilled colorists, finishers and artists in the factories.

According to the plans elaborated by the State Planning Organization and the Peoples Commissariat

of Light Industry, there will be extensive changes in the categories of goods produced by the wool industry by 1937. Though the total growth in the output in meters will be 2.4 times, the worsted group will increase by five times, the fine cloth will slightly more than double and the coarse cloth will increase 1.9 times. The content of natural fine wool per meter of cloth will greatly increase. In 1932 it formed 1.9 per cent but in 1937 it should be 11.7 per cent.

In the cloth industry, in addition to natural wool, the chief component in mixed yarn is the so-called artificial wool regenerated from woolen rags. It is widely used in the West, producing material of perfectly satisfactory quality.

The proportion of vegetable mixtures will be reduced from 29.4 per cent in 1932 to 9.0 per cent in 1937. There will be a big increase in the proportion of artificial silk, the so-called *vistra*, used in worsteds.

From the point of view of the destination of the woolen cloth, the situation will be as follows: In comparison with 1933 overcoatings will increase by 2.6 times, suitings by 2.8 times, and dress fabrics by ten times. The greatest absolute increase will take place in the group of suitings which, as is well known, are widely used for men's and women's overcoats in addition to suits and costumes.

The quality of the cloth must be many times improved as the result of improvements in the mixtures of raw materials used, owing to the restoration of all the operations necessary for production and in view of the special attention which will be paid to the question of finishing and dyeing.

In the linen industry, in view of the shortage of raw materials and the low numbers of linen yarn in recent years, linen cloth has only been produced in extremely small quantities for general sale (8-10 per cent of the total length of cloth produced).

One of the chief tasks facing the linen industry in the Second Five-Year Plan is the development of the output of cloth for the general consumer. This group will increase to 47 per cent of the total output, and the amount of linen cloth issued for the general market will be over 280 million meters.

The quality of the linen goods will improve owing to the use of higher numbers of linen yarn and the improvement in the method of manufacture in spinning, weaving and finishing.

The assortment of cloth produced by the silk industry will take on new forms in connection with the enormous growth of the use of artificial silk in this branch. The issue of artificial silk goods will almost treble as compared with 1933. The production of cloth woven from mixed cotton yarn and artificial silk will increase by 2.7 times. The amount of natural silk cloth produced will increase by 2.3 times.

The group of high quality goods from pure silk

and wool will increase to the total amount of 3,500,000 meters (worsted poplin, crepe de chine, suiting cloths).

The quality of cloths will be increased by giving them closer texture, a higher average weight, especially in the pure silks, and a considerably greater variety of colors and designs.

It is intended to develop the assortment of knit goods at a high speed. Stockings will increase by 4.7 times, while children's stockings and socks will increase by 8.5 times. There will be an increase in the production of women's stockings, especially high quality seamed stockings (by 11.5 times) from yarn and silk of high numbers.

Stockingette underwear will increase by 6.2 times, and moreover the production of children's underwear will increase by 11.6 times. The output of sporting underwear (vests, trunks, swimming costumes, etc.) will increase by 4.8 times. In the underwear group will be included a large amount of winter underwear from hackled cotton yarn and also woolen underwear.

The manufacture of knit goods for outer garments will increase five times. This group of knit goods will include the most varied materials both in assortment (patterns, fashions) and in quality (finish, pattern, dye). There will be a great increase in the output of gloves, both knitted and stitched (10.7 times). They will be made with the most varied assortment in respect to season, outward finish, size and fashion.

The rapid growth of all the branches of the textile industry and the enormous improvements in the assortment and quality of its production during the Second Five-Year Plan will make serious demands on our chemical industry.

The demand for dyes will increase to about twice the weight now required, but in addition to this tremendous increase in quantity, the chemical factories will be required to make a tremendous improvement in the quality of the dyes produced and to master thoroughly the production of new grades of dyes not affected by light and water.

PROBLEMS OF RAW MATERIAL FOR THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Despite the great increase in our raw material supply base during the First Five-Year Plan, as regards the main crops (cotton, flax, silk, etc.) the development of the textile industry was held back owing to insufficient raw material.

At the end of the First Five-Year Plan, the work of our textile factories was based entirely on our internal raw material resources. The cotton harvest in 1932 reached 23.7 million poods of fibre compared with 15.3 million poods in 1928, i.e., an increase of over 1.5 times. The amount of flax stored in 1932

was 287,000 tons, compared with 172,000 tons in 1928. The quantity of cocoons collected in 1933 was 14,500 tons, compared with 10,800 tons in 1928. It is worthy of note that in spite of the decline in the number of sheep, resulting from causes pointed out in Comrade Stalin's report at the Seventeenth Party Congress, the amount of wool collected remained at about the same level. This was the result of the Socialization of a large portion of the total herd, the reduction in the amount of wool which remained in the localities and partly as a result of the more intensive work of the collective apparatus.

The growth of our internal raw material base has still been insufficient to ensure the accelerated speed of development of the textile industry and to satisfy the steady growth in the demand of the country for textiles. The quality of the raw material also failed to satisfy the demands of the textile industry. The reduction in the length of fibre and the grades of cotton, the reduction in the fineness of flax, the prevalence of coarse wool in comparison with fine wool and medium wool, not only had a negative effect on the assortment and quality of the output of the textile industry, but, as the result of a reduction in the output and the efficiency of the equipment, caused a reduction in the volume of goods manufactured.

This situation was complicated by the further fact that inside the industry itself the use of the raw material was not organized as it should have been.

The task of increasing the volume of textile production and organizing the industry from the point of view of quality during the Second Five-Year Plan makes tremendous demands on the internal raw material basis. There must be a rapid increase both in quantity and in quality. All the conditions for such a growth have been provided through the successful completion of the First Five-Year Plan and the growth of all branches of Socialist agriculture.

What are the concrete demands which the textile industry makes on agriculture? There must be a further wide development of cotton production, so that in 1937 not less than 42.7 million poods of cotton will be gathered. The quality of the cotton must be improved. The greater part of the cotton wool must have a fibre of 28-29 mm. or more in length. Long-fibred Egyptian cotton must form at least 9-11 per cent of the total cotton harvest. The various grades of cotton must be distributed in the following proportions: First and second grades—90 per cent; other grades—10 per cent. Extraneous admixtures in cotton must be reduced to a minimum.

The quantity of flax to be gathered in 1937 must amount to 645,000 tons. The average fineness of the flax delivered for general industry must be increased to No. 13.1 instead of No. 7.3 in 1932. Especially great attention must be paid to the work of the factories which do the primary treatment of flax at the present time. They work in an extremely un-

satisfactory manner, producing an extremely high proportion of short fibres and having an enormous proportion of waste.

The total number of sheep and goats in the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan will reach 96 millions. The fundamental task here is to cross the coarse-wooled ewes with fine-wooled rams and thus to increase the proportion of semi-fine and merino sheep. The number of sheep producing semi-fine wool must be increased to 23.1 million head in 1937 as compared with 4.3 million head in 1932.

In addition pedigree goats must be cultivated (of the Angora goat type) as these produce excellent wool. This task can be fully solved in the natural conditions of the U.S.S.R.

The total amount of sheep's wool gathered in 1937 must reach 150,000 tons, of which 60,000 tons will consist of merino and semi-fine wool (unwashed weight).

In respect to natural silk, the task is set of increasing the collection of cocoons from 14,500 tons in 1933 to 25,500 tons in 1937. To solve successfully this task agro-technical measures will have to be carried out which will provide for an increase in the number of mulberry trees, and will provide for the cultured feeding of silk worms with a view to increasing the number of cocoons produced per box and the amount of silk per cocoon (randeman).

Artificial silk (principally cellulose) and stappel fibre or the so-called *vistra*, have to be a considerable source of raw materials for the textile and knit goods industry. The possibility of manufacturing artificial silk in the textile industry is extremely great, especially in the cotton industry, where this is practically unconnected with additional expenses.

The existing plans of the Commissariat of Heavy Industry for the development of the artificial silk industry lag behind the growth of the demand for it by the textile industry, and must be increased by at least 1.5 times.

The Second Five-Year Plan provides for a considerable increase in the output of cottonine, the use of which will increase more and more.

An important task facing the textile industry is the correct utilization of the raw material, the Bolshevik organization of the transport, storage and manufacture of the raw material so that not a single kilogram is wasted.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW FACTORIES

The volume of production for the textile industry in 1936 as set out by the Party will require a considerable renewal and extension of the fixed capital of the existing factories, and the construction of a large number of new ones.

The majority of the existing factories were constructed before the war, and despite re-construction

carried out during the First Five-Year Plan, they are to some extent equipped with out-of-date machines. For example, out of the 6.9 million spindles in use in the textile industry, 1.5 millions are mules, the productivity of which is at least 30 per cent lower than the efficiency of water-frames. The linen industry is equipped with slow-speed spinning frames of old makes. In the woolen industry some of the looms are absolutely worn out. In the knit goods industry 1,400 hand machines, the so-called "vilna" machines, are still used.

The basic defects in the structure of some branches of the textile industry were not fully removed during the First Five-Year Plan. There still remains a legacy from the capitalist past in the shape of a disproportion between the various stages of production. In the cotton industry we have more powerful weaving equipment than spinning machinery. There is a still greater disproportion in the linen industry. In the woolen industry the power of the combing departments in worsted spinning lags far behind the capacity of the worsted spinning departments.

Hence it is obvious that the reconstruction and extension of the existing enterprises must take the line of replacing the worn-out machines, liquidating the disproportion between the various stages of production, and a better utilization of the floor space which is now unused or will be rendered vacant in connection with the instalment of more efficient machines, so as to put in more equipment.

If we follow these three basic lines we shall find it possible to make more rational use of our existing fixed capital. Expenditure on the extension and reconstruction of the factories in the entire textile industry will amount to over 1,300 million roubles. The capacity of the textile factories after reconstruction and enlargement will be as follows on a three shift system:

Cotton industry	4,200 million meters
Woolen industry	160 " "
Linen industry	400 " "
Silk industry	50 " "
Jute and hemp industry.....	95,000 meters
Knit goods industry:	
a. Stockings	375 million pairs
b. Underwear	70 " garments
c. Topwear	20 " "

This capacity, however, will not provide for the output planned for 1937.

The textile industry is faced with the task of building and mastering in a very short time a large number of new big factories.

The Seventeenth Party Congress pointed out the necessity for the construction of the following important enterprises:

15 cotton mills, of which 5 will have 200,000 spindles each.

12 woolen mills with an output of 8 to 15 million meters each.

12 linen factories with 18,000 to 27,000 spindles each.

18 factories producing knit goods.

11 silk factories.

As the result of extension and reconstruction and also of new construction to be finished during the Second Five-Year Plan, we shall have 9.1 million spindles and 246,000 looms in the cotton industry on January 1, 1938, which will be an increase of 2.2 million spindles and 52,000 looms since 1933.

The entire capacity of the woolen factories in the Second Five-Year Plan is estimated at 124 million meters, of which 45 million meters are worsted and the remaining 75 million meters are cloth. The capacity of the newly built factories will be equal to that of all the existing woolen factories. Besides the basic factories it is also planned to build factories for special technical cloths, wool combing, tops, three artificial wool factories (for the re-working of fine and coarse rags) and 14 wool washing plants in various producing districts.

In the linen industry the total power of all the new factories is estimated at 332,000 spindles, i.e., as much as at present exists in the linen industry.

Besides the basic spinning and weaving mills in the linen industry it is planned to build three combing mills, and also a linen thread mill in the Northern Region.

In the silk industry the capacity of the new weaving and dyeing factories is planned at about 40 million meters, which is 80 per cent of the capacity of the existing factories.

In the jute and hemp industry, 7 plants will be built with a total output of 100,000 tons.

As a result of the new construction work, the capacity for spun goods will be higher than the capacity of those factories which now exist, even after their reconstruction.

The entire capacity of the new factories in the knitgoods industry is estimated at 508.4 million pairs of stockings, 105.6 million pieces of underwear, 28 million outer garments, 87 million pairs of gloves, 64,100 tons of cotton yarn and 22,000 tons of woolen yarn. The new capacity thus formed will be greatly in excess of the capacity of the existing factories after their complete reconstruction—by about 35 per cent for stockings, 50 per cent for underwear, 40 per cent for outer garments, 400 per cent for gloves, 200 per cent for cotton yarn, and in respect to woolen yarn the entire capacity will in reality be constructed anew.

This concrete program for gigantic new construction in the textile industry will make radical changes in the distribution of the industry. All the new construction work will be conducted in new districts. Big textile centers will be formed in Middle Asia, West

Siberia, the Caucasus, the Volga Region. Factories are under construction in Eastern Siberia and in a number of the national regions in the R.S.F.S.R. Factories are under construction in the Western Region, the White Russian Soviet Republic, the Gorky Region, the Azov-Black Sea Region and the North Caucasus. In addition to the existing factories, new construction will take place in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

New construction in the light industry along with long-scale construction in the heavy industry, agriculture, transport and in the sphere of culture will ensure the rapid elimination of the economic and cultural backwardness of the national republics and regions, and a more even distribution of the productive forces and the closer approach of industry to the sources of raw material.

The Seventeenth Party Congress gave exceedingly concrete instructions regarding the geographical distribution of the branches of light industry. These instructions were fully expressed in the above mentioned program for new construction work. ". . . Among the fifteen cotton mills to be built in the Second Five-Year Plan, ten are to be built in Middle Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus", and this "creates a firm basis for textile production, in these districts. In the linen industry powerful bases are being formed for the manufacturing of flax in the Western Region, Gorky Region and the White Russian Soviet Republic. . . . In the basic centers of production of agricultural raw material, the construction of woolen mills and other factories of light industry is being developed."

The capital outlay on new construction in the textile industry during the Second Five-Year Plan is estimated at over 3,600 million roubles.

The textile industry will also be required to carry through a large amount of work for the renewal and building of new dwelling houses and cultural and communal institutions at the existing factories, for carrying out extensions and reconstruction work in the building of laboratories, scientific research and educational institutions for the preparation of cadres, for putting the existing machinery into a good workable condition, etc. This work will also require the expenditure of huge sums of money.

The total amount to be expended during the Second Five-Year Plan on the textile industry will amount to 6,000 million roubles.

The fulfillment of the enormous reconstruction tasks and new construction work in the textile industry makes serious demands on the machine construction industry, as regards mastering the production of the necessary machinery. Unless equipment is supplied according to plan and on a sufficient scale it will be impossible to carry out the plan for textile development. A powerfully developed base for internal machine construction and its thorough or-

ganization by the end of the First Five-Year Plan will guarantee that the task set the machine construction industry for the Second Five-Year Plan as regards supplying the textile industry can and will be fulfilled with honor.

During the Second Five-Year Plan the cotton industry should receive 3.5 to 3.7 million spindles and 55,000 looms; the knitting industry is to receive 21,000 automatic stocking machines, 150 sets of cotton machines, 3,300 round knitting machines, and 1.3 million cotton spindles. The linen industry requires over 400,000 spindles. The hemp and jute industry has to receive 206 net-making machines, 120 mechanical hill spinning string machines, 29 mechanical hill spinning machines for the rope industry and a number of other machines. The woolen industry also requires a large amount of equipment.

In addition to the wide development of the production of types of equipment already being produced, the machine construction industry will have to learn to master the production of new kinds of equipment.

A start must be made this year to reconstruct and enlarge the existing textile machine construction works and also to organize the production of textile equipment at the existing machine construction plants which are at present engaged on other work, and to build new enterprises producing the means of producing textiles.

The rapid rate of growth of the textile and knitting industry, the increased productivity of labor, the fulfillment of the increased demands for assortment and quality in production are only possible if serious technical reconstruction takes place during the Second Five-Year Plan in all branches of textile work.

We will deal with the general line of the technical reconstruction of the various branches of industry.

In the cotton industry it is planned to carry out a number of big measures of reconstruction. The primary treatment of the cotton at the cotton gins must be raised to a higher level by installing powerful ginning mills there. In spinning it is necessary to extend the practice of using high and extra high draws, of improving the bale-breaking processes by the introduction of powerful breaking machines and mixers, for improving scutching operations to establish single process scutching machines, to continue the replacement of mules by water frames and, in accordance with the change in the structure of the supplies of raw material and the assortment of the cloth, to increase the proportion of carding and twisting. In weaving it is necessary to take the line of making the looms automatic and the introduction of new automatic looms, extending the sphere of the application of high speed warp pressing and winding machines with increased packing and improved control over the yarn, to increase the mechanization of heddling and twisting.

In finishing, the chief lines of reconstruction will be the assembling of machines in complete groups, the regeneration and utilization of the waste chemical products, and the automatic regulation of the concentration of liquids, etc.

The supply of energy to the cotton industry will be increased by the introduction of individual motors for the machines, ball bearings, central heating for the finishing mills with the intermediate transport (conveyors, overhead rails, electro-cars).

Equally serious tasks as regards the technical reconstruction in the Second Five-Year Plan face the woolen industry. The wide introduction of hot washing vats with a view to doing away utterly with cold hand-washing of wool; the further development of the manufacture of artificial wool from wool and semi-woolen rags; the mechanization of the operation of mixing raw material, substitutes and waste in the preparatory departments of woolen yarn production.

In the spinning of worsted the disproportion between the combing and spinning departments must be removed by building new combing shops in the worsted factories and using more powerful combing machines of Soviet construction. A special problem is the organization of a new kind of production, namely, of combing factories for the preliminary manufacture of artificial silk. In weaving the practice must be extended of using new winding frames and warping machines.

In wool spinning, the Khrushov water frames must be widely introduced. They give a much greater efficiency and economize on space.

Worsted manufacture must go over to automatic looms, and in the woolen cloth industry a wide use must be made of multiple-shuttle, high-speed looms which give a higher efficiency and make it possible to produce patterned cloth.

In the dressing of goods dyeing apparatus must be established for dyeing fibres, yarn and tops, to use the latest models of drying and stretching machines, steaming machines, etc.

The knitting industry in the Second Five-Year Plan must make use of new types of raw material. It must learn to use the newest types of knitting machines of the Soviet construction. It must mechanize the various processes of production and make them automatic.

In the linen industry the question of the liquidation of technical backwardness is particularly urgent. During the First Five-Year Plan all the necessary prerequisites for this were created.

The next tasks facing the linen industry are to bring about a thorough re-equipment of the linen mills on the basis of new kinds of machines which are already known or have to be learned. First of all the intermediate stages of the preparatory and spinning processes must be mechanized. The big growth in the quantity of linen yarn for general sale puts

prominently forward the problem of reconstructing the finishing departments and supplying them with modernized equipment (Esser-Zvorikin bleaching apparatus).

A particularly keen problem facing the jute and hemp industry is that of reaching a higher level of the technological process in all the stages of manufacture, and, furthermore, the solution of this problem depends entirely on our machine construction basis. In 1934 the machine construction plants proposed to learn the manufacture of nine types of hemp machines, and have partly mastered them already. In addition to this, thirteen types of various machines will have to be mastered in a short time, beginning from the carding and spinning machines to the heavy net-weaving machines.

Tremendous work will have to be carried on for the technical reconstruction of the silk industry.

The stubborn carrying out of the measures for technical reconstruction along with the successful fulfillment of the tremendous plan for new construction in the textile industry must put it in one of the first places in the world. The instructions of the Seventeenth Party Congress regarding the completion of technical reconstruction and the conversion of the U.S.S.R. into the most progressive country in Europe in technical respects must be carried out on this important sector of Socialist construction.

The fulfillment in the Second Five-Year Plan of this enormous plan of production and capital expenditure in the textile industry requires above all the definite reconstruction of the whole system of direction and management of this branch of industry.

The basic principles of this reconstruction were given in the decisions of the Seventeenth Congress regarding organizational questions, and also in the recent decisions of the government to reorganize the management of light industry, and to organize commissariats of local industry. In July the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. adopted the decision to reorganize the People's Commissariat of Light Industry. This decision established a definite system of leadership of the textile industry through the organization of a number of chief management boards on the industrial-territorial principle. For example, the cotton industry will be guided by three main directorates—one for the Moscow and Leningrad regions, another for the Ivanovo-Voznesensk region, and the third for the cotton industry in new districts and new construction areas. Thus, all the conditions will be created for the leadership of the factories in a concrete, operative and day-to-day fashion, which takes into consideration the peculiarities and difficulties inherent in every factory.

The decision of the government shows that the aims of this reorganization are to put an end to the organizational shortcomings in the work of the Peo-

ple's Commissariat of Light Industry, and to improve the work of its various bodies and to strengthen the principle of individual responsibility in management.

It is in the light of these tasks that the task of reconstructing the system of the direction of the textile industry must be fulfilled. *The fundamental prerequisites for a successful struggle to carry out the tasks set by the Second Five-Year Plan in the textile industry is to ensure the exact and rapid fulfillment of the decisions of the Soviet Government.* These decisions ensure that a turn will be made to live leadership and that personal responsibility will be strengthened in all spheres of management, and are the prerequisites for a successful struggle to root out functionalism, equalitarianism in wages, etc., de-personalization of responsibility and bureaucratic red-tape methods of management.

A decisive factor in the struggle to fulfill the program of the Second Five-Year Plan is the question of cadres, which is just as sharp for the textile industry now as it was for heavy industry in the First Five-Year Plan. In a short time the basic apparatus of production will be almost doubled, and the volume of goods manufactured will be more than doubled. This requires that at least 450,000 new workers, engineers, and technicians be brought into the textile industry.

The problem of cadres can only be solved with the help of the entire Party.

On the basis of the powerful technical reconstruction of the textile industry and the workers' improved material, communal and cultural conditions of life, it will be possible to solve the enormous tasks of increasing the efficiency of labor and reducing the cost of production.

Great attention must be paid to such questions as the development of a system of educational and scientific research institutions for the textile industry, the organization of the production of auxiliary materials, spare parts, etc., inside the textile industry itself, the formation of a system of new planning and building organizations, and consolidation of the old ones.

The carrying out of the stupendous tasks facing the textile industry in the Second Five-Year Plan makes it essential that the workers in the textile industry exert all the force and energy they have. This must be directed towards raising the Soviet textile industry to one of the first places in the world, and, on the basis of the success achieved in the Second Five-Year Plan, to surpass the foremost textile industries in the capitalist countries, in technical and economic respects.

The Bolsheviks of the textile industry must, as befits true sons of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, make use of all existing possibilities so as to fulfill victoriously the historic instructions given by the Seventeenth Party Congress regarding the development of the light industry.

ORGANIZED MASS STRUGGLE AGAINST SPIES AND AGENTS-PROVOCATEURS

By ALBERT MULLER

DURING the few years which preceded Hitler's advent to power, a considerable increase in membership could be observed in the German Communist Party. The Communist Party cadres—especially the lower ones—consisted to a considerable extent of just these newly enrolled members. Although the German Communist Party devoted much attention to educating its cadres and membership, a considerable section of the latter was still insufficiently imbued with the Communist outlook. However, in spite of this fact and despite the extremely severe terror on the part of the authorities which has even surpassed Czarist terror after the 1905 revolution, we have to establish the fact that with the expiration of about one and a half years from the time of the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, the percentage of "former Party members" who have gone over to the enemy's camp is not at all large, and that among those that have done so, only a few have betrayed their class brothers to the enemy. The fact must also be established that before the advent to power of the fascists the enemy was not successful in getting anything like a large number of its agents by false means into the ranks of the German Communist Party for spying and betraying.

After Hitler had seized power, the national-socialists were able to bring about mass denunciation of persons Communistically inclined, by means both of cruel persecution and threats and by means of a well-organized spying apparatus from their own supporters and petty-bourgeois elements. The petty-bourgeois masses rendered support to the fascist police apparatus; they were what one might call the long arm of the police, for they were of the opinion that the police should be assisted in repressing the Communists, in order to give Hitler a chance of carrying out his program.

The apparatus of agitation and propaganda of the German Communist Party, courageous in the face of terror and persecutions, and the ever growing discontent which the broad masses felt towards the fascist system, restricted somewhat the number of denunciations. The events which have taken place since June 30, inside the fascist organizations themselves, have made the situation still less favorable for denunciations, and so not only is the number of denunciations ever decreasing, but certain sections even of the active national-socialists and elements in sympathy with them, who previously acted as informers, have now been converted—actively or passively—

into a factor which is encouraging revolutionary work.

We have obvious proof of the extent to which the mood of the masses has changed in fascist Germany in the national-socialist campaign against the "informers' crusade". Wilhelm Kube, leader of the whole of the Krumark organization of the German Nazi Party, made the following statement in the *Volkische Beobachter* of July 31:

"On April 18 of this year, the Imperial Minister, Rudolf Hess, declared in public that every citizen ('Volksgenosse') has the right to lodge a complaint with him in the event of his being honestly convinced that he has cause to point to any defects in or any mistake on the part of leading Party comrades or Party organizations. This decree was made use of by professional cranks, of whom there have always been a sufficiency in Germany, in order to organize *unbridled calumny of the most unworthy kind* against many leaders of the German Nazi Party. The events of June 29 and June 30 were partially used to stage an *absolutely foul* campaign of betrayals against national-socialism and its leaders. Every regional leader will confirm with me that since the Roehm putsch the number of anonymous letters, spiteful and calumnious attacks, and lying accusations has *increased incredibly*. And all the district and local leaders complain of similar facts."

Kube calls these "informers" "low creatures" and states that in order to scare them, he "sends each denunciation that comes to him to the person whom it concerns, so that he will be able to defend himself against these venomous toads with all the legal means placed at his disposal by the Third Empire". And everybody is aware in advance of how the "legal means" of the Third Empire work. Kube even fixes the extent of punishment for "informers" when he declares that "the behavior of anonymous informers is nothing short of high treason".

But it was not only these two factors which helped to restrict the number of denunciations against revolutionary workers: the organized struggle of the German Communist Party against spies and agents-provocateurs played a big part in this direction. This struggle did not consist of individual actions, neither did it take place with the help of any definite organ of the German Communist Party. It was carried on day by day by the entire Party as a whole, which mobilized and drew into the struggle the broad masses of the workers.

And just because the German Communist Party carried on this struggle against spies and agents side by side with the revolutionary workers, it was possible to achieve such big successes in this sphere; and the Communist Party itself, moreover, having expelled suspicious elements from its ranks and relentlessly fought against them, continually struggled to win ever more confidence among the masses of revolutionary workers.

THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY AS AN ORGANIZING FACTOR

Comrade Lenin placed before the Bolshevik Party of czarist Russia a task whose significance was great not only in that epoch and in the conditions which existed then, but which should receive the attention of the Communist Parties of capitalist countries today as well. Comrade Lenin wrote:

"We must try to create an organization capable of rendering spies harmless by unmasking and persecuting them. Spies cannot be destroyed. But we can and must create an organization which shows up spies and educates the working masses for active participation in the struggle against spies." (*Collected Works*, Vol. V, German Edition.)

The way the task is raised speaks in favor of making the struggle against spies not the task of any particular organ, but the task of the whole Communist Party and of the entire working class as a whole. The Communist Party has, first and foremost, to act as an organizing factor which guides the struggle against these enemies of the revolutionary proletariat.

The huge apparatus of the fascist rulers of Germany, which is directed towards suppressing the broad masses of workers and is in possession of large cadres of spies, required that the mass of toilers itself should be brought into the struggle against Hitler's agents, who seek to worm their way into the Party and to undermine it by espionage and denunciation. Goering has received from the hands of the social-democratic ministers the work of himself guiding the mighty police apparatus which is well organized for the struggle against the Communists. He has reorganized this apparatus, brought a considerable number of national-socialists into it, and, having combined them with a section of the previous social-democratic police cadres, has formed his own State secret police, which, together with the Storm Troops and the Defense Guards, are dealing most cruelly with all those who are suspected of leanings towards Communism. According to information at hand, the State secret police consists of one central management and five subsections. The central management is concerned with the general organization of the police and its auxiliary organs as, for instance, a strike-breakers' organization.

The sub-sections are responsible for the following functions:

Sub-Section I. Defense of railways and press.

Sub-Section II. Observation of, and measures taken against, the C.P.G., as well as against the revolutionary trade union organizations, and against mass organizations of an international nature like the German Young Communist League, sports organizations, etc.

Sub-Section III. Observation of bourgeois parties.

Sub-Section IV. Observation of the national-socialist movement.

Sub-Section V. Deals with questions concerning high treason, treachery in the form of giving away military secrets, questions of espionage, the fight against pacifism and questions of national minorities in Germany.

Besides these sub-sections, there exist still further departments for special questions, as, for example, those concerning emigration, the Jews, foreigners, disintegration work amongst the police themselves, high treason in literature, censoring of postal, telephone and telegraph communications abroad, and with regard to suspicious persons inside the country. This last department is especially well organized and, according to a cautious estimate, no less than 80 per cent of the post coming in from abroad is carefully checked. We have proof of how far this control goes among the national-socialists themselves in the events which took place after June 30 in Germany this year. One of the leaders of the Storm Troops who spoke on the telephone with a leader of the Berlin Storm Troops, Ernst, afterwards killed, was convinced afterwards that his conversation with him was heard and registered by the State secret police on a special wax record.

Several other organs of espionage and provocation, closely connected in their work with the State secret police, were also created; and their aim was to observe and to reveal the smallest signs of the Communist movement in the country. Among these organs are the following:

a. *Empire Safety Defense Service.*

This organ unites all those defense guards attached to observation of living quarters, in the information service, in the defense detachments, and in the air defense. At his place of living the guard is obliged to present a fortnightly report, on a definitely drawn up formula, of the state of affairs in connection with the houses which are under his observation. The report must include information about the number of persons living in these houses, of any changes which are liable to occur in this respect, of the lodgers who may live in one or other of the apartments, of their occupations, place of work, and the sort of life they lead; as to whether many visitors come to them and as to who these visitors are, etc. The guards are obliged to see whether the lodgers in

the houses under their observation participate in the collection of subscriptions, whether they hang out flags, and to discover to what organizations they belong (national-socialist, imperial air defense, or to organizations of the national-socialist unions), what were their political convictions in the past, etc. The guards are also obliged to visit persons under their control with a view to becoming personally acquainted with them, and to hand in a corresponding report of the results of these visits.

b. Storm Troops Communication Service.

This service has to function first and foremost during mass arrests. All former Communists are, obviously, well known to the guards of the given district, and every communications headquarters of the Storm Troops has to give a monthly report of the activities and behavior of these Communists.

c. Industrial Police.

In all the larger undertakings, especially in munition factories, there are strong detachments of industrial police, who are, in the main, taken from the former workshop police. For instance, at the Siemens works in Berlin, there is a detachment of approximately 200 persons; and at the I. G. Farbenwerke chemical works a detachment of over 3,000 men, distributed throughout the separate workshops. Some of these police wear the uniform of the former workshop police; but in the majority of cases they are used as workers and office employees directly connected with the productive process. These police agents not only go through a careful military training, but are trained politically as well, so that side by side with the execution of their police duties, they have an opportunity of developing into good "workers" and "industrialists". At the munition factories, moreover, there are also agents of the intelligence defense department of the Reichswehr. The number of these to be found in each individual undertaking is decided by the degree of importance of the latter. Employees in hotels and cafes—especially in large undertakings of this kind—are periodically given written or oral instructions as to how and whom they should keep under observation. Moreover, posters are hung around in large numbers in the dressing-rooms of cafe and hotel employees, bearing the inscription: "Make a note of the conversation of all visitors and pass them on to the right quarters".

Yet another espionage organization which deserves attention is the Nazi workshop organization. The Nazi workshop organization has special departments to control the leadership and organization of espionage.

This short review of the police and intelligence apparatus of Germany clearly shows the enormous efforts that are being made by the fascist government to crush the Communist Party and the revolutionary working class of Germany. This review shows as well that the German Communist Party must build up

and defend its own organization to ensure that at all times it will be capable of fighting and that its influence will increase from day to day. One of the most important factors in this direction is that the Party should see to it that it keeps its ranks clear of Hitler agents. Of course, it is not possible to avoid entirely the penetration of spies and agents-provocateurs into the Party. So long as the class struggle continues between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the latter will inevitably strive to get spies and agents-provocateurs into the Communist Party by false means. But the whole question is to reduce the number and the influence of these elements to a **minimum**.

Because the Communist Party is the only Party in Germany that has always, and is still, waging an unswerving struggle against these wreckers, it had only a few spies and provocateurs in its ranks in comparison with its size at the moment of the establishment of fascist dictatorship in Germany, and they were unable, therefore, to bring much harm to the Party, even in illegal conditions.

The fact that all newly recruited members were tested on entering the Party and that a careful purging of the Party itself was made, played a big role in the struggle against police agents penetrating into the Party. The experiences acquired by the German Communist Party during its illegal existence have shown that still not all the Party organizations manifest sufficient vigilance and wisdom in enrolling members. Actual practice has shown that traitors and deserters have feathered their nests in the main among the demoralized strata of the unemployed and petty-bourgeois elements. Where there is a more considerable recruiting of workers from the bench into the Party, the number of spies, traitors and deserters would be considerably less still. Workers from the bench can easily be proved trustworthy by the Party and the whole working class. As for other strata of the population, it is far more difficult to establish their past and manner of conducting their lives. But actual practice shows that constant control is necessary of every member of the Party both before and after he is admitted into the Party. By means of verifying, controlling, observing and collecting information concerning every Party member, it is possible to follow the activities of spies, agents-provocateurs, deceivers, and others and to unmask them. The struggle against these wreckers inside the Party itself should be organized by the central leadership of the Party and should cover each organizational unit, even the very smallest. Regular instructions should be given to the membership in this sphere by forming special literature courses, etc. Party workers and those working in the mass organizations should be informed as to which of the members turned out to be wreckers. The German Communist Party can boast of big successes in this direction both

during its legal existence and also since it has been illegal.

Beginning with 1919 right up to the present time, the Party has been publishing, and still publishes regularly, special almanacs of spies and so-called black lists. These almanacs are issued in about 1,000-2,000 copies, and the black lists, which come out once or twice monthly, are printed in considerably larger numbers. These lists are published both by the central leading apparatus of the German Communist Party as well as by its district organizations. We have proof of the extent to which this method has rendered spies harmless in the black lists issued during 1929-1931. Side by side with innumerable impostors, charlatans, and minor cases of espionage, about 150 important cases of spies and agents-provocateurs being discovered were also published.

There are many in the German Communist Party who have been, and are still, in favor of "not making a fuss" when expelling spies from the Party organizations, in order not to frighten away honest workers who desire to join the Party. The Communist Party of Germany has always fought and will continue to fight inside the Party against this mistaken point of view. The Communist Party is of the opinion that not only should the presence of spies and agents-provocateurs in the ranks of the Party not be hushed up, but that the revolutionary working masses should be drawn into the struggle against these police elements, that the masses should be roused against them, in order to instill fear into them. The honest workers and former social-democrats who are afraid to join the Communist Party because of the danger of espionage, should have it explained to them that the German Communist Party is the only Party in the country which carried on a relentless struggle against these elements; that the Social-Democratic Party has been unable to carry on a struggle of this kind, because its leaders, police ministers, have strengthened and extended the police apparatus and thus have themselves nurtured these spies and agents-provocateurs, against whom the German Communist Party is fighting unwaveringly.

BRINGING THE MASSES INTO THE STRUGGLE

In the work of drawing the broad masses of workers into the struggle against spies and agents-provocateurs, the German Communist Party, both during its legal period and during its illegal existence, has achieved great successes. It was able to popularize the struggle against these elements through the press, literature and in public speeches, in which it branded these wreckers. Here are a few examples from the illegal period, which characterize the methods used in mobilizing the workers. The authorities have built up a strong network of espionage in several munition factories. All the workers who were in any way suspected of being partial towards Communism were

kept under strict observation and subject to dismissal. The spying cadres in these undertakings were not permanent, but were changed and removed from one workshop to another as need arose, and carried on their work there. Thanks to well arranged connections and careful watching, a considerable section of the spies were discovered. The corresponding workshop newspaper published by our organization saw to it that the workers on the staff not only of the main works, but also of all the other kindred enterprises, were informed as to whom they should beware of and against whom they should fight.

In X—— the photographs of three spies were obtained. They were printed on postcards and distributed in large numbers among the population with the inscription: "*Take a look at these scoundrels and deal with them everywhere as they deserve.*"

The following two examples show the good results forthcoming *when the masses take part in the struggle against spies and agents-provocateurs:*

In Y—— an arrested "Communist" went over to the side of the class enemy under the influence of torture. He betrayed several revolutionary workers, among whom there was also a worker in one of the mass organizations. As a result the latter was killed by the guards. When the Party heard of this treachery it,

1. Issued a newspaper at the place where the traitor lived, containing his photograph and an article about him;
2. Issued a circular letter to those lodging in his house;
3. Posted up inscriptions in streets adjacent to the district, containing slogans against traitors;
4. Prepared and posted up notices, giving the traitor's distinctive marks.

As a result of these measures, we had the following:

1. The traitor was turned out of his apartment in consequence of the protest of the other lodgers in the house;
2. Because of this circumstance, and especially thanks to the attitude of the working masses of the district to him, he was compelled to leave the district entirely;
3. The traitor dared not bring about further arrests of workers by informing against them, although he knew many of them.

The following is an example of *who* may be drawn into the struggle against spies and agents-provocateurs:

In Z—— there was a spy who went about the district for a long time and betrayed the workers. When he turned up in Z—— once more, the comrades organized detachments of children who used to cry after him when they met him on the streets with shouts of: "Judas heart, Wretch!", etc.

The spy, boycotted on all sides and being unable

to show himself in the streets for fear of the universal hostility shown towards him, was compelled to leave that locality.

The above examples show the varied methods of mass struggle against spies and agents-provocateurs which can be used. And here is yet another example which can serve as an addition to the methods of mass struggle indicated above. This example, taken from life in a factory, shows how the Party organization can mobilize the workers on the staff to fight against spies and agents-provocateurs.

In consequence of a mass boycott, which is very often adopted, not only is the work of a spy in a given establishment made unproductive, but he himself has to leave the field of action voluntarily, because he loses his self-confidence.

At a certain factory a dispute arose between a Communist and a national-socialist, during which the Communist openly stated his opinion concerning the "leaders" of the Third Empire. As a result the national-socialist informed against the Communist, who in consequence was dismissed from the works and arrested. The remaining Communists mobilized the workers of the department in which the national-socialist was working. The workers stole his instruments, let fall his iron as though by accident, thus making him responsible for bad work, etc. A few

days later the national-socialist went to the police and declared that the information he had given about the dispute with his comrade did not correspond with the truth and that he had informed against the latter for reasons of personal revenge. The Communist was soon released from confinement and is now working in the same factory as before.

In connection with the sharpening of the struggle of the working class against fascist dictatorship and with the approach of a determined struggle for power, increased vigilance is essential on the part of Party organizations and the working masses must be drawn into the struggle on a broader scale.

The actual practice of the mass struggle against spies and agents-provocateurs has shown that despite the fine examples of which the German Communist Party may boast, it is even more essential than ever before to bring the broad masses into the struggle and to raise the struggle itself onto a higher level. Thanks to the work it has done, the Communist Party of Germany is increasingly winning the confidence of the masses. The masses are affording more and more support to the work of the Communists. They will give them assistance even on this most important section of the revolutionary front, if the German Communist Party itself will organize its work sufficiently well.

A BOOK ON SOVIET CHINA

*The Basic Laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic**—Prefaced by Bela Kun

Reviewed by L. M.

MA RTIN Lawrence of London and International Publishers of New York have published a small book, prefaced by Bela Kun, about the basic laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic. The most important laws, decrees and decisions of the Soviet power in China are carefully assembled in this book. The book quotes in full the constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic and its agrarian legislation, including the land laws and the law regarding the distribution of land. Next follows a section on the Red Army. This includes the resolution of the All-Chinese Congress of Soviets regarding the Red Army. Decree No. 9, and the rules relating to the rebates and privileges given to the fighters of the Chinese workers' and peasants' Red Army. The labor code and the check made of its applications, the laws, resolutions and decrees on economic policy, industry and trade, on the organization and activity of the co-operatives and also regarding loans, occupy the

larger part of the book. Legislation regarding the national minorities and the laws relating to the family and marriage do away with the absence of rights and the oppression of the national minorities and of the toiling women.

Maps of Soviet China and a number of interesting diagrams are attached to the book. A study of these laws and decrees provides the reader with a general idea of the trend of activity of the Soviet power in China and of the realization of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. The preface written by Comrade Bela Kun explains the nature and the content of the Soviet Revolution in China, gives a brief sketch of its development and of its tremendous international political importance.

The book is supplied with maps and diagrams. It will be tremendously useful in the study of the problems of bourgeois-democratic, anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in China, by the workers and toilers of the Anglo-Saxon countries. This book deserves wide distribution and study.

* London and New York, 1934.

"VOM KAISERHOF ZUM REICHSKANZELI" by Goebbels *

Reviewed by L. MADYAR

GOEBBELS, Minister of National Education and Propaganda in the "Third Empire", has already published his third book about the heroic feats of national-socialism in general and of those of Goebbels himself, in particular. This book of Goebbels' appears to be his diary, covering the events which occurred in Germany from January 1, 1932 to May 1, 1933. The short separate entries made by Goebbels do not produce the impression of having been actually written in the heat of the events. It rather appears that this diary was written at some later date. Goebbels "foresees" all turns of events too well, he "foretells" developments and gives various people characteristics, which were only justified at a later date. But be it as it is, these separate entries made by Goebbels relate to the most tempestuous period of the development of the fascist movement in Germany, the period when the national-socialists won their many-millioned mass basis, the period of the fight of the national-socialists for power. If we bear this in mind, Goebbels' book is disappointing from many points of view. Nothing new is to be found in his book about the most important facts, and events, let alone about the mainsprings of events and their native forces. It may be even said that Goebbels is even reserved in speaking about what has gone on behind the scenes. He does not show the National-Socialist Party in action, nor does he describe its mechanism, or its organization. Even the methods of agitation and propaganda practiced by national-socialists are not too clearly brought forward. The most one can find in Goebbels' book is Goebbels himself, his work, his heroic feats, his warm and close relations with Hitler and other national-socialist leaders.

* * *

There can be no doubt that German national-socialism has provided the most striking example of the national and social demagogy of fascism and that it has given the most vivid example of how the petty-bourgeois and peasant masses are rallied by the fascist slogans in the interests of the terrorist dictatorship of finance capital. German national-socialism made the attempt to win over the masses of the workers, to attract to their side the working and peasant youth who had not passed through the hell of the imperialist war, nor through the great school of the class struggle. As long as German national-socialism was in opposition, as long as it was making its way to power, it gave examples of how to make use of mass psychology, how to kindle chauvinist

passions, anti-Semitism and unbridled social demagogy. Such examples of mass agitation and propaganda and of mass dope, as were practiced by German fascism of the national-socialist brand, were to be found only during the world imperialist war, and even then only in some separate capitalist countries.

Present-day capitalism has developed a whole science, that of advertising. The most acute competition in conditions where there are tremendous difficulties connected with the sale of goods, forces the capitalists to resort to the grossest and the most elaborate methods of advertising in order to win the purchaser. In the U.S.A., Germany and Japan, advertising has become a kind of profession, where thousands and thousands of people are employed. During the prosperity period in the United States, advertising expenses absorbed hundreds of millions of dollars, about 500 million dollars per annum. The struggle against competitors, the fight for the customer's dollar, compels the manufacturers to make use of all possible methods of influencing the masses, by advertising, such as the press, posters, leaflets, files, broadcasting, theatres, bourgeois poetry and art, light effects, etc. Everything is used so as to ensure the sale of the goods. The object of advertising is to inculcate into the minds of the customers the advertising slogan of the given firm, the name of the firm, its trade mark, to suggest to the customer that the goods sold by the particular firm are of a particularly high quality. At the same time, the advertisement is naturally not afraid of repeating itself, of uttering commonplaces or of making much noise. These methods of commercial advertising are percolating ever more and more into the political life of bourgeois countries. For example, the presidential elections in the United States represent a sort of gigantic competition between the political parties in the field of advertising agitation. In actual fact, the agitation and propaganda of the national-socialists were reared in the same school. Essentially, these were the very methods of mass agitation and propaganda, developed by German fascism. The most artful, most brazen, most aggressive and noisy representative of these methods of mass agitation is Goebbels.

The outstanding feature of the agitational and propagandist methods practiced by the German national-socialists, and by Goebbels in the first place, is the unlimited cynicism of their attitude towards the masses. The chief method practiced by the national-socialists in the sphere of social demagogy was to promise everything to everybody, to promise everybody what interested him most. They quite shamelessly promised employment to the unemployed, and

* Berlin, 1934.

higher wages to the employed workers, and at the same time promised the employers that social legislation would be cut down, that expenditures on the social services would be lowered, that wages would be reduced. Without any embarrassment they promised high custom tariffs and high prices to the peasants, and at the same time gave the urban consumers the impression that they would reduce their cost of living. They made speeches in Dusseldorf and Hamburg before the representatives of the heavy and exporting industries, in an endeavor to gain their support, while at the same time they promised the artisan, the small tradesman, the worker and the peasant to keep the trusts in check.

In his book Goebbels sings long hymns of praise to Schacht, the representative of the largest German banks, while at the same time promising the German petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, who are sunken in debt, that their interest bondage would be abolished. It is a well known fact that the national-socialists have held two meetings on one and the same street in Berlin on one and the same evening but in two different places. At one meeting, attended by homeowners, promises were made that rents would be raised. At the other meeting, convened for the tenants in a building nearby, the tenants were promised that their rents would be reduced. Without embarrassment or shame, they promised good well-paid jobs to government officials, while at the same time soothing the taxpayers with the promise that State expenses would be reduced and the salaries of officials would be cut.

Along with social demagogy of the lowest order, they excited chauvinism and anti-Semitism, and inculcated their audiences with their notorious "race theory". And since political advertisement must prove that the goods offered are better than all other goods, they made the basis of their policy the principle of the leader and inspired the masses with the idea that the best goods on the political exchange and the best leader is Hitler.

They appealed to the property instincts of the petty bourgeoisie of the town and countryside. They deliberately did away with the differences between social-democracy and Communism and declared that social-democracy was also a Marxist party. They appealed to the petty-bourgeois strata, who had been thrown out of their ruts, and against parliamentarism, against the old parliamentary parties. At the same time national-socialism was not afraid of repeating itself, did not mind banalities, commonplaces, or loud noise. Goebbels himself emphasizes that when agitating you must appeal to the "most primitive instincts of the masses" and sense their moods, their complaints, their wrongs, dreams and hopes.

And since the petty bourgeoisie, who stand between two fundamental classes of modern society, namely, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, consider

themselves above classes, they hammered away at the petty-bourgeois fear of the class struggle, proclaiming national unity and liquidation of the class struggle as the supreme principle of their policy. And since the bourgeoisie, and particularly the petty bourgeoisie, dream of eternal categories, they aimed at the urge of the petty bourgeoisie for such "eternal" categories, as "the people", "honor", "fidelity", "courage", "heroism", "love for one's country", and without shame or reserve raised the most trite, the most hackneyed "eternal truths", the eternal slogans of the petty bourgeoisie which have long ago been refuted by life and by the class struggle.

Goebbels himself is of petty-bourgeois origin. He belongs to the category of men about whom Bismarck in his time declared, that they become politicians, for otherwise they could not find a normal career. Goebbels took part in the national-socialist movement, which declared itself to be a militant movement of the participants of the past and future fronts of the imperialist and civil wars. He joined a movement, which used terror and violence against the proletariat, terror and violence against Marxism, as its leading methods. But Goebbels personally was never at the front, he does not know the taste of gunpowder, and always felt his inner weakness and cowardice when among the professionals of the imperialist and civil war. Goebbels took part in a movement which proclaimed the northern, powerful Aryan race to be the supreme race. But he himself is a physical monster, is weak and of low stature and is obviously secretly ashamed of his physical defects. He has a passionate desire for power, but is essentially at the same time filled with reverence for those who wielded power in the old pre-war Germany.

He is a man of agitational phrases, of outward enthusiasms, but at the same time he sees the political kitchen of the bourgeois parties, he sees all the low-grade intrigues inside his own party, and he becomes a cynic. He is a mass worker by his official duty, and his position in the party, but at the same time he despises the masses and repeatedly emphasizes that he has not the slightest intention of appealing to the mental capacity and qualities of the masses. In his own party, in his own movement, he is surrounded by people of no great education or cleverness. He apparently has not a very high appraisal of the mental capacity of the "leader" himself—of Hitler. Hitler's ideas about women, about the noble estate, and about his own tasks and place in Germany, so often quoted by Goebbels in his book, are so trite, so absurd, that despite all the praises lavished by Goebbels in honor of the "leader", they sound more like mockery. Thus Goebbels himself becomes a cynic towards his own party comrades and probably to his own self. But it is precisely his cynicism, precisely his feeling of his own inward weakness, the sense of his own deformity, both physical and ideo-

logical, plus an exceedingly developed and morbid ambition, that develop in him his hatred of his nearest party comrades, that develop his capacities for the basest intrigues, multiplied by animal fear of the revolutionary proletariat, and lust for vengeance and desire to make a lesson of the Communists.

Along side with Hitler, Goebbels was the most outstanding agitator and organizer in the National-Socialist Party. As a journalist he never was, nor is, anything special. He himself repeatedly emphasized that whereas the national-socialists succeeded in training and rallying around themselves a group of fairly good agitators, orators and organizers, their party press is below criticism. And both before the seizure of power, and afterwards, the national-socialist press was and still remains extremely tedious, and unattractive. In the hands of the national-socialists the press never served as any important weapon in the seizure of power. Before their advent to power, it was impossible to wage the contradictory kind of propaganda in the press which they developed at their meetings. Thus, Goebbels is primarily an orator, an agitator and an organizer of propaganda, a mass worker in the national-socialist movement. This is, evidently, the reason why he apparently occupied a position on the "Left flank" of the Nazis. Goebbels was a "Left" national-socialist, because he did not recognize any bounds in the sphere of social demagoguery. Thus, this political coward and intriguer defended the dominion of monopoly capital.

In the phrases he used and the demagoguery he employed he stood together with Standis and Otto Strasser, who raised a mutiny against Hitler. However, when he saw that the mutiny raised by Standis remained isolated, he betrayed Standis immediately and without compunction, and helped to liquidate the mutiny.

He was the closest friend of Heldorf, the former leader of the Berlin storm troopers, but he betrayed Heldorf, just as quickly and calmly, when the latter was driven out of Berlin.

Goebbels was the prophet of the second national-socialist revolution. But when, at the order of monopolist capital, Hitler proclaimed the national revolution to be at an end, and the second revolution to be a crime, Goebbels turned against the second revolution without any shame or embarrassment.

He was the closest friend and companion-in-arms of Roehm, Heines, Ernst and other storm troop leaders who were shot by Hitler on June 30. As a matter of fact it was he who supplied these people with the slogan of struggle "against reaction", it was precisely he who furnished them with the ideology of the non-completion of the national-socialist revolution and of the necessity of bringing it about. But when Hitler, at the order of Junkers, capitalists and the Reichswehr generals, massacred his nearest party comrades, companions-in-arms and friends, Goebbels was present

at this operation, and he did his utmost to spatter his murdered friends with mud.

From this point of view Goebbels is probably sorry at having prematurely published his book, for he dealt out very much praise to Roehm in it. He sings long hymns of praise to Roehm. He writes: "Chief of Staff Roehm accomplished a miracle in creating a firm and indestructible organization out of scattered and disorganized groups." (p. 43.) He praises the diplomatic abilities of Roehm: "Our representatives, headed by Roehm, the Chief of Staff, accomplished their task brilliantly." This is what he writes about the role of Roehm in the negotiations with Schleicher: "Chief of Staff Roehm can always find a way out of any position." And further: "The Chief of Staff is remarkable for his wonderful freshness, and imperturbable composure. In all his negotiations he is distinguished by his foresight, wisdom, firmness and courageous ability for action." Now, of course, Goebbels has to disclaim these praises, and insofar as he announced in his book that the attribution of homo-sexualist tendencies to Roehm was a base slander by the Marxists, he must now introduce certain corrections, for both Hitler and Goebbels testified to the whole world that Roehm was a homo-sexualist, a libertine, etc.

There is nothing new in this world. And when we read now in Goebbels' book, that "our way to power is the great song of fidelity, such as has rarely been manifested in the history of humanity", it is difficult to suppress a smile when we recall the events of June 30, when the true friends murdered each other in accordance with all the rules of the gangsters' art. There is nothing permanent in this world! And when we read today in Goebbels' book that: "No one must imagine that among the people who stand around Hitler there have ever been any quarrels or conflicts or that such can ever happen among them in the future", we have to laugh and point out that certain "quarrels", and some "conflicts" which went as far as murders and executions, did take place "among the people who stand around Hitler".

Goebbels' phrase that "we gained power together, and we will make use of this power!" sounds exceptionally funny today, after the shootings of June 30. And how incredibly funny today is the sound of Goebbels' hymns of praise to the storm troopers and their leaders, to their heroic feats, to their unsurpassed courage and to their gigantic merits before the country and the people!

Yes, Goebbels will find all this quite unpleasant at present. Yes, Goebbels may yet suffer for the premature publication of his book. He was a coward, a cynic and a traitor at all turns of the life of the National-Socialist Party. He always put his stake on the winner. But it seems that even such a sly, cowardly, spineless and characterless rat as Goebbels, may back a wrong horse. He may get away with his eulogy of

Goering, at least for the time being. Goering is still in power. It is quite a matter of course that he praises Hitler. But he also indulged in praise of Roehm, Heldorf and Heines, who were among those shot on June 30. He praised them as wise, brave, firm, courageous Aryans, and later, as Minister of Propaganda, was to proclaim them traitors, embezzlers and libertines. It was only as regards G. Strasser, that this sense did not betray him. He hit the nail on the head as regards Strasser when he proclaimed the latter a defeatist, a pessimist, who failed in his loyalty to the party and to its leader, a careerist, an intriguer, a traitor, and a betrayer. He was evidently preparing the way to the shooting of Strasser. He hit the nail on the head in this respect.

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Comparatively little can be found in Goebbels' book about the mechanism of national-socialist propaganda and agitation, and about the methods used to wage the various election campaigns. We see Goebbels all the time searching for new methods of agitation and propaganda. We see him looking for methods of applying all the means of modern technique in the sphere of mass agitation; meetings, assemblies, demonstrations, parades, films, the press, the theatres, broadcasting, posters, leaflets, everything is made use of so as to rally the masses, to stimulate them, to excite and enhance the mass psychology.

But all this costs money, and tremendous supplies of money, all the more since in its mass work national-socialism makes use of automobiles, airplanes, and all other modern transportation facilities. Money, money—this question runs throughout the whole of Goebbels' diary like a red thread. The national-socialist party suffers from financial difficulties, all the time, but in some peculiar way these difficulties are always solved, and at the most critical moments money is supplied from somewhere, and by someone. But Goebbels is extremely modest and reserved, and does not mention whence and from whom the money is obtained. At the same time, it appears, that when the national-socialists came to power, and were engaged in the Reichstag elections, their Party even "made a profit" on the election campaign, and its income proved to be higher than its expenditures. But Goebbels fails to explain this miracle. The lack of money prior to the advent to power—such is one of the major complaints made by Goebbels.

Another complaint of his refers to the struggle inside the National-Socialist Party. He blabs out all the time, that every personal question, every candidature for the Reichstag, or to the Landtags, every position in the party apparatus, furnished the pretext for the most abominable personal squabbles.

When Goebbels wrote and published his book, he evidently wanted to build a monument of a kind to the heroic feats and the struggle of the National-

Socialist Party. But when you read his book with close attention, you rather find an exposure of the National-Socialist Party. Goebbels himself exposes his party, and tells how it carried on its most trite, most obscure intrigues through the medium of persons of the worst repute, handled all kinds of underhand deals and transactions, how the representatives of the party wormed their way to the Junkers, into the "Nobles' Club", how Hitler brewed his plots together with Schleicher and Papen against the Bruening government, then with Schleicher against the Papen government, then later with Papen against the Schleicher government, and finally against Hugenberg as well. Petty, filthy, underhand intrigues! But at the same time the leaders of national-socialism appear before the masses as heroes and fighters against the reaction of the very same Papen, Schleicher and Hugenberg.

Goebbels exposes the inner weakness and the tremendous vacillations of the National-Socialist Party. He himself relates how in every crisis, at the least little failure, depression, passivity and defeatist moods set in immediately in the party. Thus, after August 13, when Hindenburg refused to appoint Hitler as Chancellor, an incredible panic, disorganization and defeatism reigned in the party. Similarly, after the November election, when the National-Socialist Party lost two million votes, it was again the scene of depressed defeatist moods, passivity and desertion. Further, even Standis' speech aroused panic and crisis in the party. All the more when Gregor Strasser resigned all his posts in the National-Socialist Party, and proceeded to negotiate with Schleicher about joining the Government, did the panic, commotion and depression among the upper circles of the National-Socialist Party assume immense proportions, even according to the description given by Goebbels. One reads these sections of Goebbels' diary with undoubted interest. They illuminate the path of national-socialism in the future. The motley social composition of the party, the considerable stratum of petty-bourgeois elements, as well as the personal qualities (mood) of the "leader" himself, condition the unstable structure of the party, and disclose the relatively very weak power of resistance of this party during periods of sharp turns and crises. Goebbels makes an attempt to depict Hitler as a calm, firm, steady and resolute man. But it is evident from these very characteristics given by Goebbels, that the "leader" enjoys these qualities in very small doses, that the "leader" himself vacillates, is unable to make a quick decision, and when it comes to a crisis, he makes decisions in a state of hysterics.

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Goebbels has little to say for the workers and about the workers. He tells, of course, with a certain bragging, about the workers who were present at the national-socialist meetings and who joined the

storm troopers' detachments. But Goebbels is just as much interested in the difficult and bitter life of the unemployed as he is interested in the life of the peasant. But at the same time Goebbels is afraid of the workers, he afraid of the working class movement. When partial strikes broke out during the period of the Papen government, he declared with fright that the government was helpless against the strikes, that the trade unions were beginning to be drawn into the struggle, and that matters were proving to be more dangerous than many of them imagined. When the transport workers' strike broke out in Berlin, Goebbels, who supported this strike by word of mouth, entered the following correct sentence in his diary: "A general strike is a terrible weapon. Machine-guns and bayonets can do nothing against a general strike". And on July 20, when Papen accomplished his putsch in Prussia, after driving off the social-democratic government, Goebbels wrote in his diary with a sigh of relief:

"The general strike did not take place. Rumors are about that the Reichsbanner arranged a mutiny, but these are children's fairy tales. The Reds have missed their decisive hour."

And when the social-democratic workers read Goebbels' book, they will certainly take notice that even such a base and abominable enemy of the working class as this blood-thirsty and sadistic enemy of the working class movement, Goebbels, can speak with fake indignation about the trade unions having disrupted the strike of the Berlin transport workers. They will notice how even Goebbels emphasizes that the Social-Democratic Party failed to show any resistance in Prussia, that after Hitler's advent to power, many high functionaries—social-democrats—used to visit Goering, begging him to give them an allowance for removal.

Goebbels was no doubt the most active and gifted agitator of the national-socialist movement. He had

some achievements. But it proves that Goebbels was a good agitator and propagandist only as long as he was in the opposition.

But as soon as his party came to power, and he himself became a Minister, nothing more went right with him. He became a poor agitator, orator and propagandist.

One failure follows another. He created a gigantic apparatus. He concentrated the whole of the press, all the theatres, cinemas and radio in his hands. He spends millions on propaganda. He maintains a staff of agitators and propagandists, many thousands strong, and despite all this, national-socialism is ever more and more losing its mass basis!

Goebbels used to believe once upon a time in the omnipotence of agitation and propaganda.

But now fascism is in power. Crying contradictions between words and deeds, between the promises and the actual policy of national-socialism are now becoming clear to the masses, and no agitation or propaganda can destroy these contradictions. No agitation or propaganda is in a position to wipe out of the consciousness of the masses the fact that the national-socialists came to power lavishing promises to each and everybody, promising everyone what interested him most, and, when in power, promoting the dictatorship of Krupp and Thyssen. Goebbels is now compelled to wage a struggle against the "critics", the "mopers", the "saboteurs", the "wreckers", and the "mess-makers". Goebbels must now furnish "grounds" for the shooting of Roehm, Ernst and his other closest friends. He must now cover the storm troopers' detachments with mud. He is now compelled to wage a struggle against all those slogans, which he himself launched among the masses. This is the reason why failure attends the agitational activity of Goebbels. This is the reason why the German bourgeoisie will pay dearly for the social demagoguery, which created the mass basis of fascism some time ago.