

The COMMUNIST

VOL. VIII

MARCH

NO. 3



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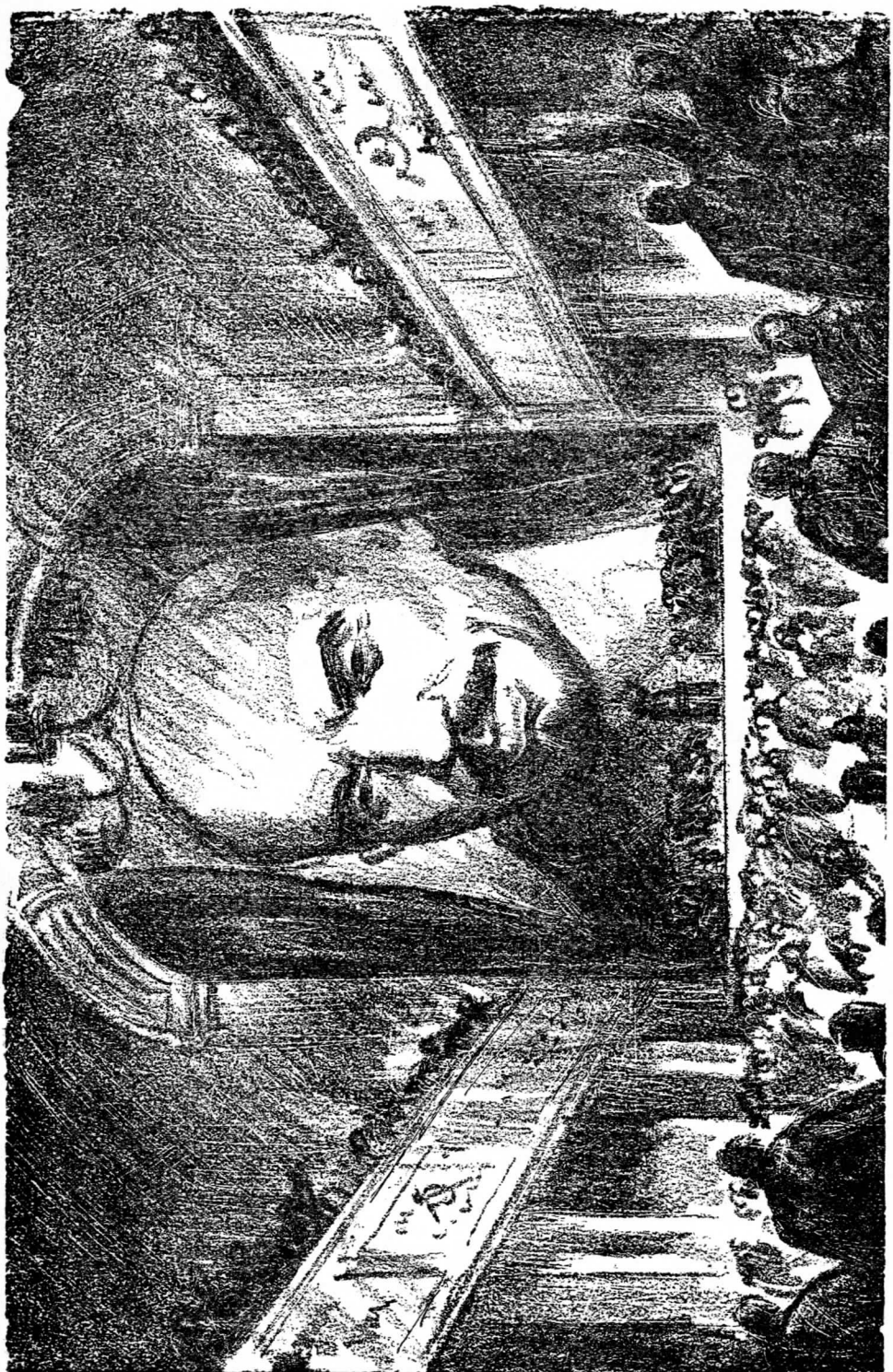
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Hail to the Sixth Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America! March, 1929.



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The First Ten Years of the Communist International

THE world proletarian celebration of the first ten years of the C. I. becomes an energetic preparation for the giant tasks that lie ahead, as well as a glorying in the achievements already won.

The Communist International emerged out of the thunder of cannon, the agony and death of millions in mutual slaughter in the first world-wide imperialist war. The first decade of the Comintern ends and the second begins with the imperialist robber nations, still crippled by the last war, again at each other's throats; always with an eye, however, to the new attack against the Union of Soviet Republics, the dread of all imperialisms.

Two months have been set aside, from the early days of March, just ten years after the first congress of the Comintern in Moscow, to the First of May, Labor's International Holiday, for the celebration of the Ten Years of the Communist International. During this period new millions of workers and peasants, not only in the great capitalist countries, but also in colonial and semi-colonial lands, will be awakened by the call of the Comintern, the organizer and the leader of the world revolution.

The Comintern is a child of the mighty Bolshevik Revolution that destroyed Czarism and established the proletarian dictatorship of the workers, peasants and red army soldiers. The Comintern, the General Staff of the World Revolution, has won many tremendous victories and also suffered some defeats during the ten years of its existence. It faces the opening of its second decade of existence more able to achieve its aim, better equipped to struggle with all means for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, the victory of the World Soviet Republic.

The Communist Party of the United States, having turned a new page in its development, marked by the holding of its Sixth National Congress, joins all sections of the Comintern in the determination to build a mightier World Party. As the leader of ever-growing mass actions, our Party develops through ceaseless struggle into a mass Communist Party, winning leadership for the Comintern over the American proletariat. Thus the celebration in the United States of the Tenth Year of the Comintern dedicates itself also to the strengthening of the new unions already created, the development of the movement for the organization of the

unorganized, emphasizing the work of winning the millions of the Negro proletariat, greater efforts to reach effectively the agrarian masses, also women and youth labor in the mills and factories, and the cementing of closer relations between our Party in the imperialist homeland and the growing revolutionary movements in the colonies of Dollar Imperialism, and in Latin America; with unceasing struggle against social reformism, against the American Federation of Labor and its creature, the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and the traitors of the Socialist Party.

These are the tasks of our Bolshevik Party, based on Marxism-Leninism, in the present period. Thus will our American Section really aid the Comintern to accomplish its mission as the heir of the First International—the International Workingmen's Association led by Marx and Engels—which was formed in 1864, but which came to an end in 1872; as the heir of the best traditions of the Second International that was born in 1889, but which crashed before the guns of the world war in 1914, shattered by opportunism.

The Communist International may be said to have had its first beginnings in the thwarted Russian Revolution of 1905, which planted the seeds of a genuine proletarian, militant international that slowly matured in the ten-year period before the imperialist war's outbreak. It was in the days from the 2nd to the 7th of March, in 1919, however, that the best spokesman of the international revolutionary proletariat gathered in Moscow, under the chairmanship of Lenin, in the First Congress of the Comintern. Here was laid down the fundamental principle of the Comintern, Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of the Soviet Power.

The imperialist war's endings had seen the first big insurgent movement of the proletariat in nearly all parts of Europe. The revolutionary events in Finland, in Hungary, in Turkey, and in the Balkans, the civil war during the progress of the proletarian revolution in Russia; the blockade of this proletarian revolution by European imperialism, and the successful struggle of the Russian workers against this blockade; the introduction of the N. E. P. in Russia, and the big successes of Socialist reconstruction in the U. S. S. R. upon the basis of the N. E. P.; the revolutionary events in Germany in 1919, 1921 and 1923, the General Strike in England, the gigantic revolutionary upheaval in China and the intervention of world imperialism with fire and sword against the Chinese Revolution—these were the chief events that gave content to the work of the Comintern during its first decade; work that gives great promise of mighty triumphs in the years ahead.

Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie! Long live the Communist Party of the United States! Long live the Communist International! Hail the World Revolution!

The Sixth Convention of Our Party

By MAX BEDACHT

AT its Sixth Convention, our Party finds itself confronted with the most critical period of its history. In the ten years of its existence, the persistent and consciously pressed processes of its gradual Bolshevization have led it to the first decisive steps of transforming itself from a propaganda society into a real mass Communist Party of action.

This first step, very strongly manifested in the stalwart leadership given by our Party to many serious mass struggles of the American workers was only the beginning of this transformation. The next steps in that direction must be taken as a part and as a result of the immediate task of our Party of mobilizing the American working class for the struggle against imperialist war.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The mobilization of the American working class for the struggle against imperialist war is primarily the organization of the American proletariat for the class struggle, and the permeation of this class struggle with the conscious revolutionary leadership of the Party. The immediate task confronting the Convention, as well as our Party as a whole, is still the winning away of the working masses in the United States from the bourgeois and democratic illusions which up to this moment have maintained the working class as an integral part of the political forces of capitalism. The development of class consciousness, the politicalization of the class struggles on the part of the American proletariat, is therefore the immediate aim of our anti-imperialist war mobilization.

To accomplish this aim, our Party must first of all have a clear perspective of the major trend of the development of American imperialism.

The last imperialist war has enabled American capitalism to win a predominant position in world capitalism, and to establish its hegemony. Making United States capitalism the creditor of all other imperialist groups, augmenting the rationalization processes in industry as an accompanying phenomenon of profitable war material production for Europe and later for itself, have tremendously accelerated capitalist accumulation for the American ruling class; but this acceleration of accumulation of new capital has not

only enabled American imperialism to claim hegemony over world imperialism, has not only made American imperialism richer and more powerful, but has also intensified all of the contradictions of capitalism, developing these contradictions more and more in the direction of a crisis.

These contradictions tend toward the sharpening of the class struggle at home, and the sharpening of the antagonisms between American imperialism and its imperialist rivals. Thus, the very strength of American imperialism becomes the source of its weakness. Its rapid accumulation intensifies its imperialist aggression as a method of solving the contradictions between its ever-growing productivity and ever-growing riches, and the contracting markets for products and capital.

American imperialism consciously and systematically prepares for the conflict growing out of its own aggression. While the rationalization process in industry was a primary contributing factor to the conflict between growing riches and diminishing markets, and therefore was one of the causes leading to the war preparations against the imperialist rivals of the American ruling class, on the other hand, these very war preparations themselves are an important factor in still more augmenting the process of rationalization.

The process of rationalization of production is not only manifested in the mechanical increase of constant capital (machinery, etc.) at the expense of variable capital (labor-power), but also in the systematic positive and relative increase of the exploitation of the workers. The result is:

1. The creation and rapid increase of an army of permanent unemployed, completely eliminated from the productive process.
2. The decrease, relatively and positively, of the wage and living standards of the masses.
3. The ever more rapid using up and aging of the workers in the productive process, thereby throwing them upon the industrial scrap-heap at an ever earlier age.
4. A consequent constantly increasing insecurity of employment.
5. Growing out of all of the foregoing, we have the more and more open enslavement of the workers, using the industrial spy system, the company-town system, the company-union system, and of course the government apparatus to intimidate the worker and create a fear of losing his job in the face of the constant army of unemployed.

This enslavement manifests itself in the form of capitalist dic-

tation to the workers concerning their morals, their religion, their politics, etc.

These very sources of profits and new capital, seemingly contributing only to the growing strength of imperialism, in reality ripen the objective factors for the overthrow of capitalist rule. The intensification of exploitation creates within the working masses a readiness and a desire to fight against it.

THE SHARPENING OF IMPERIALIST ANTAGONISMS

Our Convention must clearly analyze this factor which tends to undermine the strength of imperialism, and supplies the base of our agitation among the workers, and the possibility of organizing them. These conflicts growing out of the sharpening of the antagonism of the working class against capitalism, present the primary basis to our Party for its anti-war campaign. The anti-war campaign is essentially the campaign of winning the workers for and of organizing and intensifying the class struggle. A revolutionary campaign against war can only be a campaign for the proletarian revolution. Imperialist war can only be fought with the class war.

The above basic principle of the anti-war campaign of our Party must determine the attitude of the Party toward the military war preparations of American imperialism. While these military preparations must be used by the Party to make the American proletariat conscious of the war danger, we must guard against any influences of pacifism or any pacifist formulations. We must keep in mind the warning of Lenin that:

“An oppressed class that does not endeavor to possess arms and to learn to use them, would deserve to be treated as slaves.”

Our attitude toward armaments is guided by our attitude toward other manifestations of capitalist development. Lenin says:

“It is the task of the bourgeoisie to form trusts, to drive women and children into the factories, to torture them there, to demoralize them, to drive them into utter misery. We do not ‘demand’ such a development; we do not ‘support’ it; we fight against it. But how do we fight? We know that trusts, that women’s entry into the factories, denotes progress. We do not want to march backward to the handicraft period, to non-monopolist capitalism, to turn the women back to the household. *Forward*, through the trusts and the other processes, but *further* than the trusts,—to *socialism!*”

These clear Leninist formulations are the best guide against pacifist influences in our propaganda, and must be kept in mind by our Convention and by the Party in its work after the Convention.

To assure effective anti-imperialist war work, steps must be taken by the Convention to overcome the incorrect approach toward the

war danger, still prevailing in sections of the Party. There is too much of a tendency to consider the problem of the war danger as a question of the approximate distance that divides us from the war. Effective anti-war work can be done only if the whole Party learns to understand the immediacy of the war danger, learns to understand that the present period is already an imperialist war period, the period of immediate preparations for the war.

In this respect we must learn from the experiences of the past. In 1907, at the International Congress in Stuttgart, when the 2nd International was already completely poisoned by the influences of opportunism and the domination of the opportunist leadership, the debate on the war danger brought forth the warning of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht that resolutions to fight against the war must remain empty phrases so long as steps were not taken at once to put the resolutions into effect. In other words, the resolutions to fight the imperialist war cannot be put into effect on the day of the declaration of war, but must be living guides of action in the whole period of imperialism, which is the period of imperialist war. August, 1914, proved the correctness of this to all revolutionists. We must never lose sight of the fundamental postulate of Lenin that imperialism is the period of decaying capitalism. This decay is a process which must be accompanied and hastened by the processes of intensified proletarian struggle, adapted to the very problems of imperialism, the outstanding one of which is *war*.

Keeping constantly in mind the major immediate aim of our activities,—the ideological separation of the American workers from the capitalist class, our Convention must work out plans of participation in the every-day struggles of the workers, growing out of the contradictions of present-day American capitalism.

In this connection, it is important to keep in mind that the development of class consciousness among the workers is inseparable from the understanding that capitalism and the capitalist state are an identity, and that struggle against capitalism must, of necessity, be struggle against the capitalist state.

The first step to solve this problem is to draw masses of workers into political action for measures adapted to the daily needs of the workers. The proposal of the Communist International to organize mass campaigns for social insurance, supplies an excellent basis for this work.

The American working masses must be drawn into political fights for measures directly concerning them and connected with some of their daily problems. In the struggle for these measures, we can teach them that political action must be a class action, directed

against the same boss against whom the economic action,—strikes, etc., are directed.

MOBILIZE THE WORKERS AGAINST WAR

The tasks arising out of the further progress of our Party from a propaganda sect to a mass Party confront our Convention with the duty to consider plans of manifold intensification of the work of organizing the unorganized. This work is not only a prerequisite for successful mobilization against the war danger, but it is also facilitated by the conditions created by the very war danger. The organization of the unorganized masses, the drawing in of these masses into economic struggles, is an indispensable first step for the development and intensification of the class struggle. The economic struggles of the workers, for which they can be won on the basis of spontaneous reactions to untenable conditions, are the major bases for the development of militancy, and of political consciousness and consequent revolutionary class struggle.

The intensification of the class conflict everywhere, leads to preparations on the part of the imperialists for an armed attack against the outstanding stronghold of the working class in their class battles,—against the Soviet Union. The American capitalist class is extremely active in and takes the initiative for steps of a combined attack of the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union.

Our Convention must find ways and means of organizing, as a part of the Party's anti-war campaign, effective agitation with the aim of creating in the masses of the American workers an understanding of the character of the Soviet Union as the workers' fatherland. Agitation for the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States will be part of this campaign, but care must be exercised so that such a recognition campaign does not lose its class content and become a liberal propaganda for self determination, and like phrases.

The campaign against a war of imperialism against the Soviet Union must also take on the forms of direct agitation against all preparations for this war, of winning the workers for the prevention of military, ammunition transport, and the like. The aim must be to create the only correct proletarian conception,—that any form of attack against the Soviet Union is an attack against the American working class, and the workers of the world, and must be fought as such.

Another phase of the anti-war campaign is anti-imperialist activity in connection with the Communist Parties of the Latin-American countries and of Canada. The closest connection and cooperation between these Parties is indispensable. Imperialist aggression on

the part of United States capitalism has created a state of permanent warfare of the capitalist government of the United States against the peoples of Latin America. More effective methods must be found to support the resistance of these masses against American imperialist aggression by simultaneous mass action in the United States. An effective step in that direction must be made by paying increased attention to the organization of the masses of Latin-American workers employed in basic industries in the United States.

Another weakness of our Party must be overcome as a necessary prerequisite of effective anti-war work. The millions of Negro workers, an integral part of the American working class, yet separated from it ideologically by conscious cultivation of capitalist race prejudice, must be made the object of most intense agitation and organization work of our Party. Past great weaknesses of our Party in that direction must be eradicated by systematic mobilization of the whole Party for this work. It must be understood that this work is not merely the mechanical activation of the Party to organize Negro workers into the Party and the unions, but requires systematic transformation of the ideological approach of the whites and Negroes to each other.

AGAINST SOCIAL REFORMISM AND THE RIGHT DANGER

In all of the campaigns to be discussed and outlined by our Party Convention, and carried out by the Party afterwards, the Party must remain conscious of the dangerous influences of opportunism and of social reformism. In a period when the working-class resistance against capitalist exploitation witnesses a revival, when, as a result of this, the workers show a growing tendency of moving to the left, social reformist and opportunist activities become an obstacle for the workers. Their movement towards the left is interrupted, they cannot find the logical position dictated by the conditions,—the position of revolutionary struggle.

It is imperative to carry on this campaign against the right danger not only in the form of a general campaign to win the working masses away from their bourgeois and democratic illusions, but also in the specific form of combatting right errors and opportunistic tendencies within the Party and in the Communist International.

To combat this right danger within the Party, self-criticism must be applied in a real Leninist manner, with the Party constantly reviewing every one of its steps as it goes along, correcting itself for every wrong move made, making these corrections conscious steps toward the elevation of the communist ideology of the Party, and a guarantee against further and more serious deviations.

In the whole Communist International, our Party must become

a most active and a most conscious part of the forces struggling against open attempts to lead our revolutionary movement back into the prison of centrist and "left" social democracy, or of any movement of toleration or conciliation toward this.

This duty of our Party becomes especially serious in connection with the struggle against all attempts to revise or combat the program of socialist construction of our Russian brother Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union can grow as the fortress of the revolutionary international proletariat, and the increase of its strength can keep pace with the needs created by the constant intensification of the class struggle, only if maximum speed of industrialization strengthens and broadens the socialist base of the proletarian rule, thereby weakening the elements of bourgeois class struggle within the Soviet Union.

In the struggle against the right danger, therefore, our Party has its specific problem of cleansing its own ideology, of correcting its own mis-steps, and the problem, in common with all other Parties in the Comintern, of combatting this right danger in all of its forms.

AGAINST TROTSKYISM

Needless to say, the Convention must seriously consider the late outbreak of Trotskyism in the ranks of the party. The open counter-revolutionary forms which Trotskyism is taking ever more rapidly, and the open block with the right social-democratic and reformist elements which Trotskyism formed in the United States, have not only put the whole problem into a new light but also created a more favorable basis for the struggle against it.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE PARTY

The tremendous tasks confronting the Party because of the ever sharpening class antagonisms and the war danger raise as a major problem the consolidation and unification of the Party. The Convention must consider very seriously decisive steps to liquidate the factional division and to eradicate all elements of ideological and organizational weaknesses of the Party as a necessary prerequisite for its effective mobilization.

The very progress our Party has made in the last year and a half, the very seriousness with which the leadership of our Party has approached the various problems in the past, with the result of pushing the party out of its sectarian form into actual struggles and mass activities, are a guarantee that the Sixth Convention, too, will find correct solutions to the tremendous problems now confronting our Party.

Capitalist Stabilization, Class Struggles of the Proletariat, and the C. P. G.

By I. STALIN

(Speech delivered at the meeting of the E.C.C.I. Presidium held on December 19, 1928.)

COMRADES, in view of the fact that Comrade Molotov has already explained the point of view of the C.P.S.U. delegation, I have only a few remarks to make. I want to touch lightly upon three points that came out in the course of the debate. These points are: The problem of capitalist stabilization; the problem of the proletarian class struggles that arise in connection with the precariousness of stabilization; and the problem of the Communist Party of Germany.

It is with regret that I have to say that on all these three questions Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra have fallen into the mire of pusillanimous opportunism. It is true that so far Comrade Humbert-Droz has spoken only on formal questions. But I have in mind the speech on the question of principles he delivered at the meeting of the Politsecretariat of the E.C.C.I. at which the question of the rights and conciliators in the Communist Party of Germany was discussed. I think that very speech represents the ideological foundation of the position the minority of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. took up at that meeting. I think, therefore, that the speech on the question of principles that Comrade Humbert-Droz delivered at the meeting of the Politsecretariat of the E.C.C.I. must not be ignored. I said that Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra have fallen into the mire of pusillanimous opportunism. What does that mean? It means that in addition to avowed opportunism, there is also tacit opportunism, which dares not display its real features. That is precisely the opportunism of conciliation with the right deviation. Conciliation is pusillanimous opportunism. I repeat that, to my regret, I must declare that both these comrades have fallen into the mire of pusillanimous opportunism.

Permit me to demonstrate this by a few facts.

1. *The Problem of Capitalist Stabilization:* The Comintern proceeds from the assumption that present-day capitalist stabilization is a temporary, transient, precarious, decaying sort of stabilization that

will break up more and more as the capitalist crisis develops. This does not in the least contradict the generally known fact about the growth of capitalist technique and rationalization. Indeed, it is on the basis of this very growth of capitalist technique and rationalization that the internal unsoundness and decay of stabilization is developing. What did Humbert-Droz say in his speech at the Politsecretariat of the E.C.C.I.? He flatly denied that stabilization was precarious and transient. He bluntly stated in his speech that "the VI. World Congress in fact condemned the loose and general description of stabilization as:—decaying, shaky, etc., stabilization." He bluntly declared that the thesis of the VI. Congress regarding the Third Period does not say a word about stabilization being precarious. Can Comrade Humbert-Droz's contention be regarded as correct? No, it cannot; because the VI. Congress of the Comintern said the very opposite to what Comrade Humbert-Droz said in his speech. In the paragraph on the Third Period, the VI. Congress of the Comintern stated:

"This period (i. e., the third period,—I. S.) will inevitably lead—through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization—to capitalist stabilization becoming *still more precarious* and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism."

Did you hear that? — "capitalist stabilization becoming more precarious." What does that mean? It means that stabilization is already precarious and transient, that it will become still more precarious as a result of the conditions prevailing in the Third Period. And Comrade Humbert-Droz has the effrontery to sneer at everybody, including the German Party, who says that stabilization is a precarious and decaying stabilization, who says that the present struggle of the working class undermines and disintegrates capitalist stabilization. Whom is Comrade Humbert-Droz sneering at? Obviously he is sneering at the decisions of the VI. Congress.

It follows, therefore, that Comrade Humbert-Droz, while ostensibly defending the decisions of the VI. Congress of the Comintern, is actually *revising* them, and is thus sliding into the opportunist conception of stabilization.

That is how the matter stands in regard to the formal side of the question. Let us now examine the material aspect of the question. If present-day stabilization cannot be described as precarious, decaying or transient, what kind of a stabilization is it then? The only thing that can be said about it then is that it is durable, or at all events, that it is becoming more durable. But if capitalist stabilization is becoming more durable, what is the use of talking about the crisis of world capitalism becoming more acute and profound?

Obviously, this leaves no room for the accentuation of the capitalist crisis. Is it not clear that Comrade Humbert-Droz has got himself entangled in his own contradictions?

To proceed, Lenin said that capitalist development under imperialism is a two-sided process—1) the growth of capitalism in some countries, and 2) the decay of capitalism in other countries. Is this thesis correct? If it is correct, then obviously capitalist stabilization can be nothing else but decaying stabilization.

Finally, I want to say a few words about a number of facts that are well known to you all. For example, the desperate struggle the imperialist groups are carrying on among themselves for markets and for spheres for the export of capital. There is the frantic growth of armaments in the capitalist countries; the establishment of new military alliances and obvious preparations for new imperialist wars. There is the sharpening of the contradictions between two gigantic imperialisms, the U. S. A. and Great Britain, each of which is seeking to draw all other States into its respective orbit. Finally, there is the very existence of the Soviet Union; its growth and achievements in the spheres of construction, economics, in culture and politics. The very existence of the Soviet Union, quite apart from its growth, shatters and undermines the foundations of world capitalism. How can Marxians, Leninists, communists, maintain after this that capitalist stabilization is not a precarious and decaying stabilization, that it is not, year after year and day after day, being shattered by the very process of development?

Do Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra realize the mess they have got into? The principal mistakes Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra make, arise from this one mistake.

2. *The Problem of the Proletarian Class Struggles:* Comrade Humbert-Droz also goes wrong on the question of the character and significance of the class struggles of the proletariat in capitalist countries. The conclusion to be drawn from Comrade Humbert-Droz's speech delivered at the meeting of the Politsecretariat is that the struggles of the working class, its spontaneous clashes with the capitalists, are in the main of a defensive character, that the leadership of the Communist Party in these struggles must be exercised merely within the limits of the existing reformist unions. Is that conclusion right? No, it is not. To maintain this means to drag at the tail of events. Comrade Humbert-Droz forgets that the struggle of the working class is now proceeding on the basis of a *precarious* stabilization, that the working-class struggles not infrequently are in the nature of counter-attacks; a counter-offensive to the capitalist offensive and a direct offensive against the capitalists. Comrade Humbert-Droz sees nothing new in the recent struggles of the working class.

He ignores such facts as the general strike in Lodz; the strikes for an improvement in conditions of labor in France, Czechoslovakia and Germany, the powerful mobilization of the proletarian forces during the metal workers' lockout in Germany, etc., etc.

What do these and similar facts signify? They signify that in capitalist countries, the conditions precedent to a fresh revival of the labor movement are maturing. This is the new element that Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra fail to see, and which, of course, comrades who are in the habit of looking behind instead of ahead can never see. What does looking behind instead of ahead mean? It means dragging at the tail of events; it means failing to see the new elements in events and being caught unawares. It means that the Communist Parties must abandon the leadership in the labor movement. This is exactly the point on which the leaders of the German Party came to grief in the revolutionary period of 1923. Therefore, those who do not wish to repeat the mistakes of 1923 must stimulate the thoughts of the communists and call upon them to advance; they must prepare the masses for the impending battles, must take all measures to prevent the Communist Parties from dragging at the tail of events and the working class from being caught unawares.

It is very strange that Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra forget these things.

During the Ruhr struggles, the German communists asserted that the unorganized workers were more revolutionary than the organized trade-union members. Comrade Humbert-Droz waxed indignant over this, and declares that this is impossible. That is queer! Why is it impossible? There are about 1,000,000 workers in the Ruhr. Only about 200,000 of these are organized. The unions are led by bureaucratic reformists who have completely merged with the capitalist class. Is it surprising that the unorganized workers proved more revolutionary than the organized? Could it be otherwise? I could relate to you more "surprising" facts from the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. It often happened in Russia that the masses were more revolutionary than some of their communist leaders. Every Russian Bolshevik knows this perfectly well. This is exactly why Lenin said that it was not only necessary to teach the masses, but also *to learn from them*. These facts must not surprise us. We should rather be surprised at the fact that Comrade Humbert-Droz does not understand these simple things that occur in the sphere of Bolshevik revolutionary practice.

The same may be said of Comrade Serra. He does not approve of the German communists acting outside the existing unions and

of their having broken down those limits in the struggle to organize the locked-out metal workers. He regards this as a violation of the resolution of the IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U. He maintains that the R.I.L.U. instructed the communists to work only within the unions. This is nonsense, comrades! The R.I.L.U. has not suggested anything of the sort. (Losovsky: Hear, hear!)

To say this means to doom the Communist Party to the role of a mere passive spectator in the class struggles of the proletariat; to maintain this means to bury the idea of the leading role of the Communist Party in the labor movement. It is the merit of the German communists that they refused to be scared by the twaddle about "trade-union limits," that they broke through those limits and organized the struggle of the unorganized against the will of the trade-union bureaucrats. It is the merit of the German communists that they sought and found new forms of struggle and of organizing the unorganized workers. Perhaps, in doing so they made some minor mistakes. But new things are never accomplished without mistakes. It does not at all follow that because we must work in the reformist unions if they are really mass organizations, therefore we must *confine* our mass work to work in the reformist unions, that we must become slaves to the rules and regulations of those unions. If the reformist leaders are merging with capitalism (see the resolutions of the VI. Congress of the C. I. and the IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U.) and the working class is waging a struggle against capitalism, how can it be maintained that the working-class struggle led by the Communist Party can be carried on without, to a certain extent, breaking through the limits of the existing reformist unions? Obviously, it cannot be maintained without dropping into opportunism. We can quite easily conceive of a situation in which it may be necessary to create parallel mass working-class unions against the will of the trade-union bureaucrats who have sold themselves to the capitalists. We have such a situation in the U. S. It is quite possible for a similar situation to arise in Germany.

3. *The Problem of the Communist Party of Germany*: Is the Communist Party of Germany to be or not to be an organized and consolidated organization with iron discipline?—that is the question, comrades. It is not merely a question of rights or conciliators that is at stake, but the very existence of the Communist Party of Germany. The Communist Party of Germany exists. But inside the Communist Party of Germany there are two forces which are disintegrating the Party from within and are endangering its very existence. First, there is the right faction, which is organizing a new anti-Leninist Party within the Communist Party, with its own Central Committee and its own press and which day in and day out violates Party discipline. Secondly, there is the conciliatory group,

which, by its vacillations, strengthens the right faction. There is no need for me to prove here that the right faction is breaking with Leninism and is waging a desperate struggle against the Comintern. That has been proved long ago. Nor is there any need for me to prove that the conciliatory group violates the known decision of the VI. Congress concerning the systematic struggle against the conciliators. That also has been proved already. The situation in the German Party has reached the limit of toleration. The "state of affairs" in which the rights poison the atmosphere with social democratic ideological rubbish and systematically violate the elementary principles of Party discipline, while the conciliators carry grist to the mill of the rights must no longer be tolerated, for to do so would mean to turn against the Comintern and to violate the elementary demands of Leninism. A situation has arisen similar to that which we had in the C. P. S. U. (if not worse) in the last phase of the struggle against Trotskyism, when the Party and the Comintern were compelled to drive the Trotskyists out of their ranks. Everyone realizes this now. But Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra do not see it, or pretend they do not see it. So much the worse for them. This means that they are ready to support both the rights and the conciliators even at the risk of utterly disintegrating the Communist Party of Germany.

In arguing against the expulsion of the rights, Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra refer to the decision of the VI. Congress about combating the right tendencies by ideological means. Yes, the VI. Congress did pass such a decision. But these comrades forget that the decision of the VI. Congress does not say that the struggle of the Communist Parties against the right danger must be confined to measures of an ideological character. Nothing of the kind! With reference to the measures for combating deviations from the Leninist line by ideological means, the VI. Congress of the Comintern, in its resolution on Comrade Bukharin's report declared that:

"This does not imply that discipline is to be relaxed; on the contrary, it implies the *general tightening up of iron internal discipline, the absolute subordination of the minority to the majority, the absolute subordination of the minor organizations, as well as all the other Party organizations (parliamentary fractions, trade-union fractions, the press, etc.) to the leading Party Centres.*"

Strange that Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra forget this thesis in the resolution of the VI. Congress of the Comintern. It is very strange that all conciliators, those who regard themselves conciliators as well as those who shun that name, systematically forget this important thesis in their reference to the resolution of the VI. Congress of the Communist International.

What are we to do if, instead of a general tightening up of iron discipline in the German Party, we get crying facts of deliberate violation of discipline by the rights, and partly also by some of the conciliators? Can such a situation be tolerated any longer?

What are we to do if, instead of absolute subordination of the minor organizations, the trade-union fractions and the Party press to the Central Committee, we get in the Communist Party of Germany crying facts of the gross violation of this demand of the VI. Congress of the Comintern by the rights, and partly also by some of the conciliators? Can such a situation be tolerated any longer?

You know the conditions of acceptance to the Comintern adopted at the II. Congress. I have in mind the 21 conditions. Point 1 in those conditions lays it down that:

“the periodical and non-periodical press and all Party publishing offices must be completely *subordinated to the Central Committee of the Party*, irrespective as to whether the Party as a whole at the time is legal or illegal.”

You know that the right faction has two newspapers. You know that these papers refuse absolutely to submit to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany. The question is: can such an outrage be tolerated any longer?

Point 12 of the 21 conditions stipulates that the Party must be “organized in the most centralized fashion,” that *iron discipline bordering on military discipline must prevail.*” You know that the rights in the German Party refuse to recognize any kind of discipline, iron or any other, except their own factional discipline. The question is: can such an outrage be tolerated any longer?

Or you will say perhaps that the stipulations of the II. Congress of the Comintern are not binding on the rights?

Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra cry out against alleged violation of the decisions of the Communist International. In the rights we have real (and not alleged) violators of the fundamental principles of the Communist International. Why do they remain silent? Is it not because they, while ostensibly defending the decisions of the Comintern, want to defend the rights and to have these decisions revised?

The statement Comrade Serra made is particularly interesting. He swears by his faith that he is against the rights, against the conciliators, etc. But what conclusions does he draw from that? To fight the rights and conciliators? Not at all. He draws the extremely strange conclusion that the Politbureau of the C.C. of the German Party must be reorganized! Try and think this out: the Politbureau of the C.C. of the C.P.G. is waging a determined struggle against

the right danger and the vacillations of the conciliators; Comrade Serra is in favor of combating the rights and the conciliators; therefore Comrade Serra proposes that the rights and the conciliators be not interfered with, that the struggle against the rights and conciliators be slackened and that the composition of the Politbureau of the C.C. of the C.P.G. be changed to suit the wishes of the conciliators. And this is called a "logical conclusion." I hope Comrade Serra will excuse me if I say that his arguments remind me of a provincial lawyer trying to prove that black is white. His line of argument is precisely what we call a lawyer's defense of opportunist elements.

Comrade Serra proposes to reorganize the Politbureau of the C. C. of the C.P.G., e. g., to remove some members and to replace them by others. Why does not Comrade Serra say clearly and frankly who these substitutes should be? (Serra: Those whom the VI. Congress of the Comintern desired.)

But the VI. Congress did not propose that the conciliators be rehabilitated. On the contrary, it instructed us to wage a systematic struggle against conciliation. And precisely because the conciliators failed to carry out this instruction, the Presidium of the E.C. C.I. on October 6, 1928, i. e., after the VI. Congress, passed the well-known decision on the rights and the conciliators. Comrade Serra wants to pose as the sole interpreter of the decisions of the VI. Congress. He has not by any means proved his claim to this. The interpreter of the decisions of the VI. Congress is the Executive Committee of the Comintern and its Presidium. I observe that Comrade Serra does not agree with the decision of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of October 6, although he has not stated so frankly. So much the worse for him.

What is the conclusion? There is but one conclusion—the attitude of Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra to the question of the German Party is that of a pusillanimous lawyer's defense of the rights, against the C.P.G. and against the Comintern.

4. *The Rights in the C.P.G. and in the C.P.S.U.*: I learned today from several speeches delivered here that some German conciliators refer to the speech I delivered at the November Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on the question of the methods of combating the right elements, as a justification of their position. As you know I said in my speech (it has been published) that in *the present phase* of development of the struggle against the right danger in the C.P.S.U., the principal method to be applied is that of an ideological struggle, which, however, does not preclude the application of organizational measures in individual cases. I substantiated my thesis by saying that the rights in the C.P.S.U. have not yet become crystallized, that they do not constitute a group or a faction and

have not yet violated, or failed to carry out, any of the decisions of the C.P.S.U. I said that if the rights will resort to factional fighting and will commence to violate the decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., they will be treated in the same way as the Trotskyists were treated in 1927. This, I think, is clear. Is it not silly after this to refer to my speech as an argument in favor of the rights in *Germany*, where they have *already commenced* to employ factional methods of struggle and where they systematically violate the decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.G., or as an argument in favor of the conciliators in *Germany*, where they have not yet dissociated themselves from the right *faction* and where, it seems, they do not intend to do so? I think that anything sillier than this would be difficult to find. Only those who have abandoned dialectical thinking can fail to understand the full depth of the difference that exists between the position of the rights in the C.P.S.U. and the position of the rights in the C.P.G.

After all, the rights in the C.P.S.U. are not a faction and it is an incontrovertible fact that they loyally carry out the decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. The German rights, on the contrary, already have a faction, with a factional center at its head, and systematically trample under foot the decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.G. Is it not clear that the methods of combating the rights *at the present moment* cannot be the same in these two Parties?

Furthermore, here in the U.S.S.R. we have not a social democracy as an organized and serious force to foster and stimulate the right danger in the C.P.S.U. In Germany on the contrary, there is side by side with the Communist Party, a more powerful and a fairly well organized Social Democratic Party which fosters the right danger in the Communist Party of Germany and which utilizes that danger as an objective channel through which to permeate our Party. Only the blind can fail to see the difference between the situation in the U.S.S.R. and that in Germany.

One more point. Our Party grew and became consolidated in desperate struggles against the Mensheviks, which struggles took the form of direct civil war against the Mensheviks which lasted for several years. Do not forget that in November, 1917, we Bolsheviks overthrew the Mensheviks and S.R.'s as the left wing of the counter-revolutionary imperialist bourgeoisie. That, by the way, explains the strong traditions of hostility to avowed opportunism in the C.P.S.U., traditions that are not found in any other Communist Party in the world. It is sufficient to recall the fact that the Party workers in Moscow in a period of not more than two months, at one blow, as it were, straightened out the line of the Moscow Committee; it is sufficient to recall this to be able to understand how

strong the traditions of hostility towards avowed opportunism are in our Party. Can we say the same of the German Party?

Probably you will agree with me that, much as we may regret it, we cannot say it. More than that, we cannot deny that the Communist Party of Germany has not yet by a long way freed itself from its social-democratic traditions which foster the right danger.

These then are the conditions in Germany and the conditions in the U.S.S.R. The conditions are different in each case and necessitate different methods of struggle against the right danger.

Only those who have lost the elementary understanding of Marxism can fail to understand this simple fact.

In the Commission of the November Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. charged with the drafting of the resolution, a group of comrades moved to extend the application of the fundamental points of the resolution to the other sections of the Comintern, including the German Section. We rejected that motion, and declared that the conditions of the struggle against the right danger of the C.P.G. were cardinaly different from the C.P.S.U.

5. *The Draft of the Open Letter:* Two words concerning the draft resolutions submitted by the commissions of the E.C.C.I. Comrade Serra thinks that these draft resolutions are provincial in character. Why? Because, it appears, the draft of the Open Letter does not contain an analysis of the political situation that gave rise to the right danger. This is ridiculous, comrades. We have such an analysis in the resolutions of the VI. Congress. Is it necessary to repeat it? I think there is no need for repetition. Properly speaking, we could limit ourselves to a short resolution on the rights who systematically violate the decisions of the VI. Congress, and who, therefore, are liable to expulsion, and on the conciliators who refrain from combating the rights and therefore deserve a serious warning. The reason we did not limit ourselves to a short resolution, is because we want to explain to the workers the nature of the right tendency, to expose to them the real features of Brandler and Thalheimer, what they were in the past and what they are now, to show to the workers how long the Comintern and the C.P.S.U. had spared them in the hope that they would mend their ways, to show how long they have been tolerated in the ranks of the communists and why such people can no longer be tolerated in the ranks of the Comintern. That is why the draft resolution is longer than might have been at first expected.

The American Question in England

By KARL MARX

(*Reprinted from *New York Daily Tribune*, October 11, 1861)

(NOTE: THE COMMUNIST has previously reprinted several of Marx's articles on the American Civil War. These articles, it will be remembered, were written originally in German and published in a Viennese newspaper. At the same time that Marx was writing for the *Vienna Presse*, however, he was also sending contributions to the *New York Tribune*. During this period his *Tribune* articles dealt with the American Civil War in its relation to England, the last of these articles closing Marx's connections with the *Tribune* once for all.

By the end of 1861, it was not certain whether Marx would continue to act as London correspondent for the *New York Tribune*. On September 28th of that year, for example, he expressed his doubts on this point in a letter to Engels, stating: "This and the week before last I sent one article each to the *Tribune*. In two weeks (meanwhile, I am continuing to write one article per week) we shall see whether the thing can go on in this way." About a month later, the matter seemed to have been sufficiently settled so that Marx could write to Engels: "You know that, shortly after my return from Manchester, as soon as I considered the moment favorable, I began to write for the *Tribune* again, once a week. With the past week, I had sent them six articles. And the last mail brought back the first two articles printed, the first (three columns long on English opinions of the United States) in prominent place, and especially referred to at the head of the Journal. This matter is, therefore, this much in order and thereby 2 pounds sterling per week secured." (October 30, 1861.)

The two pounds sterling, however, were not as secure as Marx believed; nor was the matter entirely settled. By the end of April, 1862, Marx realized that his connection with the *Tribune* was finally at an end. Had the *Tribune* printed his weekly contribution, Marx would have been paid for at least thirty-two articles during this period from September, 1861, to April, 1862. In reality, however, only nine out of more than thirty that must actually have been written were published. This was not the first time that the greatest genius of the Nineteenth Century had taken precious time from his life-work in order to keep his head above the surface of an engulfing misery, only to have most of his work thrown out and to be paid for a third or less of his contributions.

To American Marxists, these unpublished articles are a definite loss. Nevertheless, the nine that have been preserved deserve to be

*In the first hand column, top, of page 4, Marx's article is recommended as follows: "In this morning's paper will be found an interesting letter from a London correspondent on *The American Question in Europe*. . . ."

rescued from oblivion. The first of these, dealing with *The American Question in England*, is reproduced in the present issue of THE COMMUNIST. In recommending it to the careful consideration of American Marxists, attention should be drawn to Marx's peculiar English, which is characteristic in this article. Of basic importance, however, is the penetrating analysis of the causes and the nature of the war, the incisive satire with which Marx lays bare the hypocritical role of the English ruling class in the contest, and the positive conviction with which he takes up cudgels for the northern states, all of which are brilliantly manifested in the present article. It is one more illustration that the "old" Marx still has a good deal to teach "advanced" and "up-to-date" "socialists" and "Marxists" of today.—A. LANDY.)

London, September 18, 1861.

MRS. BEECHER STOWE'S letter to Lord Shaftesbury, whatever its intrinsic merit may be, has done a great deal of good, by forcing the anti-Northern organs of the London press to speak out and lay before the general public the ostensible reasons for their hostile tone against the North, and their ill-concealed sympathies with the South, which looks rather strange on the part of the people affecting an utter horror of slavery. Their first and main grievance is that the present American war is "not one for the abolition of slavery," and that, therefore, the high-minded Britisher, used to undertake wars of his own, and interest himself in other people's wars, only on the basis of "broad humanitarian principles," cannot be expected to feel any sympathy with his Northern cousins. "In the first place," says *The Economist*, "the assumption that the quarrel between the North and South is a quarrel between Negro freedom on the one side and Negro slavery on the other is as impudent as it is untrue." "The North," says *The Saturday Review*, "does not proclaim abolition, and never pretended to fight for anti-slavery. The North has not hoisted for its *oriflamme* the sacred symbol of justice to the Negro; its *cri de guerre* is not unconditional abolition." "If," says *The Examiner*, "we have been deceived about the real significance of the sublime movement, who but the Federalists themselves have to answer for the deception?"

Now, in the first instance, the premise must be conceded. The war has not been undertaken with a view to put down slavery, and the United States authorities themselves have taken the greatest pains to protest against any such idea. But, then, it ought to be remembered that it was not the North, but the South, which undertook this war; the former acting only on the defense. If it be true that the North, after long hesitations, and an exhibition of forbearance unknown in the annals of European history, drew at last the sword, not for crushing slavery, but for saving the Union, the South, on its part, inaugurated the war by loudly proclaiming "the peculiar institution" as the only and main end of the rebellion. It

confessed to fight for the liberty of enslaving other people, a liberty which, despite the Northern protest, it asserted to be in danger by the victory of the Republican Party and the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidential chair. The Confederate Congress boasted that its new-fangled Constitution, as distinguished from the Constitutions of the Washingtons, Jeffersons, and Adamses, had recognized, for the first time, slavery as a good in itself, a bulwark of civilization, and a divine institution. If the North professed to fight for the Union, the South gloried in rebellion for the supremacy of slavery. If anti-slavery and idealistic England felt not attracted by the profession of the North, how came it to pass that it was not violently repulsed by the cynical confessions of the South?

The Saturday Review helps itself out of this ugly dilemma by disbelieving the declarations of the seceders themselves. It sees deeper than this, and discovers "that slavery had very little to do with secession;" the declarations of Jeff Davis and company to the contrary being mere "conventionalisms," with "about as much meaning as the conventionalisms about violated altars and desecrated hearths, which always occur in such proclamations."

The staple of argument on the part of the anti-Northern papers is very scanty, and throughout all of them we find almost the same sentences recurring, like the formulae of a mathematical series, at certain intervals, with very little art of variation or combination. "Why," exclaims *The Economist*, "it is only yesterday, when the secession movement first gained serious head, on the first announcement of Mr. Lincoln's election, that the Northerners offered to the South, if they would remain in the Union, every conceivable security for the performance and inviolability of the obnoxious institution—that they disavowed in the most solemn manner all intention of interfering with it—that their leaders proposed compromise after compromise in Congress, all based upon the concession that slavery should not be meddled with."

"How happens it," says *The Examiner*, "that the North was ready to compromise matters by the largest concessions to the South as to slavery? How was it that a certain geographical line was proposed in Congress within which slavery was to be recognized as an essential institution? The Southern States were not content with this."

What *The Economist* and *The Examiner* had to ask was not only why the Crittenden and other compromise measures were proposed in Congress, but why they were not passed. They affect to consider those compromise proposals as accepted by the North and rejected by the South, while, in point of fact, they were baf-

fled by the Northern party, that had carried the Lincoln election. Proposals never matured into resolutions, but always remaining in the embryo state of *pia desideria*; the South had of course never any occasion either of rejecting or acquiescing in. We come nearer to the pith of the question by the following remark of *The Examiner*:

“Mrs. Stowe says: ‘The slave party, finding they could no longer use the Union for their purposes, resolved to destroy it.’ There is here an admission that up to that time the slave party had used the Union for their purposes, and it would have been well if Mrs. Stowe could have distinctly shown where it was that the North began to make its stand against slavery.”

One might suppose that *The Examiner* and the other oracles of public opinion in England had made themselves sufficiently familiar with the contemporaneous history not to need Mrs. Stowe’s information on such all-important points. The progressive abuse of the Union by the slave power, working through its alliance with the Northern Democratic Party, is, so to say, the general formula of the United States history since the beginning of this century.

The successive compromise measures mark the successive degrees of the encroachment by which the Union became more and more transformed into the slave of the slave owner. Each of these compromises denotes a new encroachment of the South, a new concession of the North. At the same time none of the successive victories of the South was carried, but after a hot contest with an antagonistic force in the North, appearing under different party names with different watchwords and under different colors. If the positive and final result of each single contest told in favor of the South, the attentive observer of history could not but see that every new advance of the slave power was a step forward to its ultimate defeat. Even at the time of the Missouri Compromise the contending forces were so evenly balanced that Jefferson, as we see from his memoirs, apprehended the Union to be in danger of splitting on that deadly antagonism. The encroachments of the slave-holding power reached their maximum point, when, by the Kansas Nebraska bill, for the first time in the history of the United States, as Mr. Douglas himself confessed, every legal barrier to the diffusion of slavery within the United States territories was broken down, when, afterward, a Northern candidate bought his Presidential nomination by pledging the Union to conquer or purchase in Cuba a new field of domination for the slave holder; when, later on, by the Dred Scott decision, diffusion of slavery by the Federal power was proclaimed as the law of the American Constitution, and lastly, when the African slave trade was de facto

reopened on a larger scale than during the times of its legal existence. But, concurrently with this climax of Southern encroachments carried by the connivance of the Northern Democratic Party, there were unmistakable signs of Northern antagonistic agencies having gathered such strength as must soon turn the balance of power. The Kansas war, the formation of the Republican Party, and the large vote cast for Mr. Fremont during the Presidential election of 1856 were so many palpable proofs that the North had accumulated sufficient energies to rectify the aberrations which United States history, under the slave owners' pressure, had undergone for half a century, and to make it return to the true principles of its development. Apart from those political phenomena, there was one broad statistical and economical fact indicating that the abuse of the Federal Union by the slave interest had approached the point from which it would have to recede forcibly, or *de bonne grace*. That fact was the growth of the Northwest, the immense strides its population had made from 1850 to 1860, and the new and reinvigorating influence it could not but bear on the destinies of the United States.

Now, was all this a secret chapter of history? Was "*the admission*" of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe wanted to reveal to *The Examiner* and the other political illuminati of the London press the carefully hidden truth that "up to that time the slave party had used the Union for their purposes?" Is it the fault of the American North that the English pressmen were taken quite unawares by the violent clash of the antagonistic forces, the friction of which was the moving power of its history for half a century? Is it the fault of the Americans that the English press mistook for the fanciful crotchet hatched in a single day what was in reality the matured result of long years of struggle?

The very fact that the formation and progress of the Republican Party in America had hardly been noticed by the London press speaks volumes as to the hollowness of its anti-slavery tirades. Take, for instance, the two antipodes of the London press, *The London Times* and *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper*, the one the great organ of the respectable classes, and the other the only remaining organ of the working class. The former, not long before Mr. Buchanan's career drew to an end, published an elaborate apology for his administration and a defamatory libel against the republican movement. Reynolds, on his part, was, during Mr. Buchanan's stay at London, one of his minions, and since that time never missed an occasion to write him up and to write his adversaries down.

How did it come to pass that the Republican Party, whose platform was drawn up on the avowed antagonism to the encroachments of the slaveocracy and the abuse of the Union by the slave

interest, carried the day in the North? How, in the second instance, did it come to pass that the great bulk of the Northern Democratic Party, flinging aside its old connections with the leaders of slaveocracy, setting at naught its traditions of half a century, sacrificing great commercial interests and great political prejudices, rushed to the support of the present Republican administration and offered it men and money with an unsparing hand?

Instead of answering these questions, *The Economist* exclaims:

“Can we forget that Abolitionists have been habitually as ferociously persecuted and maltreated in the North and West as in the South? Can it be denied that the testiness and half-heartedness, not to say insincerity, of the Government at Washington, have for years supplied the chief impediment which has thwarted our efforts for the effectual suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa; while a vast proportion of the clippers actually engaged in that trade have been built with Northern capital, owned by Northern merchants and manned by Northern seamen?”

This is, in fact, a masterly piece of logic. Anti-slavery England cannot sympathize with the North breaking down the withering influence of slaveocracy, because she cannot forget that the North, while bound by that influence, supported the slave trade, mobbed the Abolitionists, and had its democratic institutions tainted by the slave driver's prejudices.

She cannot sympathize with Mr. Lincoln's administration, because she had to find fault with Mr. Buchanan's administration. She must needs suddenly cavil at the present movement of the Northern resurrection, cheer up the Northern sympathizers with the slave trade, branded in the Republican Platform, and conquest with the Southern slaveocracy, setting up an empire of its own, because she cannot forget that the North of yesterday was not the North of today. The necessity of justifying its attitude by such pettifogging Old Bailey pleas proves more than anything else that the anti-Northern part of the English press is instigated by hidden motives, too mean and dastardly to be openly avowed.

As it is one of its pet manoeuvres to taunt the present Republican administration with the doings of its pro-slavery predecessors, so it tries hard to persuade the English people that *The New York Herald* ought to be considered the only authentic expositor of Northern opinion. *The London Times* having given out the cue in this direction, the *servum pecus* of the other anti-Northern organs, great and small, persist in beating the same bush. So says *The Economist*:

“In the height of the strife, New York papers and New York politicians were not wanting who exhorted the combatants, now that

they had large armies in the field, to employ them, not against each other, but against Great Britain—to compromise the internal quarrel, the slave question included, and invade the British territory without notice and with overwhelming force.”

The Economist knows perfectly well that *The New York Herald's* efforts, which were eagerly supported by *The London Times*, at embroiling the United States into a war with England, only intended securing the success of secession and thwarting the movement of Northern regeneration.

Still there is one concession made by the anti-Northern English press. The Saturday snob tells us:

“What was at issue in Lincoln's election, and what has precipitated the convulsion, was *merely the limitation of the institution of slavery to States where that institution already exists.*”

And *The Economist* remarks:

“It is true enough that it was the aim of the Republican Party which elected Mr. Lincoln to prevent slavery from spreading into the unsettled territories. . . . It may be true that the success of the North, if complete and unconditional, would enable them to confine slavery within the fifteen states which have already adopted it, and might thus lead to its eventual extinction—though this is rather probable than certain.”

In 1859, on the occasion of John Brown's Harper's Ferry Expedition, the very same *Economist* published a series of elaborate articles with a view to prove that, by dint of an *economical law*, American slavery was doomed to gradual extinction from the moment it should be deprived of its power of expansion. That “*economical law*” was perfectly understood by the slaveocracy. “In fifteen years more,” said Toombs, “without a greater increase in slave territory, either the slaves must be permitted to flee from the whites or the whites must flee from the slaves.”

The limitation of slavery to its constitutional area, as proclaimed by the republicans, was distinct ground upon which the menace of secession was first uttered in the House of Representatives on December 19, 1859. Mr. Singleton (Mississippi) having asked Mr. Curtis (Iowa) “if the Republican Party would never let the South have another foot of slave territory while it remained in the Union,” and Mr. Curtis having responded in the affirmative, Mr. Singleton said *this would dissolve the Union*. His advice to Mississippi was the sooner it got out of the Union the better—“gentlemen should recollect that Jefferson Davis led our forces in Mexico, and still he lives, perhaps to lead the Southern army.” Quite apart from the *economical law* which makes the diffusion

of slavery a vital condition for its maintenance within its constitutional areas, the leaders of the South had never deceived themselves as to its necessity for keeping up their *political* sway over the United States. *John Calhoun*, in the defense of his propositions to the Senate, stated distinctly on February 19, 1847, that "the Senate was the only balance of power left to the South in the Government," and that the creation of new slave States had become necessary "for the retention of equipoise of power in the Senate." Moreover the oligarchy of the 300,000 slave owners could not even maintain their sway at home save by constantly throwing out to their white plebeians the bait of prospective conquests within and without the frontiers of the United States.

If, then, according to the oracles of the English press, the North had arrived at the fixed resolution of circumscribing slavery within its present limits, and of thus extinguishing it in a constitutional way, was this not sufficient to enlist the sympathies of anti-slavery England?

But the English Puritans seem indeed not to be contented save by an explicit Abolitionist war. "This," says *The Economist*, "therefore, not being a war for the emancipation of the Negro race, on what other ground can we be fairly called upon to sympathize so warmly with the Federal cause?" "There was a time," says *The Examiner*, "when our sympathies were with the North, thinking that it was really in earnest in making a stand against the encroachments of the Slave States," and in adopting "emancipation as a measure of justice to the black race."

However, in the very same numbers in which these papers tell us they cannot sympathize with the North because its war is no Abolitionist war, we are informed that "the desperate expedient of proclaiming Negro emancipation and summoning the slaves to a general insurrection" is a thing "the mere conception of which is repulsive and dreadful," and that "a compromise" would be "far preferable to success purchased at such a cost and *stained by such a crime.*"

Thus the English eagerness for the Abolitionist war is all cant. The cloven foot peeps out in the following sentences: "Lastly," says *The Economist*, "is the *Morrill Tariff*, a title to our gratitude and to our sympathy, or is the certainty that, in the case of Northern triumph, that tariff should be extended over the whole Republic, a reason why we ought to be clamorously anxious for their success?"

"The North Americans," says *The Examiner*, "are in earnest about nothing but a selfish protective tariff. * * * The Southern states were tired of being robbed of the fruits of their slave labor by the protective tariff of the North."

The Examiner and *The Economist* complement each other. The latter is honest enough to confess at least that with him and his followers sympathy is a mere question of tariff, while the former reduces the war between North and South to a tariff war, to a war between protection and free trade. *The Examiner* is perhaps not aware that even the South Carolina nullifiers of 1832, as General Jackson testifies, used protection only as a pretext for secession; but even *The Examiner* ought to know that the present rebellion did not wait upon the passing of the Morrill Tariff for breaking out. In point of fact, the Southerners could not have been tired of being robbed of the fruits of their slave labor by the protective tariff of the North, considering that from 1846 to 1861 a free trade tariff had obtained.

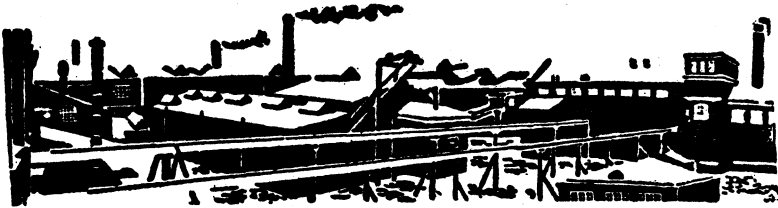
The Spectator characterizes in its last number the secret thought of some of the anti-Northern organs in the following striking manner:

“What, then, do the anti-Northern organs really profess to think desirable, under the justification of this plea of deferring to the inexorable logic of facts? They argue that this Union is desirable, just because, as we have said, it is the only possible step to a conclusion of this ‘causeless and fratricidal strife;’ and next, of course, only as an afterthought and as a humble apology for Providence and ‘justification of the ways of God to man,’ now that the inevitable necessity stands revealed—for further reasons discovered as beautiful adaptations to the moral exigencies of the country, when once the issue is discerned. It is discovered that it will be very much for the advantage of the states to be dissolved into rival groups. They will mutually check each other’s ambition; they neutralize each other’s power, and if ever England should get into a dispute with one or more of them, more jealousy will bring the antagonistic groups to our aid. This will be, it is urged, a very wholesome state of things, for it will relieve us from anxiety and it will encourage political ‘competition,’ that great safeguard of honesty and purity, among the states themselves.

“Such is the case—very gravely urged—of the numerous class of Southern sympathizers now springing up among us. Translated into English—and we grieve that an English argument on such a subject should be of a nature that requires translating—it means that we deplore the present great scale of this ‘fratricidal’ war, because it may concentrate in one fearful spasm a series of chronic petty wars and passions and jealousies among groups of rival states in times to come. The real truth is, and this very un-English feeling distinctly discerns this truth, though it cloaks it in decent phrases, that rival groups of American states could not live together in peace or harmony. The chronic condition would be one of malignant hostility rising out of the very causes which have produced the present contest. It is asserted that the different groups of states have different tariff interests. These different tariff interests would be the source of constant petty wars if the states were once dissolved, and slavery, the root of all the strife, would be the spring of innumera-

ble animosities, discords and campaigns. No stable equilibrium could ever again be established among the rival states. And yet it is maintained that this long future of incessant strife is the providential solution of the great question now at issue—the only real reason why it is looked upon favorably being this, that whereas the present great-scale conflict may issue in a restored and stronger political unity, the alternative of infinitely multiplied small-scale quarrels will issue in a weak and divided continent, that England cannot fear.

“Now we do not deny that the Americans themselves sowed the seeds of this petty and contemptible state of feeling by the unfriendly and bullying attitude they have so often manifested to England, but we do say that the state of feeling on our part is petty and contemptible. We see that in a deferred issue there is no hope of a deep and enduring tranquillity for America, that it means a decline and fall of the American nation into quarrelsome clans and tribes, and yet we hold up our hands in horror at the present ‘fratricidal’ strife because it holds out hopes of finality. We exhort them to look favorably on the indefinite future of small strifes equally fratricidal and probably far more demoralizing, because the latter would draw out of our side the thorn of American rivalry.”



The VIII Congress of Trade Unions of USSR

THE VIII Trade-Union Congress met in Moscow on December 10-24, 1928. The Congress, which was attended by over 1,500 delegates representing more than eleven million members of trade unions, not only discussed the results of the work of the trade unions between the VII and VIII Congresses, but also outlined the main problems which now confront the Soviet trade unions.

In its deliberations, the Congress had in view the general tasks which face the working class of the USSR during the period of socialist reconstruction and the necessity of striving for the further improvement of the material level of the workers. The VIII Congress stated that "only by ably combining in their work the general class interests, on the basis of the main policy of the working class and its party, with the care for the smallest needs of the workers, will the trade unions, as a universal school of communism, be strengthened." (From the resolution of the VIII Congress.)

By this the Congress meant that the improvement of the material condition of the working class is inseparably bound up with the successes in the socialist reconstruction of the national economy. And successes in the socialist reconstruction are possible only when the trade unions will be able to mobilize the millions of workers, employees and agricultural laborers for the further building of socialism. The best means of rallying the workers around the trade unions, of mobilizing the trade-union membership for active participation in the socialist reconstruction, according to the decisions of the Congress, are: Consistent application of the principles of trade-union democracy and wide proletarian self-criticism in all trade-union activities.

The Congress confirmed the necessity of following the steady course of industrialization of the country. This was reflected in the resolution adopted on the question of the five-year plan of industrial development.

The Congress emphasized the necessity of raising the material level of the working class by urging an increase of the wages of industrial, railroad and postal workers by not less than 50 per cent within the next five years. The Congress thought it necessary that the trade unions should make the greatest efforts to maintain a strict labor discipline and to create conditions which would secure

greater productivity of labor, for that is the basic condition essential for socialist accumulation and for further improvement of the condition of the workers.

Having noted a number of great achievements in the work of the trade unions (the rise of the material level of the workers, the great scope of the cultural-educational activities of the trade unions, etc.), the Congress at the same time did not overlook the defects which the trade unions still have. The Congress stated that self-criticism is still insufficiently developed in the trade unions, that the practice of trade-union democracy still requires much of some trade-union organizations. The decisions of the Congress place before the trade unions the problem of developing proletarian trade-union democracy and further decisive and unhindered self-criticism of the masses. The trade unions must decidedly improve their work of protecting the workers' interests and take the greatest care to satisfy the vital needs of the workers.

Since the difficulties of socialist reconstruction sometimes cause waverings among the backward groups of the working class, the basic task of the trade unions remains the extension of the educational work, giving to the men and women workers a timely explanation of the problems which confront the working class, along with the care to satisfy all fundamental cultural requirements of the workers (liquidation of illiteracy, radio, clubs, etc.).

The Congress fully endorsed the policy of the CCTU with regard to the international trade-union movement. The Congress pointed out that the assistance rendered by the CCTU to workers who are struggling against capital, and the endeavors of the trade unions to establish fraternal bonds with the working class of the whole world, are entirely in full accord with the wishes of the broad masses of workers of the USSR.

The Congress noted with regret that the ratification of the Copenhagen agreement "in view of procrastination on the part of the Norwegian Trade-Union Federation" is being delayed. It, therefore, instructed the new CCTU to "strive for the earliest settlement of this question."

The work of the VIII Trade-Union Congress has shown that the trade-union movement in the USSR is united, that there are no differences in principle within the trade unions, that it is growing stronger with every year, leading millions of men and women on the road to communism.

COMPOSITION OF THE CONGRESS

The VIII Trade-Union Congress was attended by 1,505 delegates, of whom 1,131 had a full vote and 374 a consulting vote.

The representation was as follows: Organizations having from 5,000 to 12,000 members were entitled to one delegate, those having from 12,000 to 24,000, but not less than 18,000, were entitled to two delegates and one more delegate for every additional 6,000-12,000 members. Besides the delegates elected at provincial, territorial and republican trade-union congresses, there were delegates elected directly at the undertakings (In Bulletin No. 2—February, 1928—we stated that the Presidium of the CCTU had established a new order of electing delegates to the trade-union congress, namely, that undertakings employing not less than 5,000 workers elect their delegate to the Congress directly). The VIII Congress was the first national congress, elections for which were held according to the new regulations. The direct elections were held at 62 undertakings, employing over 5,000 workers each, where 75 delegates were elected. The rest of the delegates were elected at trade-union congresses.

The social composition of the Congress was as follows: Workers—77.2 per cent, salaried employees—22.8 per cent. Of the total number of delegates, 26 per cent were workers from the bench. The political affiliations of the delegates were: Non-partisan—27.5 per cent (at the VII Congress non-partisans comprised 14 per cent of the delegate body), members of the Communist League of Youth—2.7 per cent, and the remainder were communists. It is interesting to note that women comprised 18 per cent of the delegates, while at the previous congress they constituted 7.5 per cent.

Seventy-one per cent of the delegates attended a national congress for the first time. But all these delegates are active trade-union workers, members of factory and local committees. This shows that since the VII Congress new groups of workers and employees have been drawn into trade-union activities, also that the number of women delegates has grown almost two and one-half times that at the VII Congress. It is also interesting to note that there were represented at the Congress 27 different nationalities.

ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS AT VIII CONGRESS

The organizational structure of the trade-union movement in the USSR has proved of so stable a nature that the Congress did not find it necessary to make any changes in it. The Congress concentrated its attention on several basic questions, whose solution would affect a further improvement of the trade-union work and make closer the ties between the union and the masses of the workers.

The Congress stated that the basic task in the organizational work of the trade unions is "the organization of the broad masses of

workers and employees for the purpose of serving their interests and needs, the strengthening of the connection between the trade union and the membership, the encouragement of the initiative and spontaneous participation of the members of the trade unions in the work and leadership of the trade-union bodies, the enlistment of the membership in the work of economic, cooperative and state organizations.”

With this in view, the Congress found it necessary, first of all, to intensify the trade-union work at the undertaking. The Congress pointed out the necessity of strictly observing the principles of democracy and the development of wide proletarian self-criticism in the trade-union movement. The work among the masses is deemed the most important and basic in the organizational activities of the trade unions. The Congress resolved that the promotion of rank and file workers and employees to leading positions in the trade-union organizations should be practised on a larger scale. It drew the attention of the trade unions to the necessity of catering for special groups of trade unionists (women, youth, civil engineers and technicians, etc.) and of intensifying the trade-union activity among hired labor located in the village, among seasonal workers and new workers coming into the industries mainly from the villages.

The Congress pointed out the necessity for greater participation of the trade unions in the work of the Soviets (more active participation in election campaigns, the promotion of men and women workers to positions in Soviet institutions, etc.), it urged that the trade unions should devote more attention to the work in the territories and republics of the minor nationalities, where the native workers are more backward in the cultural and political respect. The creation of active trade unionists from the midst of the native workers, and their promotion to leading positions in trade-union and other organizations, have been recognized as a most important task.

The Congress resolved that the work of the trade unions in private and concession enterprises must be intensified, in particular the attention of the trade unions has been drawn to the necessity of rendering proper and adequate service to foreign workers and employees employed at concession enterprises who have a right to become members of a trade union.

A number of important decisions were adopted dealing with the financial work of the trade unions. For instance, it found it necessary to continue reducing the maintenance expenses of trade-union organizations while increasing the contributions to the special funds (the Congress adopted a decision that these contributions should be not less than 50 per cent of the total amount of the mem-

bership fees). For the purpose of reducing office expenses, the Congress resolved to cut down the contribution to the local inter-union organizations from 10 to 8 per cent and to take more decisive measures against the embezzlement of funds in trade-union organizations.

WAGE POLICY OF TRADE UNIONS

The VIII Trade-Union Congress, when discussing the question of the wage policy of the trade unions, proceeded upon the following basic assumptions:

1. It is impossible to surmount the difficulties of socialist reconstruction without the active participation of the millions of the toilers.

2. It is necessary for the trade unions ably to combine in their activities the day-to-day care for the smallest needs of the workers with extensive work on their class education, to reconcile the interests of single groups of workers with those of the whole working class and the proletarian state.

Starting upon these assumptions, the Congress considered the mobilization of the trade-union membership for active participation in the socialist reconstruction and the defense of their economic interests, the basic task of the trade unions.

The Congress, therefore, devoted particular attention to the production conferences, and pointed out that production conferences, by revealing and combining the industrial experience of the workers, by aiding the development of their initiative in the systematic improvement of production, secure the participation of ever wider circles of the proletariat in the management of the national economy. The Congress regarded as a basic task the training of the masses of workers for the administration of the proletarian state, the drawing of these masses into active socialist reconstruction. To make the work of the production conferences successful, the Congress deemed it necessary to demand the indictment of the persons concerned for not carrying into effect the approved proposals of the production conferences.

At the same time the Congress pointed out that in Soviet conditions the improvement of the material condition of the workers is unthinkable without the constant improvement of the economic condition of the country. Recognizing the necessity of strictly coordinating the extent of wage increases with the actual economic condition of the country and taking into account the proposed rate of industrial growth and of the productivity of labor in the five-year plan of the national economy, the Congress indicated the necessity of increasing the real wages of the industrial and railroad workers by not less than 50 per cent within the next five years. The prices of commodities will have to be reduced and the market so

regulated as to secure the proposed increase in real wages. The Congress directed that the wages should be raised first of all in the metallurgical and coal industries. Another urgent task is to reduce the great difference in the pay of skilled and unskilled workers by regularly raising the wages of the latter.

Considering that the material condition of the workers has to be improved by developing the economic power of the country, the problem of increasing the productivity of labor remains one of the most important problems for the trade unions and the whole working class. This prompted the Congress to appeal to all workers and employees to maintain a strict labor discipline, to handle carefully the means of production and the material, to increase the productivity of labor.

In its resolutions the Congress noted the great political and economic significance of the adoption of the 7-hour work-day. It approved the decisions of the government commission and the CCTU regarding the change to the 7-hour day in all industries and transport within the next five years.

Stating that along with a considerable improvement of the legal standards and the protection of labor there are industrial accidents, the Congress resolved:

"1. To study systematically the causes of industrial accidents.

"2. To resort more frequently to legal proceedings against persons guilty of negligence in cases of accidents.

"3. To explain to the workers the necessity of careful and proper handling of machinery.

"4. To intensify the activities of the Labor Inspection."

Since in order to improve the condition of the workers it is necessary to provide housing for them, the Congress instructed the CCTU to raise before the proper government bodies the question of considerably increasing housing construction and affecting other improvements in workers' districts. It devoted its attention also to the defense of the interests of workers at concession enterprises. In its resolution it says:

"The trade unions must fully protect the interests of the workers at concession enterprises, to resist decisively, even by resorting to a strike, any attempt on the part of the concessionaires to violate the Labor Laws and the rights of the workers."

EDUCATIONAL WORK OF TRADE UNIONS

The Congress emphasized the ever-growing significance of the cultural-educational work of the trade unions as an important factor of the cultural revolution. In this connection, the Congress stressed the necessity of enlisting the aid of still greater masses of workers in the solution of the problems of the socialist cultural reconstruc-

tion and gave instructions that the questions of the liquidation of illiteracy in the country, the introduction of universal elementary education, the training of specialists from the workers' midst, the educational system and other important questions of cultural reconstruction should be discussed at general workers' meetings, in clubs and red corners, for the purpose of ascertaining the opinions and organizing the forces of the working class for the solution of these problems. The Congress drew the attention of the trade unions to the necessity of paying close attention to the various cultural requirements of the working masses and of creating such cultural conditions which would aid the workers' general development and offer them an opportunity for rest and wholesome recreation.

The Congress, therefore, placed before the trade unions the task of developing art work, the radio, physical culture, excursions, wholesome games and amusements, outings, family parties, etc. It also proposed to intensify the work of the class education of the new workers who are unfamiliar with the conditions in the factories before the revolution, who have not experienced the hardships of the civil war and the economic rehabilitation. It indicated the necessity of devoting greater attention to the activities of the Red International of Labor Unions and to acquaint more fully the men and women workers of the USSR with the revolutionary struggle, the condition of labor, the economic and legal conditions of the proletariat in different countries.

The Congress considered the further extension of club work among the masses, especially among the backward groups of the proletariat, the elimination of defects in club work and better class education, a most important task of the trade unions. Taking into account that one of the obstacles to the extension of club work of the trade unions is the acute shortage of club premises, the Congress suggested to the trade unions to make energetic efforts to have club construction included in the five-year plan for the national economy.

The Congress particularly mentioned the necessity of adapting the clubs to the service of workers on the evening and night shifts, of arranging that the clubs should function during the day, of rendering services to the workers at the undertakings, in the communal dwellings, in the workers' settlements, etc. It attached particular importance to the question of drawing women workers into the clubs and other cultural activities and proposed to have more children's rooms at the clubs, to organize more sewing circles, to arrange talks, evening parties for women workers, the reading of newspapers in communal dwellings.

The Congress gave directions regarding the extension of cultural-educational work among those groups of workers who are connected with the village in one way or another,—farm laborers, seasonal workers, workers at undertakings located in or near the village, etc. It instructed the unions to ensure the delivery of their union magazine or newspaper to their members in the village, also a popular political newspaper, to organize a small but well-selected traveling library, to install a radio. It also instructed them to wage a more determined fight against such habits as drinking, gambling, rough treatment of women and other survivals of the old life among the workers.

It is self-understood that such habits are to be fought by educational methods, by explaining to the broad masses the necessity of doing away with these survivals of the old order and by organizing wholesome recreation. The Congress drew particular attention to the necessity of intensifying the ideological struggle against religious prejudices, endeavoring to expose the anti-proletarian spirit of religious teachings and to show that at present the church and the various religious sects serve as a cover for anti-Soviet activities of the reactionary and capitalistic elements in the country and the international bourgeoisie.

Seeing that adult workers, men and women, have not been attracted to sport in sufficient numbers, the Congress emphasized the necessity of encouraging all forms of physical culture among the masses of workers and employees. It approved the construction of a radio broadcasting station begun by the CCTU, characterizing it as a mighty educational weapon in the hands of the trade unions, and, finally, the Congress drew the attention of the trade unions to the necessity of rendering greater assistance to the "rabkor" (worker-correspondent) movement and improving the wall-newspapers at undertakings.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE TRADE UNIONS

The international question was dealt with by Comrade Losovsky in his report on the work of the USSR delegation in the RILU and by Comrade Tomsky in that part of his speech which referred mainly to the Copenhagen agreement. In both of these reports were outlined the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle for international trade-union unity on the platform of the class struggle. In the resolution on Comrade Tomsky's report on the international question, the Congress stated that it approved the activities of the CCTU in the international trade-union field directed toward the achievement of world trade-union unity against the capitalists. The Congress endorsed the decision of the CCTU ratifying the Copenhagen agreement between the Soviet, Finnish,

and Norwegian trade unions, pointing out that this agreement may prove a little step forward in the consolidation of the workers against the capitalists. But the Congress had to admit regretfully, that the ratification of this agreement by the Norwegian trade-union centre is being delayed, notwithstanding that the working masses of Norway are in favor of ratifying it. In this respect, the speech of Comrade Tranmael, the representative of the Norwegian trade-union centre at the VIII Congress, is very characteristic. It clearly demonstrated that in the leading circles of the Norwegian trade unions there is a desire to delay the ratification of the Copenhagen agreement. Taking this into consideration, the Congress instructed the CCTU to strive for a settlement of this question.

The resolution on Comrade Losovsky's report was a unanimous demonstration of the trade-union movement of the USSR in favor of the decisions of the IV Congress of the RILU. The Congress instructed the USSR trade-union delegation in the RILU to render decisive assistance to the latter in the struggle against international reformism. The task of the RILU is: The consolidation of the ranks of its adherents within the reformist unions, the strengthening of the revolutionary unions, and independent leadership by the revolutionary opposition in the economic battles of the workers with the employers. The Congress instructed its representatives in the RILU to fight against hidden and open reformist tendencies within the ranks of the RILU.

Besides, the Congress stressed the special importance of educating the working masses of the USSR in the international sense. It instructed the CCTU to popularize the decisions of the RILU and furnish more information to the masses of the USSR about the condition of the working class in capitalist countries. The Congress instructed the CCTU to keep the broad working masses well informed, through the medium of the trade-union Press, about events in the international labor movement, to circulate more extensively international literature, etc. It called upon the workers of all countries to rally their ranks around the RILU and with united forces to carry on the struggle against the approaching wars and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the whole world.

COMPOSITION OF NEW CCTU

The new USSR Central Council of Trade Unions consists of 234 members and 108 candidates.

Of the 342 members and candidates of the CCTU there are 103 (30.1 per cent) workers from the bench; 109 (31.9 per cent) representatives of subordinate trade-union organizations (provincial branches, trade councils); 76 (22.2 per cent) representatives of the

23 Central Committees of the trade unions; 26 (7.6 per cent) officials of CCTU; 3 (0.9 per cent) officials of RILU; 25 (7.3 per cent) party and Soviet workers.

The Party affiliations of the CCTU members are as follows:
Members of the Communist Party 226 (66 per cent)
Members of the Communist League of Youth . . 14 (4.1 per cent)
Non-partisan 102 (29.9 per cent)

At the first plenary meeting of the CCTU on December 24, 1928, Comrade Tomsky was unanimously elected Chairman of the CCTU and Comrade Dogadov, Secretary.

The following comrades have been elected to the Presidium (Executive Committee): Tomsky, Dogadov, Kaganovitch, Melnitchansky, Losovsky, Mikhailov, Vladimirov, Lepse, Ougarov, Akulov, Ginsburg, Yevreinov, Schwartz, Amosov, Ouglanov, Figatner, Anzelovitch, Tzikhon, Avdeieva, Korostelev, Nikitina.

The candidates are: Chaschikhin, Oudarov, Tikhomirova, Veinberg, Lugovoi, Zhdanov, Seniushkin, Yaglom, Chernisheva, Berdashkevitch, Bogdanov (Nizhni-Novgorod), Perfiliev (Ivanovo-Vosnessensk).



The Party and Party Discipline

By V. I. LENIN

Not a single class in history achieved power without putting forward its political leaders and prominent representatives who were able to organize the movement and lead it.

We must train men who shall devote to the Revolution not only their spare evenings, but their whole lives. We must set up organizations so strong as to be able to introduce strict division of labor in the various forms of our work. (*The Immediate Tasks of Our Movement, 1900.*)

The ideal social democrat must not be merely a trade-union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place and which class it affects. We must be able to generalize all these manifestations into a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation. We must be able to take advantage of the most insignificant event in order to expound to all, our social-democratic convictions and our democratic demands; in order to explain to all the world the historical magnificence of the proletarian struggle for emancipation.

We must go among all classes of the population as theoreticians, propagandists, agitators and organizers. All bowing before the spontaneity of the mass movement merely prepares the ground for the conversion of the labor movement into an instrument of bourgeois democracy.

Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. Only a Party guided by an advanced theory can fulfill the functions of the vanguard. (*What Is to Be Done? 1902.*)

It is far better that ten men who carry on work shall not call themselves members of the Party (real workers do not hunt for titles) than that one chatterbox shall have the right to be a member of the Party. (*Speech at the II Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in discussion of Party Rules, 1903.*)

Politics is a science and an art which does not drop from the skies and which cannot be gotten for nothing; and that the proletariat, if it wishes to overcome the bourgeoisie, must create for itself its own proletarian "class politicians," as capable as bourgeois politicians. (*Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism. English Edition, Moscow, 1920.*)

The negation of Party and Party discipline—this is what the Opposition has talked itself into. And this is equivalent to disarming the proletariat in favor of the bourgeoisie. It is akin to petit-bourgeois looseness, instability, incapacity for harmonious action, which, if given encouragement, must reduce every proletarian revolutionary movement to nought. To reject Party structure from the viewpoint of communism, means to leap from the eve of the capitalistic overthrow (in Germany) not to the initial or middle stages of communism, but to its highest phase. (*Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism. English Edition, Moscow, 1920.*)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a resolute, persistent struggle, sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of the millions and tens of millions is a formidable force. Without a party of iron-tempered strength, without a party possessing the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of observing the disposition of the masses and of influencing them, the conduct of such a struggle is impossible. To defeat the great centralized bourgeoisie is a thousand times easier than to defeat "millions and millions of small owners (bosses) who in their daily imperceptible, intangible but democratizing activities achieve the very results desired by the bourgeoisie, which restore the bourgeoisie. Whoever in the least weakens the iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship), aids in fact the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. (*Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism. English Edition, Moscow, 1920.*)

It proves that unqualified centralization and the strictest discipline of the proletariat are among the principal conditions for the victory over the bourgeoisie. (*Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism. English Edition, Moscow, 1920.*)

Upon what rests the discipline of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat? How is it tested, controlled? How is it reinforced, strengthened? Firstly, by the consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the Revolution, by its steadiness, spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly by its ability to mix with the toiling masses, to become intimate with, and to a certain extent, to fuse itself with the proletarian masses primarily, but also with the non-proletarian toilers. Thirdly, by the soundness of the political leadership, carried out by the vanguard, and by correct political strategy and tactics, based on the idea that the workers from their own experience may convince themselves of the soundness of this political leadership, strategy and tactics. Without all these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party, really capable of being

a party of the advanced class whose object is to overthrow the bourgeoisie, is impossible of realization. Without these conditions all attempts to create discipline result in empty phrases, in mere contortions. On the other hand, these conditions will not arise suddenly. They are created through long, painstaking labor and hard, bitter experience. The creation of these conditions is facilitated by correct revolutionary theory, which in its turn is not dogmatic, but which forms itself in its finality only through close connection with the practice of the truly mass and truly revolutionary movement. (*Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism. p. 5. English Edition, Moscow, 1920.*)

Only the Communist Party, if it is indeed the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it contains the best representatives of this class, if it consists of fully class-conscious and loyal communists enlightened and experienced in stubborn revolutionary struggles, and if it has managed to link itself up inseparably with the whole life of its class and through it with the whole mass of the exploited, and has won the complete confidence of this class and of this mass—only such a party is capable of leading the proletariat in the ruthless decisive and final struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the guidance of such a party can the proletariat unfold to the utmost the mighty power of its revolutionary attack, remove the inevitable apathy and even resistance of a small minority of the aristocracy of labor—the old trade-unionist and cooperative leaders, etc., who have been corrupted by capitalism,—only under such leadership will it be able to release its strength to the utmost extent, in view of the economic structure of capitalist society which is far greater than the proportion it represents in the whole population. (*Theses on the Fundamental Task of the II Congress of the Communist International, 1920.*)

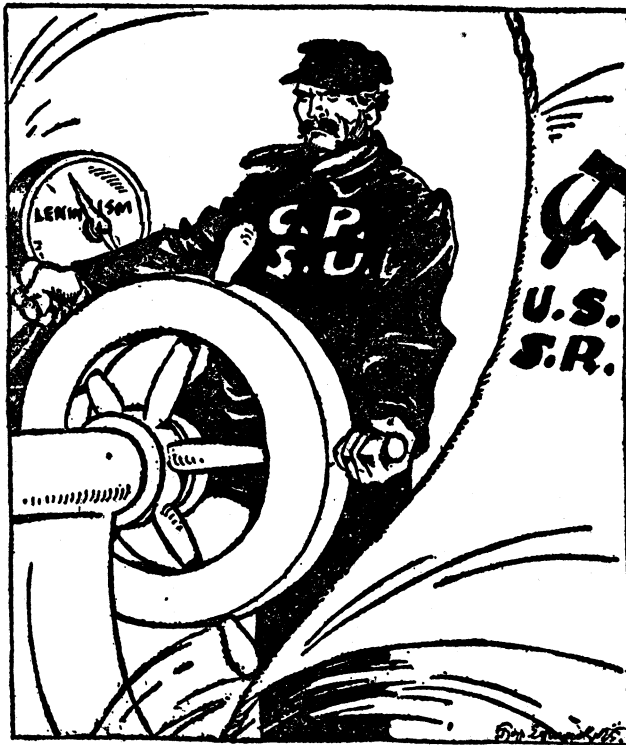
The discussion which took place prior to the Congress was sufficiently extensive. Out of minor differences and disagreements arose large ones, as always happens when relatively minor mistakes are made, when these mistakes are insisted upon and when every resistance is put up against their being corrected; or when men who make important mistakes clutch at minor mistakes committed by one or a few men. This is how disagreements and "splits" always break out.

There is an objective logic of the factional struggle which inevitably leads even the best people, if they persist in their wrong attitude, to a position that is actually not to be distinguished from unprincipled demagoguery. The whole history of factional struggles teaches this. For that reason we must study not only the abstract points of the disagreement, but also their concrete development

and change in the various stages of the struggle. (*The Crisis in the Party, 1921.*)

We are a Party fighting under conditions of acute difficulties. We must say to ourselves: Unity must be durable. The definite deviations must be condemned. Insofar as it has been observed it must be fully revealed and discussed.

But a theoretical discussion is one thing; the political life of the Party, a political struggle, is another thing. *We are not a debating society.* Of course we can publish collections of articles, special pamphlets, etc., and will do so, but we must combine in a single force.



The Factory Farm

A DISCUSSION ARTICLE ON THE PARTY AND THE FARM
PROBLEM

By "HARROW"

(Concluded from the December COMMUNIST)

FINANCE capital is studying the question of its interests. Bankers, Farm Loan and Insurance Companies, all of whom hold large blocks of mortgages, got together some time ago for the purpose of studying the question. Recently the Industrial Conference Board of New York made an exhaustive study of agriculture. One of their suggestions regarding production control, i. e., their veiled order to the "independent" farmer, was as follows:

"Ultimately, in working out our national agricultural policy, we shall need, I believe, a constructive and strongly applied land policy, involving not only a thorough classification of our land resources, but also some measure of control in their utilization. . . . Local business organizations, railroads and bankers can exercise, if they will, a real force in this matter, and the industries, by intelligently selecting their locations and promoting the geographical diffusion of manufacturing operations, can also help materially. There may at times be an important conflict of self-interest, but in the long run none of these groups can gain through a policy of stimulating unwise and uneconomic land settlement."

The exhaustive study of the Industrial Conference Board was followed by the formation of a "Business Men's Commission on Agriculture," organized jointly by the Board and the United States Chamber of Commerce. Neither, however, are responsible for the commission, which is to function "independently." A glance at its membership will serve to emphasize the diverse capitalist interests concerned in the future of farming:

Hon. Charles Nagel, of Nagel and Kirby, St. Louis, Mo.,
Chairman.

Robert W. Bingham, publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal.

E. N. Brown, chairman of the St. Louis-San Francisco Ry. Co.,
New York.

E. M. Herr, president of the Westinghouse Electric and Manu-
facturing Co., New York.

J. G. Lonsdale, president of the National Bank of Commerce,
St. Louis, Mo.

William Cooper Proctor, president The Proctor and Gamble Co., Cincinnati, O.

A. R. Rogers, president of Rogers Lumber Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

John Stuart, president of the Quaker Oats Co., Chicago, Ill.

Alfred H. Swayne, vice-president General Motors Corporation, New York.

Paul M. Warburg, chairman of the International Acceptance Corporation, New York.

MACHINERY AS A FACTOR IN CAPITALIST REORGANIZATION

Parallel to the decline of the small farmer, we find a sudden development of machinery which will hasten mass production on the farms. Again you must make a significant note. Such developments are the result of experimentation and the expenditure of much capital. Until there is a demand, and until capital is interested, such machines remain ideas. Today the experimental departments of all the large agricultural machinery companies are working on big power machinery.

Types of farming which formerly required much hand labor have already been invaded by new machines. Cotton, for instance, was never produced in the past without the famous "Nigger and a mule." But today cotton is outgrowing its traditional background. The boll weevil jarred the southern capitalist and forced his active interest in production. It was impossible for the poverty stricken, illiterate Negro and poor white to employ the methods essential for fighting the boll weevil. The inevitable development was more and more refinement in the management and land owners. The old tenant cropper was at first jacked up and told to do thus and so or "no credit." Then reorganization began. Plantation systems took on new significance. A plantation is described by the Census Bureau as a large area of land broken up into plots allotted to tenants, or it may actually be operated by hired hands. These plantations cover large areas, the typical ones running about 1,000 acres. Over 22,000 such plantations producing rice, cotton and tobacco have been studied. These have a total area of more than 19 million acres.

When the low cotton prices of 1926 came, a method had to be found even cheaper than cheap Negro and Mexican "hands." Thus what is known as "sledding" came into the harvest of cotton in Texas. This was a rough and tumble method, the product was dirty and it involved some waste, but was the only profitable method with cotton at 9 cents per pound. This experience stimulated the development of the mechanical cotton picker which has been perfected. Then came the general purpose tractor which can cultivate as well as plow. The result will be larger land units in cotton production, capitalist management, exit the "Nigger and mule"—the latter to the

boneyard, the former to northern or southern urban centers to increase unemployment. All through the southern agricultural problem runs the complicating factor of race prejudice. It divides poor white farmers from the Negroes. There is no more exploited class anywhere than the southern Negro farmer.

Here is a quotation from the Journal of Agricultural Engineers entitled "More Power per Man":

"When a year's labor of a man and his family is spent in producing 15 acres of cotton at prevailing costs and prices, he does not acquire enough in a year to purchase any of the luxuries of life. If he is able to buy the plainest food and essential clothing and does not go further into debt, he is fortunate. . . . Under improved methods of cultivation he may produce a bale of cotton per acre. With power and machinery he may handle even 100 acres of cotton per man except for harvest."

Perfectly true. The engineers know their stuff, and are planning to increase from 15 to 100 acres per man, but when this is done it means ruthless evictions of poor whites and Negroes and a complete reorganization of southern agriculture.

In the case of eastern dairying, another machine invented, perfected, and now being manufactured is the *alfalfa drying machine*. It brings the production of alfalfa meal, an important base in concentrates fed to dairy cattle (20% protein) to the humid east. It eliminates the overland haul from Colorado and California. (Transportation must always be added to price if we plan to import stuff). But this machine costs \$30,000. Obviously our typical dairy man in New York with his hundred acres can't use it. Mason, the millionaire U. S. Steel engineer who invented and developed the alfalfa drying machine says: "The day of the small farmer was passed five years ago."

Walker Gordon, on a big industrial dairy farm, near Trenton, N. J., has already installed this machine. It handles 500 acres of alfalfa with seven men, manufacturing air-dry alfalfa meal from field to bag in 45 minutes. One need not dwell on the future probability that other large distributors of milk in cities will extend their holdings and interest beyond merely putting the milk bottles on your door step, to the production of the milk itself, just as soon as land values fall, and supplies decrease by farmers quitting. The machinery is already perfected that will make the industrial production of milk in the east possible.

Still another interesting development has been that of the combine, the machine which cuts and threshes standing grain in one operation. This machine has reduced the labor required in harvest

to such an extent that the state of Kansas no longer requires the stream of migratory unemployed workers to flow through its farm lands at harvest time. In fact, employment agencies in Kansas in 1927 advertised to keep workers out—exactly the reverse of two years ago. This sudden change in so short a time affecting migratory workers, is indicative of the rate that we may expect in other directions in the reorganization of agriculture. Only those farmers who can afford to buy a combine and who own sufficient acreage to keep it busy will survive in the grain producing business—but even their improved position is not for long. Already the factory farm of Campbell in Montana has still further reduced costs per hour by inventing machinery that widens the use of the combine, and requires larger and larger acreage, and new types of supplementary machines.

THE CAMPBELL FACTORY FARM

I must note in passing what I consider a most significant capitalist experimental station for the reorganization of industrial agriculture—the Campbell farm located in central Montana. The development of machinery there has constantly eliminated many hours and increased acres per man. Campbell's costs per bushel are considerably below the selling price. The United States Department of Agriculture shows that the average Montana farmer produces at a business loss, yet Campbell has averaged for nine years net profits of 15% on his investment as a wheat farmer. Campbell himself speaks frankly. He says:

“Most of all, however, farming must be industrialized. The biggest industrial opportunity today is in agriculture. The largest field for technical men today is in agricultural engineering. In less than fifty years we will have a United States Farming Corporation larger than U. S. Steel.”

Just as soon as population overtakes wheat production and the surplus of wheat over domestic consumption disappears, more “Campbell Farms” will be organized. Another farm in operation in North Dakota resembles the plantation system of the south. The farm in question covers 40,000 acres. It is operated partly by the corporation and partly by tenants. It is a large centrally managed estate. The size of the tenant plot varies, but may run up to hundreds of acres. Each tenant has a contract. The farm plan is made by the owner. Taxes and houses are supplied, the tenant supplying his own power and equipment and getting half the crop. This form of management may become an intermediary step to be taken by capital en route to industrial farming in the grain belt. The “Adams and Grandin Wheatlands” in North Dakota closely resembles the Campbell farm in its methods.

A long list of new and improved machines effecting changes in the production of potatoes, sugar, rice, hay and many other products, could be cited. These machines will probably never increase yields per acre. But capital is interested in costs per bushel, and in more bushels per investment. This is expressed by the engineers in the phrase: "More power per man applied to more acres per man." As long as half our population was willing to produce farm products at a loss it was unnecessary for capital to take any more risks than were demanded to keep the "Follies of Farming" going. But the show is stale, and I predict that a new cast will begin rehearsals in 1930, with the engineers as stage managers.

SUMMARY

I have tried to show that family farming can no longer drift along; that two thirds of the farms are already owned or controlled by absentee capital. That along with overhead debt of annual interest of \$900,000,000, goes the independence of 67% of the farmers, and this drain increases mortgages, tenancy and farm bankruptcy. We have seen the futile effort of farmers to secure more for their products through cooperative marketing associations. The tide of capitalist absorption has reached the point of 15 billions in debts of farmers who own and operate the land. I have tried to show that the average farm unit is too small to be efficient in the profitable utilization of modern motor equipment. Parallel to this it has been evident that the great advances in farm machinery have increased the organization of farms by capitalist interests. We have seen that 31% of manufactured products originate from farm products, which indicates the reason for a striking change in the editorial policy of agricultural periodicals and among editors and officials generally. This change has been followed by definite research by bankers and industrial interests who are concerned in the future of agriculture. Research bureaus, industrial, agricultural and engineering courses have recently been established in some of our foremost universities.

It becomes clear that these factors are operating with unequal effect in various sections of the country. The five agricultural sections of the U. S. arbitrarily follow state lines, so that a statistical yardstick may be applied. But each one represents a distinct type of farming conditions which has evolved from the background of geography and climate of the section. Obviously, then, we may expect different political developments among the farmers in each section.

The thinly settled mountain and coast sections are least important from the farm population point of view. There is a well con-

trolled industrial capitalist agriculture in these sections. Over two-thirds of the farm population are to be found in the eastern half of the United States close to the industrial centers. Only eleven of the 40 states can still be called "agrarian" i. e., with fifty per cent of the population living on farms. Three of these are in the grain belt—Section 3—Oklahoma, North and South Dakota. All the remaining eight are in the south.

In the south the farms are below average size, and the agrarian problem is complicated by the universal race prejudice. The majority of the Negro race in the United States live in rural districts. In this section the dominant crop—cotton—is of the utmost importance to commercial, manufacturing and financial interests. This crop is on the brink of a revolution in production. Swift changes must be expected in this section.

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY—WHAT SHALL IT BE?

We can get nowhere by thinking in European terms, or even in general terms, for the United States as a whole. "Rich," "middle," "poor" and "tenant farmers," become so much Greek unless used and defined in connection with a particular section and type of agriculture. Capitalism in American agriculture is an accomplished fact. Yet it is only now emerging from its indirect absorption to a definite control. There is as yet no general and direct conflict, either for land or wages between working farmers and those who own and control the land. Yet we must soon prepare to lead that conflict. What has the Party to offer in agrarian tactics and program for each of the agricultural sections?

How shall we recruit active party members in this field? What type of party machinery must be provided to coordinate the activities of necessarily scattered agrarian organizers and membership? What publications shall we plan to use in gaining contacts and later actual influence among farmers, and so bid for leadership in their struggle? How shall we solve the riddle of bidding for leadership of an historically doomed equity in the ownership of land which will make them militant enemies of the capitalist class? Is it true that they have already shown a tendency to make demands and approach the radical—inasmuch as capitalist politicians dare to accede to those demands? Shall it be the future policy of the Party to do nothing because it anticipates a very slow development of farm bankruptcy? What shall be the attitude of agrarian workers among the migratory workers seeking employment from the working farmer? What kind of work shall there be and by whom shall it be done in the south in view of the race prejudice which

exists between the exploited white and Negro farmers? If it is true that economic conditions actually threaten the farmers' possession of land, and so increase his general militancy, what shall we do to direct these militant farmers to make demands upon capitalism? Can this influence be gained by a frankly radical paper? If so, how can it obtain circulation? Where should this paper be published? In an isolated town with no research facilities, or in a center such as Washington, D. C., where national farm organizations have headquarters and where research possibilities are at hand?

Would an extra-Party Agricultural Research Bureau attempting to issue its findings in a regular bulletin designed to make a wide appeal to editors of progressive magazines, newspapers, and memberships of farm organizations be more effective than an isolated farm paper with a small localized circulation?

Isn't it the basic principle of agricultural propaganda that it should coincide with the farmers' demands upon capitalism and carry these further? If this is true, agrarian publications will require not only farm investigators but skilled writers and well grounded Marxists who understand the limits of their medium because they understand farmer psychology.

We must at last realize that the American problem is unique, and utilize not only Americans in going after John Farmer, but strictly "American" methods in accomplishing results. Remember that the tin Lizzie made the Non-Partisan League possible—for success depended on immediate widespread capitalization of the situation.

We must have a network of Party members in each of the five sections keeping in touch with developments, and we must devise ways of putting material that applies to immediate problems in their hands. Obviously farm organizations are the logical mediums. It will be found to be a unique organizational problem for the Party to make its agrarian membership function effectively.

Fundamentally farmers are fighting for their land. Everyone is admitting we must make one farm where ten or twenty were before. We can't dodge this desirable evolution of farming. But can't we demand that industrial farms be organized by the working farmers themselves, i. e., tenants and mortgaged farmers? That the water of land values be squeezed out of mortgages and not out of the farmers' equity, and so fight to prevent foreclosures?

Can't we demand that large special credits be granted to farmers who will form big, efficient land units, demand that these credits be secured not by land mortgages but by returns from future crops

—i. e., on labor; demand moratoriums on old debts for a period of years to allow successful reorganization?

These are just a few of the questions that occur to one actually interested in working in this field. I realize the immediate reasons for lack of a definite agrarian program, and with much hesitancy I have made a few tentative suggestions:

That agrarian work must be greatly intensified. That it must engage the serious study of the Party leadership. That special workers should begin sectional studies of American farming. That some members of the C. E. C. be made actively responsible for agrarian organization and coordination of the work of agrarian members.

A questionnaire might be sent to all sections of the Party aimed to determine who is interested and qualified to take up agrarian Party work. It must not be considered a side-line for busy members. I am convinced that revolutionary changes in agricultural production are imminent and beckon—even challenge—the Party to action.



A Reply to Eastman's "Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution"

By A. CHIIK

(Concluded from September Communist)

HOW LENIN REVISED MARX—OR WHAT LENINISM WOULD HAVE BEEN IF EASTMAN HAD CREATED IT

Having declared the teachings of Marx "unscientific," "animistic," "metaphysical" theories, Max Eastman in this book attempts to give a "critique" of Leninism.

But if Marxism is nothing but worthless metaphysics, then it follows that it isn't worth while to talk about Leninism. To be sure there may be differences of opinion regarding the merit of Lenin's teaching; but that the teaching of Lenin comes from the teaching of Marx and is based upon it, is indisputable. It is simply the further development of Marxian teaching. It is a fact that the "Marxists" of the Second International claim that in developing Marxian theory Lenin has replaced certain old propositions of Marxism by new ones. But this is a false attitude. It was not Lenin but the theoreticians of the Second International who have taken liberties with orthodox Marxism. But if it is affirmed that Marxism—the entire basis and source of Lenin's teaching—is worthless, entirely unsound and unscientific, then it would be entirely superfluous to examine the teachings of Lenin. Accurate conclusions cannot be drawn from inaccurate premises.

At any rate naive persons who are guided by some degree of logic think so. But Eastman thinks otherwise. Marxism, he says, is utterly worthless. Leninism is a little better. But even Leninism cannot be considered entirely scientific, inasmuch as Leninism never completely rejected all the "metaphysical" ways of Marxism. Nevertheless Lenin represents a step forward in true revolutionary science. Adhering in words only to true Marxist "animistic" philosophy, Lenin in fact made a new departure in revolutionary science. Such is Max Eastman's profound analysis.

What then, is Lenin's departure? How does the teaching of Lenin differ from the "metaphysics" of Marx? According to

Eastman, Lenin's great departure (page 145) was that he denied both the assertion that the material elements of the world are automatically evolving towards socialism, and that the thoughts of socialists are a mere reflection of the process." Marx declares that "such and such events will happen in such and such a way." He declared the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to be an *inevitable* result of the material nature and economic situation of the proletariat." (page 162) "Lenin corrected the error of Marx which was a mystic faith in the proletariat as such" (page 144). He recognized that revolution must be "the indispensable historic function of a group of people" consecrated to this purpose "not according to the economic class to which they belonged, but according to their purposive activity and their state of mind" (page 144). People who consequently "stand above society" (page 145). Marx "attributes his purpose to the external world, and tries to convert the facts and methods of action which make its realization possible, into a proof of its certainty." (page 168). Lenin, on the contrary, "assumes that the revolutionary purpose exists in revolutionary people," and therefore he merely shows them "those facts in the external world, and those methods of action, which make its realization possible." (page 168.) He speaks not of the inevitability of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, not of what will happen and how, but of what must be done by revolutionary people to realize their revolutionary aims. He speaks not of the fact that the proletariat will of necessity bring about the revolution, but of the fact that the revolution can be accomplished only by a party standing above and outside of the proletariat. True, he recognized the necessity of an alliance between the Party and the proletariat, but he did not identify himself and his Party with the proletariat, and did not speak in the name of the latter. When he took any action, he did not declare that it was done by the proletariat. When he said "our interest," "our influence on the masses," he had in mind not the interests and power of the proletariat, but the interests and power of the Party — "an organization of people with a purposive idea, people who are trying to do something in company with the working class, and by means of it, and not merely bringing the working class into a consciousness of what it is doing." (page 156).

In a word, Lenin represents something midway between Marx who believed blindly in the proletariat, and Blanqui, who trusted everything to the organization of revolutionists. However, standing between the two, Lenin is nevertheless nearer to Blanqui, inas-

much as he rejected the "mystic faith" of Marx in the proletariat as such, and although he insisted on a close union with the proletariat, he discarded the Marxian idea of converting the entire working class into communists, stressing the necessity of staying with the working class "no matter how far they wandered from the path of communism." As proof of this Eastman cites Lenin's policy regarding the necessity of working in the reactionary trade unions. (page 144, etc., page 155, etc.)

The second "innovation" introduced by Lenin, Eastman says, was to "divide men of ideas into two camps, and expel without mercy those whose ideas did not mean action." Further, in criticizing people as revolutionists, he was actuated not by a sociological analysis as was Marx, but always emphasized the subjective and psychological factors. He criticized the Mensheviks for being people of words, incapable of action, and the ultra-lefts for being "abstract," "sectarian," "oppositionist on principle," etc. (pp. 152-54, 196-97). Eastman points out with particular satisfaction that only in the beginning of his book *Left Wing Communism—An Infantile Sickness* does Lenin define this tendency in orthodox Marxian fashion as petit-bourgeois, while all through the rest of the book he exposes it in "psychological terms." He attributes the non-revolutionary tendencies of these people not to the fact that they are petit-bourgeois, but to their personal psychology. (pp. 154-55).

From all this Eastman draws the following conclusions: While in Marx the Hegelian metaphysician was dominant over the practical scientific thinker, in Lenin the latter prevailed. Bolshevism is nothing more than "an unconscious and therefore incomplete substitution of a practical science of revolution for that revolutionary philosophy of the universe which Marx created." (page 168). Lenin was "a practical thinker to the depth of his mind, a scientist and not a priest, an engineer and not a 'midwife' of revolution."

I have purposely quoted Eastman's "interpretation" of the essence of Lenin's teaching in such detail, in order to give the reader a clear idea of the absurdity of such reasoning, and of the complete illiteracy of the author on questions of Marxism and Leninism. It is hardly necessary to prove to our readers the worthlessness of any such "scientific" appraisal of Leninism. In all this nonsense there is not one statement which is not a crude distortion of Lenin's views. I will point out only the most flagrant examples.

1. It is utterly ridiculous to make out that Lenin's understanding of the role of a revolutionary party is contrary to the Marxian

theory of the inevitability of revolution. Marx never believed in an "automatic" development toward the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. What he did teach was the overthrow of the bourgeois state, and to this task he summoned the proletariat. (Suppose, Mr. Eastman, you read the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels, and Lenin's *State and Revolution*—both of which are published in English!)

2. Even in the face of such complete ignorance as Eastman's it is difficult to explain how anyone reading as little as two lines of Lenin's writings could accuse him of lacking faith in the proletariat and of considering the Party as an organization of people "standing above society." Who, then, can be considered to have faith in the proletariat, if not the author of thousands and thousands of statements like the following:

"Every factory must be our fortress" ("Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Problems" *Collected Works* (in Russian) (Vol. IV, p. 153).

"Serious politics originate not with thousands, but with millions." (*Report on the Brest-Litovsk Peace*)—Vol. XV, page 124.

"The Socialist revolution cannot be accomplished without the working class; it cannot be accomplished unless sufficient strength has been stored up within the working class to direct the tens of millions of scattered peasants, crushed by capitalism, tortured and illiterate." (*Success and Difficulties of the Soviet Government*—Vol. XVI, p. 82-83).

"We must count our forces in tens of millions, smaller numbers do not count in politics, but are thrown off as a negligible quantity." (*Report on Current Problems of the Soviet Government*).—Vol. XV, page 216.)

"It is important for us to draw all the workers into the administration of the government. Socialism cannot be introduced by a Party minority. It must be brought about by tens of millions, when they have learned to act independently." (*Report on Changing the Program and Name of the Party*. Vol. XV, page 144).

"The revolutionary Party of the proletariat will not deserve its name until it learns to connect leaders, class and masses into one indissoluble whole." (*Left Wing Communism—An Infantile Sickness*—Vol. XVII, page 141.)

Only a deliberate distortion of facts could provide any basis for accusing Lenin of lack of faith in the powers of the proletariat.

3. Equally crude is the attempt to represent Lenin as rejecting

the idea of drawing the working masses into the communist movement, and as urging the necessity of following the mass labor movement "even when it departs from the paths of communism." Lenin himself tirelessly taught his Party that "the elemental development of the workers' movement goes straight toward subjection to the bourgeois ideology;" that "every surrender before the elemental mass movement, every capitulation of social democratic policy to trade unionism is simply preparing the ground to transform the labor movement into a tool of bourgeois democracy. The elemental mass movement is by itself capable of creating (and inevitably will create) only trade unionism, and the trade-union policy of the working class is the same thing as the bourgeois policy of the working class" and therefore "our task consists in a struggle with elementariness, it consists in *dragging* the workers movement away from its instinctive trade-union aspiration under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and drawing it under the wing of revolutionary social democracy." (Quotations from *What Is To Be Done?* Vol. V, pages 147, etc.) It was Lenin himself who for twenty years fought against Menshevist "Chvostism."¹ "In what" he asks "consists the role of the social democracy, if not in being the 'spirit,' not only soaring above the elemental movement, but *raising* the latter up to *its program?*"

"We are a class Party" he says, "and therefore almost the entire class (and in a military epoch during civil war, the entire class), must act under the direction of our Party." (*One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, Vol. 1, p. 351.) True, he spoke of the fact that in the epoch of capitalism the Party of the proletariat can unite only a minority of the working class, but that did not mean a repudiation of communist work of the Party among the masses. "We must go among all classes of the population," he said as far back as 1903, "as theoreticians, propagandists, agitators and organizers." (*What Is To Be Done?*, Vol. 1, page 185.) But *after* the overthrow of capitalism he stated directly that the trade unions should be schools of *communism*, preparatory schools for the Party.

However great Eastman's stupidity, however little of Lenin's writings he may have read, only a person who had never read a single syllable of Lenin, who knew absolutely nothing of the tens of millions of sheets of communist literature, issued during the last ten years by Soviet Russia, could believe that Eastman actually got, from reading Lenin, the impression that Lenin considered the attraction of the masses to the idea of communism unnecessary.

¹From "chvost," meaning tail. "Chvostism" (coined by Lenin), dragging along behind like a tail.

4. Finally let us examine Eastman's statement that Lenin departed from the sociological method of Marx in his estimate of right and left tendencies in the labor movement. In the entire ideological struggle waged by Lenin for two decades against the Mensheviks, the main substance of Lenin's criticism of the views and activities of the Mensheviks was a merciless exposure of the non-proletarian petit-bourgeois character of their ideology. From the time of the 2nd Congress down to his last revolutionary speeches and articles in all his polemics against the Mensheviks, Lenin repeated over and over again the orthodox Marxist interpretation of petit-bourgeois tendencies in the labor movement, pointing out that the reason for opportunism in the labor movement must be sought not in the personal qualities of this or that labor leader, but in the objective conditions of social life, in the development of a petit-bourgeois labor aristocracy, of the penetration of various petit-bourgeois elements into the labor movement, etc.

In view of the limited space I cannot cite the tens and hundreds of quotations which would prove the above. I will mention only several articles and brochures devoted partly or wholly to this particular question; such as *Petit-Bourgeois Tactics* (Vol. VIII, page 219), Foreword to the collection *For Twelve Years* (Vol. VIII, p. 473) *The Collapse of the 2nd International* (Vol. XIII, p. 133), *Imperialism and the Split in Socialism*, (Vol. XIII, p. 468), *Whither Have the S. R.'s and Mensheviks Led the Revolution?* (Vol. XIV, part 1, p. 283), *Petit-Bourgeois Parties* (Vol. XV, p. 526) etc.

The same is true regarding the "left liquidators of the revolution." This is what Lenin wrote about those same Otzovists² whose exclusion Eastman hailed as a proof of Lenin's "psychologism.":

"We have already described the make-up of the new fraction. Where can it recruit its army? From the bourgeois democratic elements who join the workers party in time of revolution. The proletariat are everywhere and always recruited from the petit-bourgeoisie, everywhere and always will be connected with the petit-bourgeoisie through thousands of transition steps, gradations, shades. When the workers' party grows especially rapidly (as was the case with us in 1905-1906) it is inevitable that masses imbued with the petit-bourgeois spirit should attach themselves to it." (About the Fraction of the Supporters of *Otzovism* and *Bogostroitel'svo.*" Vol. XI, part 1, p. 329).

²Otzovism—A tendency in the Russian S.-D. Party favoring the recall of the Social-Democratic Deputies from the Third Duma and the boycott of the Duma by the Party, because of the further limitation of the franchise inaugurated following the dissolution of the Second Duma and imprisonment of the Social-Democratic Deputies.

As regards the ultra-lefts of the post-war period in Europe, Eastman himself is forced to recognize that Lenin *begins* his criticism of the ultra-lefts with a sociological analysis. But see! chortles Mr. Eastman—he writes only a few words in that vein while he writes pages and pages about the personal characteristics of these lefts and of their subjective faults.

Our learned friend forgets just one thing. For what purpose did Lenin write this brochure? He wrote it not as a scientific dissertation, but as a practical handbook for the improvement of Party work. His task was to correct the defects of the communist movement. Objective social aspects cannot be corrected, but personal, subjective qualities can be. A person of petit-bourgeois background cannot change his origin. But a communist with a petit-bourgeois past and with the remnants of petit-bourgeois ideology can and must repudiate his “abstractness,” “sectarianism,” “oppositionism on principle,” etc. In order to correct the mistakes of the comrades in other countries it was necessary for Lenin to dwell in detail on just what these mistakes were and how they should be corrected rather than on the scientific, Marxist explanation of the origin of these mistakes.

LENINISM—THE IDEOLOGY OF THE RUSSIAN BARBARIANS

The whole essence of Leninism consists, according to Eastman, in introducing two “innovations”: 1. The repudiation of the Marxist “automatic” interpretation of revolution, and the recognition of revolution as the function of “professional revolutionists” and 2. The division of these revolutionists into two camps—those whose ideas meant action, and those who were merely “revolutionists of the phrase.” In the months he spent studying the teachings of Lenin, our learned author was able to find nothing worth mentioning beyond these two points. Such trifles as for instance Lenin’s doctrine of *imperialism as the last stage of capitalism* in the transition to socialism, his theory of the *unequal development of capitalism*, of the possibility of the *victory of socialism in one country*, of the possibility of *non-capitalist evolution* for backward countries in the epoch of proletarian revolution—he simply did not notice. Not a word on Lenin’s teaching regarding the *supremacy of the proletariat*, of the *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* and the *Soviet State* as the governmental form of that dictatorship. Of the 267 pages of his book he devotes *half a page* to Lenin’s theory regarding the *peasantry* and on the significance of the *national colonial movement*. On these matters he confines himself to the statement that the only modification of Marxism contributed here was that as a practical

revolutionist Lenin was able to see the industrial proletariat on the one hand and the peasants and the colonial peoples on the other in their true proportions, while Marx the "metaphysician" recognized the latter as allies only "incidentally and inadequately" (page 157).

As a result of this deep "scientific" analysis, the author arrives at the astonishing conclusion that the entire essence of Leninism can be boiled down to the doctrine of *professional revolutionists*.

The doctrine of professional revolutionists is undoubtedly a very important part of Leninism. But to anyone having the slightest acquaintance with Lenin's work and activities it is entirely clear that no less important a role in his teachings is played by his theory of imperialism, which I have already mentioned, his theory regarding the relation of the proletariat to the peasantry, etc. It may be asked: "Why was it necessary for Eastman to reduce Leninism to one point and why to this particular point regarding professional revolutionists?"

It is not difficult to find the answer to this question, and the answer shows up clearly Eastman's whole "analysis" of Leninism. Eastman gives the answer himself when he states that the whole concept of the professional revolutionist was "*peculiarly Russian*—." The essential fruit of that consecrated movement of revolt which had preceded Bolshevism in Russia (page 142). And so, indeed, Eastman assures us, did Lenin himself look upon this concept. ". . . He knew that it was *Russian*, he knew that it was *out of accord with the Marxian manner of thinking as it had developed in Western Europe*." (Italics mine—A. C.) Eastman finds proof of this in the fact (wherever he may have got it from) that Lenin "always resisted the proposal to translate into other languages the book in which he had laid down the foundations of Bolshevism." (Eastman has in mind, obviously, Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*)

Do you understand, readers of Europe and America? You don't have to worry in the least about Lenin's doctrines. It is useless for you to study them, or even to have any interest in them. They weren't addressed to you, and don't concern you. They were intended solely for the Russian barbarians. It is quite useless for you to send your delegations to the Soviet Union, dear workers of the Western World. It is useless for you to ally yourselves with the Russian Bolsheviks—leave them in peace, your ways are different. They will go their special, barbaric, Russian way, but you must follow the tested, civilized method—"as it has developed in Western Europe"—the method of peaceful conciliation of the reformist social democrats.

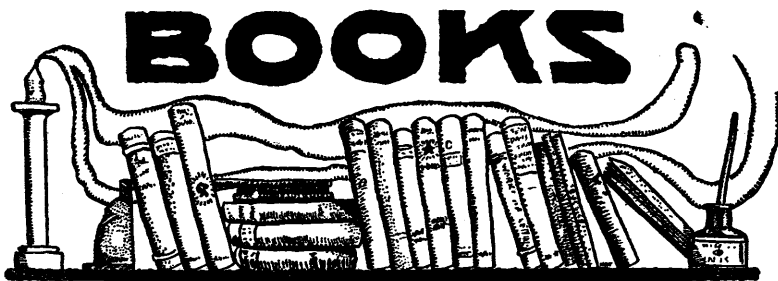
Bravo, Mr. Eastman. You have entirely justified the faith placed in you by your paymasters, and have more than earned your fee. But do you really think that you can fool the workers with such a cheap trick? Do you really think that in the science of revolution, as in bourgeois diplomacy, such methods as "Zinoviev letters" and "Soviet-Italian treaties" can be successful? Do you really think that even one class-conscious worker will believe your "scientific" prattle about Lenin and Leninism, as against Lenin's own words?

Lenin said:

"In the widest sense of the word all of the basic and many of the minor aspects of our revolution have an international significance," and "in the narrowest sense of the word, *i.e.*, if international significance is taken to mean the historical inevitability of the repetition of what happened with us on an international scale, certain of the most important aspects of our revolution must be recognized as having this significance," and that "the Russian example has shown *all* countries something very essential and inevitable of their own inevitable and not far distant futures." (*Left Wing Communism—An Infantile Sickness*). (Vol. XVII, page 115.)

Lenin also said that "only an out-and-out rogue, trying to deceive the workers with phrases, can deny that the Bolsheviks were right," and the party even in the "freest and most progressive of the bourgeois republics" which does not follow the example of the Russian Bolsheviks and carry on "systematic, thorough, *illegal* work against the laws of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois parliaments, is a party of betrayers and villains who *deceive* the people by giving lip service to the revolution" (*The Tasks of the Third International*, Vol. XVI, page 277).

To be sure, Mr. Eastman, there is still a chance that you may be able to lead astray a certain section of the American and European workers. As long as you have the entire capitalist press at your disposal for the propagation of your "revolutionary" ideas regarding the peculiarly Russian, barbarian character of Bolshevism—as long as the writings of Lenin are not yet available to the workers of the Western World—you may have things your own way. But no horrors of the white terror, no tricks of faithful servants of the capitalist blood-suckers like you and your kind, can hold back the victorious progress of Lenin's revolutionary ideas.



SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF THOMAS PAINE. Edited by Arthur Wallace Peach. Harcourt, Brace & Company. \$1.50.

This book is one of the American Authors Series published by Harcourt, Brace & Company. The selections are: *Common Sense*, *The Crisis*, and *The Age of Reason*. There is a lengthy introduction by a professor, Arthur Wallace Peach, of Norwich University, wherein an estimation of Paine's role and his place in history is attempted.

The introduction suffers in general from an over-apologetic tone, as if the author feels the necessity of making Paine palatable to nice, respectable folk. It is too dryly factual and too little interpretive, which is doubly bad in view of the neglect which has surrounded Paine and the contentiousness which does result when he is treated.

The author's approach is pacifist-liberal and is best illustrated by the following:

"An idealist at heart, he dreamed of a federation of the world, of a time when war drums would throb no longer, of revolutions in government wrought in peace by reason and free of revenge and hate."

"In France, also, he had beheld the dream of a Republic vanish in the flaming passions of men's hatreds."

". . . When he saw its (democracy's) terrible misapplication in the reign of terror."

This is simple, much too simple. Paine cannot be so easily pigeon-holed. There are revolutionary lumps which refuse to pass through the sieve of pacifism. The correct balance has certainly not been struck between the Paine who admittedly could not understand the terror in France and pleaded for the King's life, and the Paine who, though a Quaker himself, severely condemned the American Quakers for their attempt to stem the revolutionary tide against English oppression by a demagogic use of religious, brotherly-love principles (Appendix to *Common Sense*); the Paine who urged that measures be taken against the recalcitrant Tories (*Crisis*, No. 1); and finally, the Paine who said:

"By referring the matter (the grievances against the British ruling class) from arguments to arms, a new point for politics is struck."

These things provide the shadows in the lily-white picture drawn of Paine as a brotherly-love pacifist. These are the facts which are purposely glossed over by bourgeois historians in their "interpretations" of Paine.

It remains to add that the book, which obviously aims to give a comprehensive view of Paine's ideas, would have been measurably strengthened by an inclusion of his *Agrarian Justice* which is the maturest product of Paine's

thoughts on the relation of government to the individual and represents, in a way, the economic base of which the *Rights of Man* might be considered the political reflection. In view of the shortness of this tract (less than twenty pages) the omission becomes the less understandable.

JIM CORK.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND MODERN LIFE. By Franz Boas. New York. W. W. Norton and Company. \$5.

"... it is perfectly safe to say that no amount of eugenic selection will overcome those social conditions which have raised a poverty and disease-ridden proletariat—which will be reborn from even the best stock, so long as social conditions persist, that remorselessly push human beings into helpless and hopeless misery."

It is such occasional striking sentences as this which make this book merit the attention of communist readers, in spite of its manifest failings. It is the first popular book by Boas since 1911 and deals with his (called anthropology's) attitudes on race problems, nationalism, eugenics, criminology, stability of culture, education and the relation of modern civilization to primitive culture.

Much of the book may appear dull and pedantic. The author's views at times do not accord with those of historical materialism. He speaks in terms of "amelioration of the social conditions of the poor." Yet a careful perusal of the book indicates why he is refused permission to teach anthropology to undergraduates on the grounds that he is "too destructive." He consistently stresses environmental as opposed to hereditary influences.

He comes out against the fear of race mixture of Negro and white and expresses the opinion that an increase of unions between white men and colored women would be desirable. He recognizes the use of Pan-Latin and pre-revolutionary Pan-Slavistic propaganda as a cover for imperialistic expansion. He is conscious of employers "who rate the laborer not as a person but solely according to his money value," although he does not attack them.

Critical of intellectuals, he holds that "their average mentality is surely in no way superior to the workingmen, who by the conditions of their youth have been compelled to subsist on their manual labor," and states frankly "I should always be inclined to accept in regard to fundamental human problems the judgment of the masses rather than the judgment of the intellectuals, which is more certain to be warped by unconscious control of traditional ideas."

Boas, throughout the book does not, however, transcend the limited liberalism which put him in the camp of Al Smith in the recent election.

BURN STARR.

NEW BOOKS

The following is a list of new books and pamphlets that have come off the press in the past two weeks:—

COMMUNISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION15
REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE COLONIES15
THE PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (In Pamphlet Form) ..	.15
THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION by V. I. LENIN50
REMINISCENCES OF LENIN by KLARA ZETKIN35

Prices To Be Announced

WAGE LABOR AND CAPITAL by MARX (New English Improved Edition)	
REVOLUTIONARY LESSONS BY LENIN	
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