

THE COMMUNIST

12th

**ANNIVERSARY
RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION**

NOVEMBER, 1929,

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THE RUSSIAN TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE U.S.S.R.

By **KATERINA AVDEYEVA**

How the 11,000,000 trade unionists of the Soviet Union participate in the administration of government and industry is told in this pamphlet by Katerina Avdeyeva, a woman worker who is a member of the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions, reporting at Vladivostok to the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference.

The attitude of the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. in the world shaking drive for Soviet industrialization (The Five Year Plan) is revealed in startling facts.

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NOTICE TO OUR READERS

Due to technical difficulties we were unable to publish an October issue of *The Communist*. This *Anniversary Edition* is therefore a combined *October-November* issue and we are confident that the splendid material it contains will meet with the approval of our readers.

THE COMMUNIST.

The Twelfth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

WHAT is the principal fact which shows the American working class the significance of the November 7, 1917, Revolution, on this 12th Anniversary of that world-shaking event?

Undoubtedly the fact which can be most clearly understood by the wide masses of workers is this: That while in capitalist America, with its tremendous industrial equipment—the highest developed in the world—the conditions of the workers become worse, strikers are murdered in cold blood and the murderers go free, unemployment grows into the millions and becomes permanent, life becomes constantly more insecure for the masses, in sharpest contrast in the Soviet Union, with its backward technical equipment for industry—the Soviets inherited one of the most backward countries—yet the conditions of the workers are getting better at a rate never before witnessed in history, strikes are almost unknown because the working-class owns its own factories, the government powers are in the hands of the workers instead of being used against them, unemployment is practically non-existent for industrial workers, and life becomes constantly more rich and secure.

The larger significance of these two contrasting lines of development, and how they have been secured, are dealt with in the following article. Here let us only remind the American working class how closely its own destinies have been bound up with those of the Russian workers since 1917, how deeply our lives have been influenced by the same world forces which brought forth the Russian Revolution.

The Russian Revolution was born out of the world crisis of capitalism of which the World War was the sharpest expression. Millions of American workers had just been dragged into this war; American capitalism was preparing to spend millions of lives for the continuance of the war. The Russian Revolution, cutting across the imperialist fronts, with its call for fraternization of the workers of all lands, made impossible the continuance of the war. The masses of Europe, beginning to move against their exploiters, forced them to come to terms among themselves in order to combine forces against the threatening world revolution.

American workers were then dragged into the imperialist intervention against the Soviet revolution. American soldiers were shipped into Archangel, Murmansk, and Vladivostok, with inter-

ventionist forces from all the capitalist world, to strangle the proletarian revolution. At the same time, in America as in the whole world, the working class was being engaged in fierce mass struggles at home with the capitalist forces to protect their conditions of life.

During the period of imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union, there took place in the United States such historic battles as those of a half-million miners, the great steel strike, the "out-law" strike of the railway trainmen, the Seattle General Strike, and countless smaller battles. Nearby in Canada we saw the Winnipeg General Strike. In Europe this period was one of revolutionary upheavals and heavy class battles to the point of struggle for power. All these battles were integral parts of the international battle line of the class struggle, in which the most advanced sector was held by the Russian working class.

Let the American working class recall with pride, that not only was its own struggle stimulated by the leadership of the Russian working class which marched in the forefront of the world's workers, but also the American working class by its own stubborn class battles in this period contributed to the victory of the Russian proletariat against imperialist intervention. The great mass struggles of 1919-20 were a direct part of the world struggle between imperialism and the world proletariat, in which victory of a deep and lasting nature was won by the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, with the help of the international working class.

Not only in the general class battles did the American working class participate in the victory of the Russian workers. Also in the heroic page of the military struggles of the intervention period the American workers won distinction. Not only through the contribution of such fighters as John Reed, and the thousands of Americanized Russians who streamed back to join the forces of the Revolution, but also the break-up of the intervention forces by the mutiny of American soldiers when ordered to fight the Bolsheviks. These little-known events, carefully suppressed by the American bourgeoisie, were of the same order as the mutiny in the French Black Sea fleet, led by Andre Marty. They were the direct participation by the American working class in the success of the Soviet power in Russia.

In the days following the defeat of the intervention and counter-revolutionary military forces, came the struggle against famine and for the reconstruction of industry. In 1921-22, the American working class also made contributions on this field. These, small as they were in comparison with the potential power of the

American working class if it were fully awakened, were yet the evidence of awakening class consciousness in this country, the memory of which must be carefully preserved. We must not forget the work of the Friends of Soviet Russia, which sent ships of food to the Soviet Union, together with tractors and machinery; nor can we omit those efforts, impermanent though they proved, of the "communes" and co-operatives organized from America, as well as the Kuzbas Colony. All were demonstrations of growing class-consciousness and will, and a spirit of international solidarity from which the revolution will be born in all lands.

Remembering these and countless other facts, the American workers in celebrating the 12th Anniversary of the proletarian revolution which established the Soviet Union, will do so not as applauding spectators but as vitally interested participants. It is our revolution, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. The Soviet Power in the territory of the former Tsarist Empire is the representative of the entire world's working class, it won power by the help of the international proletariat, its victory is the victory of the world proletariat, its strength makes it the fortress, the stronghold of the whole working class, it is the proletarian fatherland.

And now, when the 12th Anniversary marks the development of this great victory to a new stage, with the enormous successes of the Five Year Plan of socialist construction already accomplished facts, when the new system of society is expanding its forces at such unprecedented speed, the American workers must prepare themselves for their own special role in the next great battles now looming before us.

World capitalism is filled with fear and rage at the progress of our Soviet Union. It prepares its supreme military effort to smash this menace to its existence. The new battles now preparing will put tasks upon the American workers far greater than any of the past.

Let us recall our past achievement only to steel our determination to multiply them a hundredfold in the battles to come.



Twelve Years of Socialist Constructive Work

1. The twelfth anniversary of the November Revolution takes place in a time of great progress for the socialist constructive work and of intense sharpening of the contradictions between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union. The fact that the crisis of capitalist stabilization is growing more acute, whilst the socialist constructive work is proceeding rapidly, produces a great and immediate danger of a military attack upon the land of developing socialism.

On the twelfth anniversary of the November Revolution a balance will again be drawn of the struggle between reformism and Bolshevism.

The technically advanced capitalist countries of the West which look back upon centuries of experience of the class dominance of the bourgeoisie, are unable to find their way out of the blind alley of the post-war period. The capitalist system fetters the gigantic productive forces. A number of great capitalist countries (Great Britain, for instance) are experiencing an undeniable process of degeneration. The capitalist world is wasting tremendous resources in preparing for new wars; for the unrestrained competition, the struggle of the imperialists among themselves, the struggle for a redivision of the world are driving the imperialist world to new wars. Eleven years after the close of the world war, the capitalist stabilization is once again threatened with collapse. It is cracking at every joint in the heart of world capitalism—in Europe where gigantic class struggles are rapidly developing. It is cracking at every joint on the periphery — in the colonies, in India, Palestine and China, where the struggle for national independence against world imperialism is uniting with the struggle of the proletariat against foreign and native capitalism.

Following upon the period of partial stabilization, the capitalist world has again entered a period in which a new revolutionary wave is rising, a period of the development of decisive class struggles.

Facing the degenerating capitalist West, the crumbling capitalist stabilization and the anarchic system of capitalism stands the Soviet Union, the country where the productive forces are rapidly developing, where socialism is achieving gigantic successes and where there is a socialist planned economic system.

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

2. The gigantic progress of socialist reconstruction is a deadly blow against the reformist prophecies and a wonderful confirmation of the correctness of Bolshevist strategy. The tremendous successes of socialism cannot be denied even by the bourgeois economists. It was, therefore, no accident that in analyzing the world economic situation the Hoover Commission mentioned only Canada and the Soviet Union as those countries where "prosperity" prevailed.

The Five-Year Plan ("Piatiletka") of Socialist Reconstruction (from 1928-29 to 1932-33), which was confirmed by the Soviet Congress of the Union, offers an impressive picture of the tremendous progress of socialist construction. The Five-Year Plan is a brilliant illustration of Lenin's words that after the proletariat has seized power, repulsed the attacks of the class enemy and healed the wounds of the civil war, it can develop its constructive work at a speed unknown in capitalist society. Every working man and every working woman, every toiler in the capitalist countries, must know the fundamental points of the Five-Year Plan because they give him an answer to the question, which is in the right, reformism or Bolshevism.

The Five-Year Plan provides for an increase of industrial production of 180% (almost threefold); for an increase of food production by 230%; for an increase of engineering by 250%, and of the production of agricultural machinery by 300%.

With regard to the speed of development provided for in the Five-Year Plan, an idea is given by a comparison with the previous five years:

	1923-24—1927-28	1928-29—1932-33
	<i>(in milliards of roubles)</i>	
Capital investments in the national economy	26.5	64.6
Capital investments in agriculture	15.0	23.2
Capital investments in industry	4.4	16.4
Capital investments in power stations	0.9	3.1
The Budget	19.0	51.0

These gigantic capital investments in the economic system, this tremendous development of energy, are carrying out a technical revolution in the country, and particularly in the village.

Approximately 300,000 tractors, millions of other complicated agricultural machines, the electrification of the village, the building of factories to work up the products of agriculture, etc., lend the village technically and economically quite a different face. The village ceases to be cut off from the town by a Chinese wall. Work in the village loses its purely agricultural nature and takes on to no small extent an industrial character.

The Five-Year Plan, which is being carried out under the slogan of "catching up with and exceeding the capitalist countries" is a tremendous stage upon the way of putting this slogan into execution. The tremendous progress which will be made by the economic system of the Soviet Union during these five years is shown as follows:

	1927-28	1932-33
Industrial production	18.3 milliard roubles	43.2 milliards
Electrical energy	5.0 milliard kw. hrs.	22.0 milliards
Smelting	3.5 million tons	10.0 millions
Coal	35.0 million tons	75.0 millions
Artificial fertilizers	175,000 tons	8.0 millions

In five years the Soviet Union will have caught up with and passed France with regard to the production of coal and thus advanced from the fifth to the fourth place in world production. In the production of cast iron it will overtake and pass France, Great Britain and Italy and advance from the sixth to the third place. Here, then, lies the reason for the furious campaign of the imperialists and the reformists against the Soviet Union. Here lies the reason why they are doing everything possible to provoke a military conflict with the Soviet Union.

The Five-Year Plan is a plan for the building up of Socialism. At the end of 1928-29 the socialist share in the main assets of the country was 52.7%. At the end of the Five-Year Plan it will be 68.9%. The socialist share in the gross production of industry will rise from 80 to 92% and in agriculture from 2 to 15%. After five years 43%, or the half of all agricultural commodity production will be provided by the socialist section of agriculture (collective undertakings and Soviet farms).

Twenty-five per cent of the peasant farms will be drawn into collective undertakings working with the assistance of the most modern agricultural machinery. In Five Years one-quarter of the peasantry will have been freed from the chains of individualist, antedeluvian and wasteful peasant production, and will have organized itself into powerful collective undertakings.

The Five-Year Plan will bring tremendous regroupings in the class structure of the Soviet Union. It will consolidate the proletariat as a class, draw new sections of the toilers into socialist production into the socialist factories, and rapidly increase the comparative share of the proletariat in the general economic system. In the country the proletariat will win new powerful positions as a result of the growth of the Soviet farms and the increase of the machinery and tractor stations. In the countryside new sections of the proletariat will develop which have gone through an industrial school and which are filled with the collectivist spirit of the proletariat employed in socialist large-scale industry. Based upon these sections, the industrial proletariat will conduct a further attack upon the rich peasants. The collectivization of the village produces a downright revolution in the class relations in the countryside, because a new and powerful section of workers in the collective undertakings, of members of the new socialist society, will develop in place of the millions of small private owners. In this way the Five-Year Plan delivers a decisive blow at the capitalist elements, because it reduces both relatively and absolutely the role of the rich peasants, turns millions of small owners into co-operators in the collective process of production and develops in the countryside a powerful section of the industrial proletariat and consolidates the main forces of socialism, the urban industrial proletariat both numerically and qualitatively.

The Five-Year Plan is a decisive stage in the raising of the material and cultural level of the masses. The real wages of the proletariat will rise by 71%. Towards the end of the Five-Year Plan the transition of the whole of industry to the seven-hour day will be concluded whilst milliards of roubles will have been expended for building workers' homes.

The Five-Year Plan deals a decisive blow against the unemployment produced by agrarian over-population. The technical revolution in the village creates the preliminary condition for drawing the masses of the poor peasantry into the process of production (through Soviet farms, collective undertakings, etc.), those masses who under the conditions of the old antedeluvian agricultural methods were condemned to vegetate or migrate to the towns.

The Five-Year Plan will create a tremendous nucleus of qualified workers. Hundreds of thousands of engineers and technicians will stream into the process of production from the ranks of the working class. The Five-Year Plan is a plan of cultural revolution. The Five-Year Plan provides for the expenditure of sums for cultural work which are almost fourfold those sums expended in the previous five years.

The introduction of universal compulsory education (under Tsarism over two-thirds of the population could neither read nor write), the tremendous extension of the high school system, the building of clubs in connection with all the large-scale factories, the gigantic growth of the evening and Sunday universities for self-education, embracing millions of workers and peasants, the linking up of town and country with a wireless net, the rapid growth of the literature created by worker and peasant authors—all these and many other facts bear witness of the cultural revolution which is proceeding in the Soviet Union. This cultural revolution is particularly obvious and powerful in the national republics of the peoples who were formerly most backward. The development here is in the closest connection with the rapid process of industrialization.

The Five-Year Plan is an element of world historical importance. For the first time in the history of humanity a tremendous country embracing one-sixth of the earth surface is marching, to use the words of Engels, "from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom." By the very fact of its existence the Five-Year Plan demonstrates the tremendous advantages of a socialist system of society.

The speed of development of this Five-Year Plan in a comparatively backward country, working in constant danger of attacks from outside and threatened by feverish preparations for war on the part of its neighbors, proves that *with the victory of the proletariat in a number of other countries the progress of humanity would proceed with tremendous strides*. Inside five years the Soviet Union will have accomplished a development for which Tzarist Russia would have needed decades and for which even the most advanced capitalist countries would have needed twenty years. At what speed will the progress of humanity proceed when the fetters of capitalism have been burst not only in one but in several countries?

The Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union is a tremendous appeal to the proletariat of the whole world to follow the example of the Soviet Union and to tread the path which leads to the proletarian revolution.

THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE PLAN

3. The bourgeois and the social-fascist press is doing its utmost to present the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction as a phantasy and Utopia. However, the dishonest character of the information published by this press concerning the Five-Year Plan, can be seen on the basis of the temporary statistics concerning the first year of the plan (1928-29) and the directions for the *second* year (1929-30). The Five-Year Plan is not a plan on paper for the future. It has already been in practical operation for a year and

its reality is tested by practice. The imperialists and the reformists may do their utmost to falsify the verdict of history, but they will not succeed in concealing from the world proletariat the fact that the country of socialism is making victorious progress.

The first year of the "Utopian and phantastic" (for the bourgeoisie and its lackeys) plan was not only carried out, but in *some respects even exceeded*. The plan provided for an increase of production by 21.4%. (as compared with 1927-28) for the first year. In *reality*, however, the increase in production was 24%. The Five Year Plan provided for an increase of freight transported of 165 million kilometer-tons in the first year. In reality, however, the increase was from 175-177 million kilometer-tons. The Five-Year Plan provided a budget of 7231 million roubles for the first year. In reality, the budget will be 7995 million roubles.

The *second year* of the plan gives us a still more eloquent picture. The most important circumstance with regard to the second year is that it renders clear the *tendencies of development* and thus removes the basis of any assertions concerning the *fortuitous nature* of the total results of the first year. What is the most characteristic feature of the second year of the Five-Year Plan? It is that the speed of socialist construction in the second year proves to be quicker than in the first year. The Five-Year Plan provided for a total increase of industrial production by 20.2%. Today, however, based upon the results of the first year, it has proved possible to increase the figure to 31.2%. Taking the production of the means of production separately, it proves that the increase of production of this industry is almost double (42.1 and 43.5%) the figure laid down in the "Utopian" Five-Year Plan. 3000 million roubles capital investment in industry (instead of 2290 millions as provided for in the Five-Year Plan); 700 million roubles State subsidies to agriculture; the increase of the area under seed by 7.8% (how are these figures to be reconciled with the incorrect information concerning the degeneration of agriculture?); the growth of the socialized sector of agriculture (collective undertakings and Soviet farms) and its extension to from 15 to 18 million hectares; the establishment of 100 machinery and tractor stations in the villages; the 10,000 million budget; the increase of real wages by 7% instead of the 5.4% provided for in the Five-Year Plan, these are the characteristic features of the second year of the Five-Year Plan. The directives of the Party and of the government show that not only is the Five-Year Plan no "phantasy," but that the enthusiasm of the masses, their unbending will, and the strong Bolsheviki leadership *make possible the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in a still shorter period.*

THE DIFFICULTIES AND ANOMALIES OF GROWTH

The Five-Year Plan is a fighting plan. The Soviet Union is putting the Five-Year Plan into operation in a struggle against numerous difficulties and under the conditions of anomalous growth. The heritage of Tsarist Russia was the backwardness and split up character of agriculture. In consequence of this split up character and of the natural economic character of a certain section of agriculture, temporary difficulties result (lack of grain, meat, etc.) from the increased demands of the masses in town and country. *The overcoming of these difficulties, however, is quite possible within the limits of the Five-Year Plan.*

The cultural and technical backwardness of the country is also a heritage of Tsarist Russia, from which results the low productivity of labor, the high price of building materials, certain mistakes in construction, the bureaucracy of the apparatus (the broad basis of this bureaucracy is formed by the petty bourgeois character of village economy) and the very great lack of technically trained forces.

The carrying out of the Five-Year Plan is taking place in *the sharpest possible struggle against the capitalist elements in the country.* The development of the socialist attack produces a despairing resistance on the part of the historically condemned capitalist elements. The old ruling classes were crushed by the November Revolution and the civil war, but the petty bourgeois economy of the countryside still mainly serves as a breeding ground for a certain growth of the capitalist elements. These elements grow *incomparably more slowly* than the socialist elements, but considered absolutely, the village bourgeoisie (the kulaks or rich peasants) are now stronger than they were at the beginning of the New Economic Policy. The Five-Year Plan threatens the immediate basis of their existence and growth. The Kulak is therefore striving to interfere with the grain supply and to prevent by agitation and threats the unification of the poor and middle peasants in collective undertakings. The Kulaks instigate attacks upon, and sometimes even murder of communists and non-party officials who are devoted to the cause of the building up of socialism. The Kulaks occasionally succeed in corrupting socially unstable elements in the Party and in the State apparatus.

In the town the capitalist elements are incomparably weaker, but here also the development of socialist construction, which has given rise to a process of differentiation amongst the technical intelligentsia, leads to an alliance of small groups of the former privileged technical intelligentsia with the Nepmen and the foreign capitalists. The Shachty Process against the mining engineers, the sabotage organizations in the shipping trust, the trial of the former Minister Palt-

chinsky, etc. show that small groups of the technical intelligentsia are carrying on an active struggle against Socialism and carrying out the direct instructions of the bourgeoisie to sabotage the building up of Socialism.

The bourgeoisie, and in particular its social fascist lackeys, exaggerate in every possible fashion the difficulties and contradictions of social development. They are overjoyed at each attack on the part of the Kulaks and at each act of sabotage by the counter-revolutionary specialists and glorify them. But this pleasure will be short, and in addition the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists know that it is artificial, because they cannot but recognize the successes of socialist construction. The speedy growth of the collectivisations of agriculture and the increasing development of the Soviet farms will bring a fundamental alteration during the next two years with regard to the supply of the town with agricultural products. The socialist rationalization of production which is being carried out with the active assistance of the working masses, will lead to a tremendous increase in the productivity of labor. (The Five-Year Plan provides for an increase of 110%.) The proletariat will learn from the mistakes of its first building attempts. It will build more cheaply and quickly. The experience gained in the building of such tremendous undertakings as the Stalingrad tractor factory (in 18 months a factory will have been built producing 40,000 tractors a year) shows that the Soviet Union will build even more quickly than capitalist Europe. The extension of the old high school system and the development of hundreds of new technical and agricultural high and middle schools will provide hundreds of thousands of new engineers, agronomists, and organizers of socialist economy during the next few years. (They are already being supplied). Based upon mechanization and the powerful development of the co-operative net, the proletariat is driving the kulak out of his positions. In the economic year which has just concluded, the comparative share of the kulaks in the land under seed decreased, whereas the share of the poor and middle peasants increased. By firmly organizing the village poor and by consolidating its alliance with the middle peasants, the working class is preparing an attack of all the toilers in the village upon the Kulak and forces him to throw his surplus grain onto the market.

THE ENTHUSIASM AND WILL OF THE MASSES—A GUARANTEE FOR THE SUCCESS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

5. The difficulties and contradictions of our development cause vacillations *from time to time* amongst *individual* sections of backward workers, and these vacillations are reflected in individual groups in the Party. The working class and its Party on the other

hand, are developing an unshakable firmness in the struggle for socialism. A splendid example of this firmness and enthusiasm of the masses is offered by the *socialist competitive scheme*. The factories and workshops, the villages and collective undertakings enter into the competitive scheme in order to develop industry, increase the harvest, decrease the costs of production and increase labor discipline. Voluntarily and upon their own initiative the masses conclude agreements concerning the struggle against absenteeism and slackness, and for the increase in the quality of production. The socialist competitive scheme in the Soviet Union is a crushing answer to the argument used for years by bourgeois ideologists that socialism means stagnation because the driving force of private competition is excluded. The socialist competitive scheme of the free toilers of the Soviet Union shows that socialism instead of anarchic competition produces a more fruitful and more powerful driving force—the socialist competition in the process of production, the competition for new successes in the struggle against nature and (as long as capitalism exists) in the struggle against the regime of exploitation.

The socialist economic system gives the proletariat the powerful weapon of planned economy. An eloquent expression of this planned economy as a weapon in the struggle for increasing the pace of development is the introduction of the uninterrupted working week. The uninterrupted working week is a great gain for the workers of the Soviet Union, for it introduces a *working week of five days* plus a day of rest. It reduces unemployment by absorbing a great section of the unemployed in the process of production and deals a heavy blow against religion and other prejudices. *It increases the speed of economic construction* and abolishes the loss previously suffered by all factories and workshops of almost two months in the year as a result of the frequent general holidays. The uninterrupted working week is impossible under the conditions of anarchy and competition existing in the capitalist world. Under capitalism it is only conceivable as a means of exploitation.

The socialist competitive scheme and the uninterrupted working week are splendid examples of the enthusiasm and will of the proletarian masses of the Soviet Union. A merciless self-criticism conducted without respect to persons, creates the preliminary conditions for winning the masses to an active participation in the constructive process, for the eradication of faults for the correction of deviations from the class line made by individual members of the Party and of the State apparatus. Every serious error on the part of the local and central economic, Soviet, trade union and other organizations is brought publicly before the bar of the working class. The wave

of self-criticism cleans the apparatus from top to bottom from conservatism, bureaucracy, waste, degeneration, etc. In the process of self-criticism thousands and thousands of proletarians are going through a political and organization school which will produce new and active builders of the socialist economic order.

The process of purging which is at present being conducted all over the Soviet Union in the Soviet, trade union and other institutions, serves the same aim. Everything leading to ossification, bureaucracy, etc. and away from the proletariat will be thrown out of these institutions and the gaps will be filled up by tens of thousands of new co-operators from the ranks of the proletariat. The crown of this tremendous work for the mobilization of the masses in the struggle against conservatism, bureaucracy and the influence of non-proletarian elements is the *purging of the Communist Party*, which is proceeding with the active assistance of broad masses of non-party workers. The social fascist parties throw honest proletarians out of their ranks and attract with all possible means the scions of the aristocracy, the bourgeois business men, the liberal ideologists, the technical intelligentsia and the officials. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does exactly the opposite, because it is the leader of the gigantic socialist constructive work and is not a part of the capitalist system. It clears out of its ranks all offsprings of the old classes, all the good-for-nothings and careerists, all the corrupt elements and bureaucrats, whilst at the same time it seeks to win all class-conscious and active working men and women as members of the Party. Here lies its strength as the leader of the Soviet Union and the advance-guard of the Communist International. Here lies the strength of the working class of the Soviet Union and of the world revolution.

WORLD IMPERIALISM, SOCIAL-FASCISM AND THEIR EFFORTS TO PREVENT THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

6. The proletariat of the Soviet Union is working to carry out the Five-Year Plan under constant military provocation and constant danger of being attacked. World imperialism and its social fascist lackeys are striving with all the means in their power to tear down the socialist achievements. They know that the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction will be a powerful factor for revolutionizing the world proletariat under the conditions of the intensifying class struggle in the capitalist West, and a powerful weapon in the struggle for the world revolution. Here lie the causes for the feverish preparations for war against the Soviet Union. Regarded in this light, the provocative attacks of the Chinese generals and the raids of white guardist

bands are not mere acts of wantonness on the part of the Chinese hangmen, but a *deliberate system of war provocations organized by world imperialism*. Only the iron discipline of the working masses of the Soviet Union and of the Red Army is responsible for the fact that war has been averted so far in the Far East. This is admitted even by a portion of the bourgeois press (for instance "The Manchester Guardian"). Apart from organizing military provocations in the Far East, world imperialism is working to prepare similar provocations on the Western frontiers of the Soviet Union. British and French military experts are working continually in the armies of the Polish, Rumanian and Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie and in the armies of the Baltic States in order to unite them for a common effort. At the last meeting of the League of Nations the bourgeoisie governments of the latter States openly raised the question of financing the small States in case of war against States threatening peace (read: "against the Soviet Union"). In the course of the last few years there has been no end to the attempts to draw Germany into a military alliance against the Soviet Union. The reason that this alliance has not yet been concluded is simply that up to the present the parties have not been able to agree about the price. The present coalition government of Hermann Mueller is more ready than any other government to join a military alliance against the Soviet Union: this is shown by its aggressive attitude in the Soviet Russian-Chinese conflict. The next step in the preparation of an economic blockade of the Soviet Union and of a war alliance against the Soviet Union is Briand's campaign for Pan-Europe. The land of the Soviets celebrates the twelfth anniversary of its existence in a situation in which it is seriously threatened with a military attack. The danger of war was never so acute as at present. Up to the present the firm peaceful policy of the Soviet Government in the Russo-Chinese conflict has prevented war, *but there is no guarantee that world imperialism will not unleash its bloodhounds in the Far East*. In consequence, every working man and every working woman must say: *We will be on guard, we will be prepared to come to the assistance of the proletariat of the Soviet Union at any moment*.

SOCIAL FASCISM, THE ORGANIZER OF IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE
SUPPRESSOR OF THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION

7. The war danger threatens the world proletariat not only as the war against the Soviet Union, but also as an imperialist war because, side by side with the preparation for an attack upon the Soviet Union, the imperialists are working feverishly at imperialist war preparations. The capitalist stabilization has not only

failed to diminish the imperialist contradictions, but it has reproduced them on a higher level. Under the cloak of pacifist conferences and declarations, armaments are developing unhindered. The centre point of this imperialist antagonism is the struggle between Great Britain and the United State for world hegemony. This struggle determined the character of the Paris and Hague conferences and of the Young Plan. This struggle is the object of naval "disarmament" conferences whose task it is to provide the pacifist cloak for gigantic naval building programmes.

Having regard to the difficulty of preparing new wars after the bloody experiences of the masses of the peoples in the first imperialist war, *the social-fascist parties*, these counter-revolutionary bourgeois "workers" parties, are being pushed into the foreground as the organizers of new imperialist wars. In Germany the social democratic Hermann Muller Government is building cruisers, whilst the last congress of the social-fascists adopted the defence programme (termed war programme with involuntary clarity by Paul Levi) which favors German's armament policy under the pretence of protecting Germany's "neutrality". In *Great Britain* the MacDonal Government has taken over the task of preparing war against the United States by mobilizing the masses with the assistance of pacifist agitation. The only difference between the policy of Mac-Donald and the policy of Chamberlain and Churchill is that MacDonal continues to build cruisers without sabre-rattling and without showing the masses his cards, and that he declares that the cruisers are not for use against America but to protect British possessions.

8. Social-fascism does not only appear in the role of an organizer of new wars. Its functions in the present-day capitalist system are wider. Social-fascism takes over the main work *in the suppression of national revolutionary movements*. By compromises with the colonial bourgeoisie and concluding blocs with the colonial militarists, the social-fascists carry on a ruthless suppression of the working class movement in the colonies and of the struggle of the national revolutionaries for the independence of their countries. The police of the MacDonal "Labor" Government shoot down worker demonstrators in Bombay and Calcutta; the MacDonal Government arranges national massacres in India and Palestine; it throws thousands of class-conscious Indian proletarians into prison and at the same time it flirts with the hangman Chiang Kai-shek, with the Egyptian dictator and the Indian Rajahs. The alliance with the reactionary feudal elements of the Orient to crush the struggle of the revolutionary peoples of the Orient—that is the strategy of European and American social-fascism.

SOCIAL FASCISM, THE CHIEF WEAPON OF THE BOURGEOIS
COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN THE MOTHER COUNTRIES

Social Fascism has become the chief support of the bourgeois dictatorship in the capitalist mother countries. In order to be able to compete successfully upon the world market, the bourgeoisie must carry out the capitalist rationalization, throw millions of workers out of the process of production, set up a slave-driving system, force down the wages of a section of the qualified workers to the level of unqualified workers and generally depress the standard of living of the whole working class. It is the social fascist governments which perform this task for the bourgeoisie. They reduce wages (for instance, the arbitration decision of the MacDonald Government for the reduction of the wages of the textile workers by 6¼%), they reduce social legislation and in particular the unemployed support (see the social democratic Hermann Muller Government), they raise direct taxation and with the assistance of the social bureaucracy, they ruthlessly crush the attempts of the working class to answer the bourgeois offensive with a counter-offensive.

The intensification of the class struggle drives the bourgeoisie to adopt dictatorial measures against the revolutionary working class movement. Social fascism also fulfils this task for the bourgeoisie. At its party congresses (for instance the Magdeburg congress of the German social democracy) social fascism announces its readiness to establish a dictatorship for the struggle against the revolutionary working class movement. The social fascist governments are carrying out this programme. They shoot down working class demonstrators (Berlin), they prohibit revolutionary working class organizations (The Red Front Fighters League) *and are preparing a decisive blow against all revolutionary working class organizations.*

9. *Social fascism has become the chief weapon of the counter-revolution. In the struggle against the revolution it keeps pace with fascism.* Social fascism and fascism "fight" each other *solely for the leading role in the struggle against the revolution.* The verbal struggle against fascism is used by social fascism in order to conceal from the masses its real co-operation with fascism in the struggle against the revolutionary movement. The social fascist Reichsbanner co-operates with the fascist Stahlhelm. Severing permits the fascist to commit terrorist acts with impunity whilst he utilizes these acts in order to issue exceptional laws against the revolutionary working class organizations.

The Austrian social fascists are disarming the workers just at the moment when the Austrian fascists are feverishly preparing for

a coup d'état. The growth of the fascist movement during the last year is closely connected with the treacherous activity of social fascism. The social demagogy of the fascists meets with a certain amount of success among backward sections of the proletariat which have been disappointed and which no longer believe in the possibility of defending their class interests through the trade unions led by the social fascist bureaucracy which betrays the working masses at every decisive moment of the struggle.

THE RISING REVOLUTIONARY WAVE AND THE TASKS OF THE
WORLD PROLETARIAT

10. The proletariat of the Soviet Union will celebrate the twelfth anniversary of the November Revolution in the midst of its socialist constructive work and after having traversed a gigantic stretch along the path of its social and cultural development, and in full confidence of new victories upon the field of socialist construction.

The bourgeoisie is robbing the proletariat of those concessions which it was compelled to make in the year of the revolutionary crisis. In most countries the standards of living of the proletariat are below pre-war level. Capitalist rationalization and the danger of new wars bring new privations and horrors. The question of how to find a way out of this situation arises. The twelfth anniversary of the November Revolution shows this way out. It can only be found along the path of the proletarian revolution. If the proletariat of the Soviet Union which was culturally and organizationally in a much less favorable situation than the proletariat of the West, was able to obtain such tremendous successes in a backward country, then what splendid successes await the proletariat of Europe when it has once vanquished its bourgeoisie!

The class struggle of recent years shows that broader and broader masses of the proletariat have become convinced of the correctness of the path taken by the proletariat of the Soviet Union and pointed out by the Comintern.

The strike wave of the past year, the Berlin barricade struggles, the demonstrations on the 1st August, and the electoral successes of the communists, all these things show that the broad masses of the proletariat in the countries of capitalism are rising in a new revolutionary wave. The twelfth anniversary of the victorious November Revolution must impart new confidence and new strength to the ranks of the world proletariat. The response to the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction must be the extension of the fighting front of the working class and its consolidation under the leadership of the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie

and its social fascist lackeys are depressing the standards of living of the working class. The reply must be couched in terms of a proletarian offensive to raise the standards of living of the working class; the answer must be given in terms of economic mass strikes, over the heads of the social fascist trade union bureaucrats. The bourgeoisie and its social fascist lackeys are destroying the working class organizations and wish to annihilate the revolutionary organizations. The answer must be the formation of mass organizations for proletarian self-defence and the offensive of the proletariat through *political mass strikes* and the rallying of the working masses around the Communist Parties in order to prepare for the coming decisive struggle.

The mass strike played a tremendously important role in the history of the Russian revolution because they drew the broadest masses into the class struggle, compelled the ruling classes to make considerable concessions and prepared the conditions for the immediate struggle for power. Under the present conditions, where the working class is faced with the unholy alliance of the employers, the bourgeois State and the social fascists, the proletariat cannot win any serious concessions without developing its economic struggles into political struggles and political strikes. In the present situation of an intensified class struggle, the political mass strike can and must be made the lever for the mobilization of the masses for the decisive struggles for power.

With the view to preventing the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan, the bourgeoisie and its social fascist lackeys are preparing for war against the Soviet Union. The answer must be the formation of anti-war committees, the growth of the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union and the organization of a revolutionary competitive scheme with the proletariat of the Soviet Union in order to prepare a joint fighting front against the world bourgeoisie.

It is necessary already now to give the preparations for repulsing the war provocations an organizational basis. *The formation of anti-war committees in every factory and in every workshop, above all in the heavy and war industries, must be the first serious step in the organization of the defence of the Soviet Union and the struggle against war.*

The revolutionary competitive scheme of the workers of the capitalist countries with the proletariat of the Soviet Union must consolidate their fraternal alliance and act as a powerful stimulus both to the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union and to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries.

By concluding revolutionary competitive agreements the workers

of the capitalist factories will undertake to adopt all measures to defend the Soviet Union, to struggle against capitalism, to develop the struggle against the capitalist rationalization and to struggle against fascism and social fascism.

The workers of the socialist factories of the Soviet Union will, by concluding such agreements, undertake to adopt all measures in order to increase the industrialization of the country, improve production, consolidate the alliance with the peasantry, strengthen the defensive capacities of the Soviet Union and be prepared at any moment to come to the assistance of their comrades in the capitalist countries in their revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

By mass demonstrations on the day of the twelfth anniversary of the November Revolution, the world proletariat must show that it is prepared at any moment to spring to the assistance of the Soviet Union.

For the fraternal alliance with the proletariat of the Soviet Union!

For the determined support of the Five-Year Plan for Socialist Construction!

For the revolutionary competitive scheme with the proletariat of the Soviet Union!

For the broad-scale offensive against the capitalist rationalization!

For the revolutionary united front in the struggle against the danger of war!

For the defence of the Soviet Union!

For the political mass strike in the struggle against fascism and social fascism!

For the preparation for the proletarian revolution!

For the dictatorship of the proletariat!



The 10th Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

(Translation from the German)

THE Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International which met almost a year after the VI World Congress, was not only able as a result of the experiences of the course of events in the capitalistic countries as well as in the Soviet Union to reaffirm the analysis made by the Sixth World Congress and the strategy and tactics in the revolutionary class struggle derived therefrom, but was able, considering the rising revolutionary tide, to reemphasize strongly and extend this analysis. Those features in many spheres of the capitalist world economy, in the politics of the bourgeoisie, in the development of the Second International and in the process of the radicalization of the working class which at the time of the Sixth Congress could only be indistinctly perceived, had since then become sharply outlined and had assumed concrete form.

Between the Sixth World Congress and the Tenth Plenum of the ECCI occurred the *great strike movements* in almost all capitalist countries, especially the strike in the Ruhr district, the numerous strikes of the textile workers in Germany, further the general strike in Lodz and in the mining districts of Poland, the numerous strike movements of the French working class, especially in northern France, the great mass strikes of the tobacco workers in Bulgaria, in that land of the white terror where every strike movement means a revolutionary struggle against the fascist state power, the general strike of the tobacco workers, railway workers, and seamen in Greece and in other countries, the strike movement in the United States, the textile strike in the Southern States; the gigantic mass strikes of pronounced revolutionary character in India; great strike movements in Japan (textile workers' strike), in Australia, etc. We witness during this period in almost all countries a *strong upward surge of the Communist movement*, which expressed itself in Germany, for example, in the elections to the shop committees. The completely changed character of all of these mass movements as contrasted with the period before the Sixth Congress was particularly evidenced by the bloody May Days in Berlin. These occurrences were the expression of the rising tide of the class struggle, the commencement of the struggle of the proletariat to break thru bourgeois legality (law and order). The barricades of Wedding and Neukollen are indications of the determination of the proletariat to burst the chains of bourgeois "order." The May occurrences which found a strong reverberation throughout

the world, were also the starting point for a *new revolutionary forward surge* of the working class in all capitalist countries.

But just as the offensive of the working masses develop powerfully in the period from the Sixth World Congress to the Tenth Plenum, so did there develop on the other side of the class front the *offensive* of monopolistic finance capital, which is becoming ever more trustified, and of the political spokesmen of its interests in the bourgeois parties and governments, in which the Second International began to assume a more important role than previously. This expressed itself primarily in the rapidly increasing fascization of the capitalist state power almost in all countries, in the increase of terroristic measures against the working class, in the rapid decay and decline of bourgeois democracy and of parliamentary methods of government, and in the amalgamation of trust capital and reformism with the state power. In this connection there belong especially the relegation of the parliamentary system in Jugoslavia and the transition to a military dictatorship, the elimination of parliament by Pilsudski in Poland, the increasing Communist persecution and the intensification of terroristic measures to the point of assassination in Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, etc., the mass arrests of communists and the suppression of the communist press in Czecho-Slovakia, France, etc., and finally the monstrous fury of the white terror against the revolutionary movement in China, India, Japan, South America and other non-European countries. The *white terror* breaks up bourgeois legality itself, especially in France, in Czecho-Slovakia and in Poland, by placing the communists "outside of the constitution and the law" without any legal justification and in contradiction to the consitutional "justice" of the capitalist state itself. This was crassly apparent in the mass arrests prior to May 1st in Paris, in Prague and in Warsaw; in the complete suppression of the communist press in Czecho-Slovakia, in the arrest of all the editors of "Humanite"; in the seven week long prohibition of the "Rote Fahne," and in the prohibition for many weeks of other party papers of the C. P. G., and in the extensive confiscation of party literature in all of the enumerated countries. In the period between the Sixth World Congress and the Tenth Plenum the bourgeois order in Europe moved forward along the path from *democracy to fascism* at a faster tempo than had ever been the case in any previous period.

The Comintern and all of its sections had to decide what position, tactically and strategically, they were going to take in this new situation against these fascist terroristic measures. The tactic and strategy of the Communist World Party as the party of the proletarian revolution can only be one of an accentuated class struggle

and the answer to the white terror by the mobilization of the proletariat to smash through bourgeois law and order. Under these conditions the Comintern and its sections mobilized the entire proletariat for the revolutionary *Red Day against imperialist war on August 1*. The bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the social fascists, answered the campaign of the Comintern with the frenzied cries of the unloosed white pack which were intensified against the communist movement. It was in this atmosphere that the Tenth Plenum met and received thereby an especially revolutionary character.

In the period between the Sixth World Congress and the Tenth Plenum the capitalistic contradictions and antagonisms sharpened perceptibly. They were reflected particularly in the negotiations of the Paris reparations conference, which dragged along for months. The result of the conferences of the imperialist world robbers does not signify an alleviation of the antagonisms inherent in world imperialism, as some theoreticians even in our own ranks have sought to demonstrate, but on the contrary on *accentuation of the antagonisms* of the imperialists among themselves, especially of the class antagonisms—in a decidedly pronounced degree in Germany. The offensive of German trust capital in the repression and increased exploitation of the German proletariat received a new powerful impetus, proceeding from the result of the reparations negotiations. “Work more and eat less!” that is the program of the imperialist robbers and of the lackeys, the social-fascists, as the result of the Paris negotiations.

Despite all the sharpening of the antagonisms in the imperialist countries, the Paris Conference as well as all the other facts of the immediate war preparations, especially during the past few months, showed that the organization and mobilization of the forces of the imperialist states are directed to a single end: *the war against the Soviet Union*. The contradictions between the imperialist world and the Soviet Union have become more acute because of the rapid development of socialist construction, and especially of the heavy industry, in the Soviet Union; the bloc of the imperialists to a common attack against the Soviet power has become appreciably strengthened. This appears clearly in the rapid orientation of the Hermann Mueller government towards an alliance with the big European powers in the struggle against the Soviets.

This tendency toward the encirclement and isolation of the Soviet Union has been strengthened especially because of the great successes which the *Five Year Plan* already shows after the first year. Because of the socialist competition in the factories in the Soviet Union, which strive not only to maintain the Five Year Plan but to

surpass it, it came about that the figures of the Five Year Plan could be repeatedly revised and that greater goals could be set. Astonishing results are also apparent in the agriculture of the Soviet Union through the orientation towards the collective economy of the cooperatives and of the collective farms.

All of these favorable facts in the socialist construction of the Soviet Union frighten the imperialist powers as much as the sharpening class conflicts within their own countries. The extension and advance of the imperialist anti-Soviet front have already led to direct war activities thru the robbery of the Eastern Chinese Railway by the murderers of the Chinese workers and peasants, directly supported by the imperialist powers. This occurrence which showed the *immediate danger of the outbreak of war* broke in the midst of the proceedings for the Tenth Plenum and was of great significance in bringing about through the conclusions and decisions of the Plenum the sharpest clarity and unanimity in the position which the revolutionary advance guard took in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and social fascism.

The Tenth Plenum settled the work before it in a conference period of three weeks duration, from the 3rd to the 20th of July, 1929. If the Sixth World Congress accomplished the important ideological change in the strategy and tactic of all communist sections, corresponding to the change in the economic and political world situation in the transition stage between the Second and the Third Periods, so did the Tenth Plenum exercise control over and practice a sharp self-criticism of the various sections in regards to the manner in which the change decided on by the Sixth World Congress had been carried out. The Tenth Plenum was especially characterized by the *hard and pitiless language* with which the mistakes and faults, the deviations and the insufficiencies of the section of the C. I. were criticized as they had been during no previous session of the International. That was a sign of the rapid internal development of the World Party, of the will and power to make the greatest efforts to perfect and bolshevizize the parties in the face of the dangers threatening the world proletariat, in the face of sharpened exploitation and of the acute war danger. That was the most important and conspicuous characteristic of the Tenth Plenum.

The sharp self-criticism which the Plenum directed at the entire work at the center of the Comintern as well as at the work of the individual sections, was complemented by a number of decisions, proposals and measures for the organs of the Comintern as well as for the criticized sections for the elimination of the ascertained faults. Correct as it is that the development of the

phenomena peculiar to the third period is an uneven one in the various countries and that, generally spoken, in the more highly developed industrial countries the imperialist antagonisms and difficulties are present to a higher degree and therefore the class struggle assumes more acute forms in these countries; correct as it is that in a number of imperialist countries of the second and third order the class antagonisms have not yet reached the acute stage as for example in Germany, and that therefore the class struggle is carried on at a lower stage, which of itself creates certain differences in the tactic and strategy of the Communist Parties,—just so *incorrect*, however, is the point of view, which has actually been expressed, that the fundamental line of Marxist-Leninist theory and of Bolshevik strategy and tactic can differ in the various countries. It was ascertained nevertheless at the Tenth Plenum that far greater differences exist in the ideology of the Parties, as well as in the consequent strategic and tactical measures, than could be justified by the uneven development of the economy of capitalist society, of the class antagonisms and class struggles.

These differences were especially obvious: 1) In the estimation of the nature and character of imperialist development in the individual countries; 2) In the attitude of the sections of the C. I. to the bourgeois parties, especially to the Social-Democracy; 3) In the strategy of the economic battles and in the tactic of trade union work; 4) In the attitude of the Communist Parties to bourgeois legality, that is, bourgeois parliamentarism, and to the bourgeois state power. A great number of documents from the individual sections, dealing with the political point of view of the Party press in the sections, and the attitude of the parliamentary fractions in the various countries; important decisions regarding a series of international and national actions of the sections exhibited a substantial divergence in the political stand taken by the individual sections. All of these great inadequacies in our World Party are caused in the last analysis by the very insufficient energetic execution of the decisions of the highest organ of the World Party, especially of the Sixth World Congress.

It was generally recognized that the great strategic and tactical *change in the line* decided on by Sixth World Congress *had been executed most vigorously and most determinedly by the German Section of the Comintern*. But in regards to the German section the fact was also established that the Party cadres remained behind the development of the radicalization of the working masses in the most diverse situations. The more vigorous and more inclusive revamping of the entire Party, the winning of new unused forces for the expansion and strengthening of the Party organization, the firmer

foundation of the Party, especially in the big factories, were set as the chief tasks for the C. P. G. This gave the occasion for the German delegation, despite the success which had been achieved, to practice the sharpest *self-criticism*. This open self-criticism also justified therefore, as was recognized by all sections, our participation in the criticism of those sections in which there existed an opposition against the execution of the change in the line which had been decided on.

Next to the German section the greatest efforts for the execution of this change in line were made in the French brother party, with similar satisfactory results. Nevertheless, the power of the leadership and of the basic Party cadres of the C. P. F. was insufficient, in the face of the capitalist offensive and especially of the aggressive attack of the state power against the revolutionary movement, to mobilize the masses of the proletariat so strongly that the terroristic measures of the state power could have been repulsed satisfactorily or warded off. Here was primarily apparent the insufficient foundation of the Communist movement in large scale industrial enterprises which constitute the basis for a mass mobilization against the policy of the counter-revolution.

Thirdly must be mentioned the C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia where was accomplished the greatest and most obvious swing toward the Bolshevization of this Party which was afflicted to a high degree by social democratic traditions, a complete change as well in the leadership as in the lower organs of the Party. If the successes in the C. P. Czech were not so substantial as in the C. P. F. or even in the C. P. G., the reasons for it are to be found in the old conservative power of social-democratic traditions. As in the C. P. Czech an attempt was made in the American brother party under the leadership of Lovestone to cultivate a national "bolshhevik" line on American soil. The significant factor in the development of the C. P. Czech lies in the fact that for the first time an energetic effort was made in the development to bolshevism.

Next to the C. P. G. the change in line decided on by the Sixth World Congress was carried through most vigorously and most obviously by the *C. P. of Poland*. This Party also has been able to record successes to an ever increasing degree: mobilization and increasing reliance of the proletarian masses in Communism. In contrast, however, to the C. P. G., the C. P. of Poland has also succeeded in winning the poor peasant masses for the Communist line. In this group of parties which have, most obviously, made efforts and achieved successes in the execution of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress, though in different degrees, there

must be included a number of smaller parties which have concluded this change in line more or less successfully as, for example, the Communist Parties of Norway, Austria and of several Balkan countries.

The Communist World Party and the Red International of Labor Unions have achieved enormous successes outside the boundaries of the European countries, especially in the *South American states*, in which a congress of all South American trade unions, held shortly before the Tenth Plenum decided to affiliate with the R. I. L. U.

The powerful forward surge of the revolutionary class struggle in *India*, the first firm organizational forms of the Communist movement in India, despite all the persecutions and repressive measures of British imperialism and of the Indian bourgeoisie, also show the great change in line which the Communist movement has carried through in that country. The strong influence of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress is apparent in China, if not to the same extent as in India, in the renewed advance of the revolutionary movement.

Besides the objective causes of the process of radicalization of the working masses, the offensive tactic of the enumerated sections of the Comintern constitute the impelling factor in the new revolutionary advance.

A harsher language had to be spoken against a number of sections in which the execution of the line of the Sixth World Congress was *defective* in part, and had in part met with resistance. Two groups must be distinguished here: first, such parties in which the execution of the decisions was attempted, but was not carried on energetically enough. In this group belong especially the C. P. of England, the C. P. of Italy and a number of smaller sections. Secondly, the parties which reacted the least to the decisions of the Sixth World Congress, as for example, the C. P. of Sweden, and such sections as resisted the change in line decided on by the Sixth World Congress. The C. P. of Switzerland is included in this group.

The period, about which the Tenth Plenum had to decide, was occupied in almost all sections by the fight for the execution of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress. Concomitant with the change in line decided on by the Sixth World Congress, *opportunism within the World Party* concluded its change in line to revisionism, and the more the change in the individual sections was carried through the more severe did the struggle against opportunistic tendencies become. That led in a number of sections to

the expulsion of the opportunistic fractions which everywhere developed rapidly into liquidationists and renegades. Thus the Brandler-Thalheimer-Walcher group in the C. P. G., Jilek-Hais-Neurath in the C. P. Czech, the Lovestone group in the C. P. U. S. A. The same struggle led to the elimination of the "centrist" opportunists, of the *conciliators*, i. e. in the C. P. S. U. the Bucharin-Rykov-Tomski group, in the C. P. G. the Ewert-Meyer-Gerhard group, in the C. P. of Italy, Serra, in the C. P. of Switzerland, Humbert-Droz-Wieser. It was interesting that at the Plenum none of the group of those combatted at the Plenum, of whom a number are members of the E. C. C. I., even appeared, with the exception of Comrade Humbert-Droz, and he avoided taking any position in the discussions. The Plenum decided to relieve this group of all functions in the presidium and in the political secretariat of the E. C. C. I.

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Despite the great significance of the fight against opportunism which was carried on between the Sixth World Congress and the Tenth Plenum, and the result of which was the complete ideological clarity and unanimity of the World Party, the deliberations concerning this question were reduced to a minimum, in order to be better able to permit the greatest room for the treatment of the practical tasks, of the bolshevik approach of the sections to their work.

In both reports of Comrades Kuusinen and Manuilski on the first order of business: "*The international situation and the tasks of the Communist International*," it was pointed out how the line of the Sixth World Congress had been substantiated in practice by a great number of occurrences in all capitalistic countries and especially in the colonies. The reports of Comrade Kuusinen, from a theoretical point of view, and of Comrade Manuilski, form a practical point of view, in the delineation of the basic tendencies of the development in the capitalist countries on the one hand, and of the socialist development in the Soviet Union on the other hand, were exceptional accomplishments. The speech of Comrade Molotov constituted a strong backing for the reports, and contained important theoretical and practical supplementary material for the participants at the Plenum.

The estimation of imperialist development in the third period layed down in the theses of the Sixth World Congress, of capitalist stabilization, of capitalist rationalization, of class antagonisms and class struggles, of the process of radicalization of the working class of the entire world, of the fascisation of the capitalist state

power, of the development of the Second International into social fascism, etc., was interestingly and most significantly enriched and supplemented in the report of Comrade Kuusinen. His political statement of the question from a broad point of view stood in sharp contrast to the conception derived from a purely economic point of view, which was represented by Comrade Varga. The conceptions of Comrade Varga which deviated from the line of the Comintern were seen in the estimation of the effect of rationalization on the standard of living of the proletariat (theory of stable real wages), in a peculiar theory of the reserve army (unemployed) in capitalist countries, in an opportunistic conception of the elimination of the contradictions between the rapid development of the productive forces and the lagging and narrowing of the market in the capitalist world and in a similarly deviating conception of the bridging of imperialist contradictions in consequence of the Paris negotiations. The opinions of Comrade Varga were fought in the sharpest manner from the most diverse sides of the question by almost all the discussion speakers who stated their position concerning this point on the order of business.

The theoretical expositions in the report concerning these questions were supported and supplemented by practical evidence in the most diverse spheres offered by the discussion speakers. The discussion attained an exceptionally high theoretical level, as a result of pitiless self-criticism, criticism of the Comintern work in its entirety and of the work of the individual sections. The participation of almost all sections in these discussions, despite the fact that difficult and complicated questions were discussed, shows the vast ideological growth of the entire Party. The times are now passed, in which once the discussions at the sessions of the Comintern were left to only a small group of extremely well trained able bolsheviks. Almost all sections have brought in their ten year development a smaller or larger staff of well trained, able theoreticians into the leadership. This helped to make the Tenth Plenum strong and determined.

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While we must classify the first point on the order of business: "The international situation and the tasks of the Communist International," as on the whole the work of the Plenum dealing with the *inner-party* front, the second point on the order of business, "The economic struggles and the tasks of the Communist Parties," which was reported on by Comrades Thalmann and Losovsky, dealt with the external struggle against the capitalist profit system, against reformism in the trade union movement. The Fourth R. I.

L. U. Congress and the Sixth World Congress pointed out the political line for the struggle of world Communism in the sphere of economic struggles and of trade union tactics, as the most important sphere of work in the present period. In the time between the meeting of those Congresses and the Tenth Plenum the practical test had to be made whether the strategic and tactical change in line decided on by those Congresses were correct in these spheres. Here it was also necessary, as in the case of the first order of business to criticize the manner in which the most important tasks were executed. While the report of Comrade Thalmann dealt exclusively, on the whole, with the problems in the European countries and with the trade union strategy against the Amsterdam International, it was the task of Comrade Losovsky to show the new forms which had developed in the class struggle in the colonies, the successes of the entire world movement in this field. A number of ambiguities concerning the nature, character and forms of the organs and organizations of the class struggle which had arisen in practical activity in the individual sections had to be overcome. Since the strategy in the economic struggles and the tactic of the trade union movement are just that part of the practical work in all capitalist countries and in the colonies which occupies the Communist sections the most in the class struggle, it was obvious that especially in this practical sphere, the most active exchanges of opinion and the most stimulating discussion was brought forth. The result of the discussions regarding this point are embodied in a resolution which brings clarity in a most concrete and extended form regarding the points of controversy which arose here.

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The third order of business was introduced by a report of Comrade Barbe concerning the International Red Day of the struggle *against imperialist war* (August 1). The report and discussion, which devolved from the decisions of the Sixth World Congress, were tackled from the practical point of view, and were designed to bring about the greatest possible activity in the campaign for August 1. The reports of the individual section concerning their preparatory work to mobilize the broadest working masses for August 1 constituted the basis for the decisions in this sphere which were formulated by the Tenth Plenum.

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All in all, the Tenth Plenum was one of the most fruitful and one which exerted the greatest influence on the sections of the C. I. to the bottom, and whose results in the various sections have a

very great influence on the bolshevik turn of the Communist parties to a more accentuated class struggle on a world scale against capitalist domination and against reformism. The Tenth Plenum can with its basic analysis of all sections be recorded as a great step forward in the revolutionary mobilization of the international proletariat.



The October Plenum of the Central Committee, C. P. U. S. A.

By EARL BROWDER

REGISTERING the definite entrance of the American Party upon the path determined by the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, and the Tenth Plenum of E. C. C. I., the October Plenum of our Central Committee was one of the most fruitful and constructive gatherings in the history of the Party. With a unanimity which was only accented by the two notes of dissent uttered, more than 100 leading Party members, including Central Committee, Central Control Commission, District Organizers, and leading Party workers in the mass organizations, debated for three days the concretization of the Comintern line for America, and adopted a detailed thesis embodying this line; whole-heartedly endorsed the struggle against the Right danger and the expulsion of the Lovestone group of opportunist disrupters; registered the growing upward movement of working-class activities, and prepared the Party for more effective leadership of these actions; reviewed the experiences the past year in Trade Union work, criticized its shortcomings, and affirmed the correctness of the main line carried out; gave serious and detailed attention to the problems of the work among the Negroes, and formulated a more concrete program; and finally, registered one of the most important achievements—one which every Party member will appreciate—the liquidation of the old factional situation and the basic unification of the Party, with the restoration of normal relationships with our World Party, the Communist International. Now it is the first task in the inner-Party life, to make the achievements of this Plenum the property of the whole Party membership.

APPLYING THE COMINTERN LINE TO AMERICA.

In no other important section of the Comintern has it taken so prolonged a struggle to secure the application of the Sixth World Congress line, as in America. This is not because the American Party is, or has been, opposed to this line; on the contrary, the American Party has always been keenly responsive to Comintern leadership. But the period just before and at the Sixth World Congress has witnessed the crystallization of a group of opportunist leaders (Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe & Co.), holding powerful positions in the very heart of the Party's leadership, working in close

co-ordination with the international right-wing elements within the Comintern, who stood between our Party and the Comintern and fought by all possible means against the application of the Sixth Congress line and whose position was strengthened by the mistakes of the former minority. It was only with the defeat of this group, their expulsion from the Party, that the Party could resume its proper position as a living, functioning section of the World Party.

In clarifying the political issues for our Party, the intervention of the Comintern was of paramount importance. The Comintern Open Letter to our Sixth Convention, and the Address to the Membership in May, produced the most profound effects within our Party. The process of clarification thereby begun, was deepened by the series of class struggles (Gastonia, Elizabethtown, New Orleans, New England, New York, Detroit, etc.) which underlined the correctness of the Comintern decisions which had forecast these developments, as well as by the success of the Trade Union Unity Convention, the demonstrations on Red Day, and the growing response of the masses to the work of our Party generally.

THE IMMEDIATE PERSPECTIVE OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM.

Analyzing the present economic situation in the United States in the light of world developments, the Plenum declared that it "shows the clear features of an oncoming economic crisis." The accentuation of the unevenness of development within American economy (accelerated concentration and centralization of capital, continued growth of Southern industries at the expense of the North, continued agrarian crisis) which had been hailed by our opportunists as signs of the overcoming by capitalism of its inner contradictions, were shown in its true light as evidence of the unprecedented sharpening of these inner contradictions, expressed in another form by the growth of production and the shrinking markets simultaneously brought about by capitalist rationalization, and to remedy which capitalism knows but two remedies—a bigger dose of the same rationalization, or war for the reapportionment of the world's markets. The first "remedy" for American capitalism's inner contradictions has been so thoroughly applied, that we are now faced with a tremendous accumulation of "social-explosives." Already the tendency of development of the issue of new capital, and export of capital, is sharply downward; as it is in the building industry, which has been one of the main props of American "prosperity." The overproduction in the automobile and oil industries is already openly discussed among bourgeois economists as a threatening factor for the whole economic system. The unsettled conditions in the money market, as well as the wild fluctuations in the stock ex-

change, are further evidences of the same unstable, shaking foundation of American capitalism's dreams of world domination.

Upon the basis of the facts of the situation in America and the whole world, the Plenum rejected the opportunist conception of capitalist stabilization as reaching a "new high level," as well as its twin, the conception that while world capitalism may be shaken, yet American capitalism is an "exception." The theses declare: "All the main features of the third period of the post-war crisis of capitalism as revealed in the analysis of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, are manifesting themselves . . . in the United States."

WHAT IS RATIONALIZATION?

In dealing with the problems arising from rationalization (as with every problem, theoretical and practical, the Plenum found it necessary to sharply combat the conceptions put forth by the renegade opportunists. Against the right-wing conception of capitalist rationalization as primarily a process of "heightened productivity of labor due to technical advance" (Lovestone), the Plenum pointed out the essential nature of rationalization as an intensification of labor (the speed-up in all its forms), which increased the exploitation of the workers, drains their physical resources without corresponding compensation, increases unemployment which takes on a permanent mass character; robs vast numbers of skilled workers of the value of their skill which is transferred to the machines, and reduces them to the ranks of the semi-skilled and unskilled; and by all these means, creates the objective prerequisites for the capitalist offensive against wages and living conditions, creating that insecurity of life and worsening of conditions which rouses the working masses to struggle, at the same time in which it sharpens the economic contradictions within capitalism. Rationalization, which is a sharply accentuated form of "normal" capitalist development, is by no means, therefore, smoothing over any of the fundamental antagonisms as our opportunists maintain, but on the contrary hasten the objective and subjective conditions for revolutionary developments—the economic crisis and a roused and militant working class.

THE WAR DANGER, AND INNER AND OUTER CONTRADICTIONS

With the opportunistic appreciation of capitalist stabilization, and of rationalization as a progressive factor strengthening stabilization, it was inevitable that the international Right Wing (including the American Lovestone brand) should develop the view that the inner contradictions of capitalism are being softened or altogether eliminated. With Comrade Bucharin this orientation has produced the

theories of "organized capitalism" which has eliminated its inner problems of markets, prices, and crises, transferring all these contradictions to the field of "the world market," to the relations between the different nations, to the "outer contradictions." With our American brand of opportunists, the Lovestone renegades, this theory takes on a much cruder form; instead of seeing the inner contradictions disappear by transference to the field of outer contradictions, they boldly deny that the danger of Imperialist war arises out of the very process of capitalist economy, standing the whole question on its head in the most vulgar fashion, admitting the existence and development of inner contradictions, but explaining them as effects of the outer contradictions. In the "classical" formulation given by Lovestone to this fundamental question, may be seen the full measure of his abandonment of Leninism, he says:

"The key in the present situation is to be found in the external contradictions. These, of course, are intertwined with the inner contradictions which grow out of the outer contradictions."

(In the COMMUNIST, November, 1928)

The October Plenum rejected all forms of this opportunist evaluation of the war danger, which lead straight into the camp of social-democracy and social-fascism. Starting from such a basis a revolutionary struggle against imperialist war is impossible; it can lead only, at best, to passivity and pessimism, and in its most logical results to complete capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

Against the opportunists, the Plenum gave to the Party an understanding of the War Danger as arising inevitably from the capitalist system, intensified by rationalization which sharpens all the contradictions of capitalism; while the same factors simultaneously bring forth the forces for the struggle against war—an aroused, radicalized working class, a discontented agrarian population, and rebellious populations in the colonies and semi-colonies. The struggle against war is first of all the mobilization and organization of the developing class struggle, and the leading of this struggle onto a higher plane of political mass actions.

LIQUIDATION OF THE RIGHT WING

In the question of inner-party development, the October Plenum marked the liquidation of the organized right wing in the Party leadership, and the opening of a new period of Party life. The renegade group of Lovestone, Pepper, Wolfe, Gitlow & Co., have swiftly completed their evolution into fullfledged enemies of the Party and the Comintern, and the Plenum unanimously declared that "the Party has grown stronger since and because of their expulsion". In place of the handful of followers that they

have taken with them, who are almost entirely petty-bourgeois elements or corrupted by pessimism, cynicism, and lack of faith in the possibilities of development of the working class struggle, the Party is already beginning to feel fresh currents of vitality flowing into it, and to recruit new and healthy proletarian elements, coming directly from the struggles and joining the Party because they see in it the militant leader and organizer of their struggles against capitalism, elements full of energy and fighting spirit whose very presence drives out the remnants of the poison-gas of pessimism and futility generated in the Party by the opportunists.

The Plenum subjected the activities and platform of this right wing to a most detailed examination and condemned them at every point. The wealth of facts and arguments brought to the Plenum on this subject by the dozens of comrades who participated in the deliberations will be brought to the Party in a whole series of articles dealing with every phase. The Plenum set the task of the complete elimination from the Party, not only of the right-wing leaders, but all remnants of their anti-communist views.

In this regard, it was found necessary to give serious attention to a few comrades who occupy the position of conciliators; that is, who formally dissociate themselves from Lovestone & Co., but who refuse to join in the struggle against them, and who even attempt to hinder this struggle, and call for a reconciliation with the right wing. This conciliatory position sometimes conceals a real solidarity with the right wing, and sometimes expresses confusion, muddle-headedness and lack of understanding, but in any case it becomes objective assistance to the right wing in its struggle against the Party and Comintern. The Plenum declared that "a vigorous struggle must be conducted against conciliators and where they fail to fulfill the conditions laid down by the Tenth Plenum they must be unhesitatingly expelled from the ranks of the Party".

Within the Plenum itself two examples of conciliation to the right wing showed themselves. One was Comrade Koppel, who voted for the Theses, but who spoke against the expulsions of the renegades and called for the cessation of the ideological struggle within the Party; he was shown that this line will inevitably, if persisted in, lead him out of the Party and into the camp of Lovestone & Co. A more serious case was that of Comrade Weisbord, who, proclaiming his 100 percent adherence to all decisions of the Comintern, interpreted this to mean struggle against the Party leadership at all points. Comrade Weisbord thought that his duty, at this Plenum whose task was above all to establish the line of the Sixth Congress and Tenth Plenum in the life of the American Party, was rather to abstain from voting upon the Theses and to

propose a motion of "no confidence" in the Central Committee which has carried this line into effect. If the renegade Lovestone had sent a conscious agent into the Plenum, undoubtedly it would have been for the purpose of proposing exactly such a motion, and Weisbord, whether consciously or not, played the role of such an agent. This fact, combined with his whole development in the past few months (resignation from his post at a moment of danger, attempt to build a faction, breaches of discipline, etc., as well as opportunistic mistakes in the trade union work) moved the Plenum to remove Comrade Weisbord from the Central Committee and give him the most serious warning against any continuation of his line. The only vote against this measure was that of Comrade Weisbord himself.

"It would be an error," the Plenum declared, "to think that with the fight against Lovestone and the conciliators, the struggle against the right danger is exhausted. The right danger is so deeply rooted in the Party that it would be a perilous illusion to maintain such an idea." The right danger has lost its organized leadership within the Party, its head has been cut off, but its roots are deep in the old customs, habits of thought, and the inertia of the Party membership, as well as in the constant pressure of bourgeois ideology upon the working class and the Party. The right danger is ever present, and requires from the Party the most constant vigilance to combat and overcome it, wherever it shows itself. The Plenum gave the Party in its Theses the necessary guidance for making this struggle effectively.

STRUGGLE AGAINST REFORMISM AND SOCIAL-FASCISM

Re-examining the problems of the struggle against reformism within the working class, the Plenum was forced to register the facts of the rapid development of the principal reformist organizations in the direction of social-fascism. Both the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, are entering into closer relations with the bourgeoisie and the State apparatus, and more and more functioning in the class struggle as direct instruments in that partnership for the suppression of the militant workers and the Communist Party. The reformists are an organic part of the combination of forces which are carrying through the present campaign of violence and terrorism against the militant sections of the working class.

Especially dangerous, therefore, is the role of the self-styled "progressives" (Muste & Co.), whose function is to create the illusion among the leftward-moving workers that there is still hope of "reforming" the reformist bureaucracy, and transforming the reformist organizations into organs of the class struggle. Their role is to mask the developing fascist features of reformism, and

to halt the leftward development of the workers, to head their movements in order to behead them.

It is significant that on this question, the Plenum had to take note that all the opportunist renegades from communism, both the right-wing Lovestonites and the "left" Trotskyists, have approximately the same position. Both deny the fascisation tendencies in reformism, both reject the necessity of sharpened struggle against the "left reformists", both base their trade union programs upon alliance with the Muste group, both reject the program of the independent revolutionary leadership of the rising wave of mass struggles of the workers. Both are moving in the direction of fusion with the reformist organizations, with their only alternative an equally degenerate development into isolated opportunist sects.

WINNING THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

All questions before the October Plenum were considered from the viewpoint of winning the majority of the working class to the leadership of the Communist Party.

The Plenum declared that the fundamental tactic in this struggle for the majority of the working class is the united front from below, on the basis of the immediate needs of the workers particularly in connection with the struggle against rationalization, in all its forms. The Plenum declared:

"The new period demands the development of new forms of struggle of the new revolutionary trade unions with the participation of broad unorganized masses, strike committees, workers' defense committees, especially in the South, organization of the unemployed, shop committees. This includes the intensification of our work for the organization of revolutionary trade unions and the strengthening of the revolutionary opposition in the old unions co-ordinated and led by the TUUL."

In the light of such tasks, the problem of turning the Party towards the factories, rooting it securely there by a solidly organized system of shop nuclei, by concentrating upon the basic key industries and those connected with war, by recruiting Negroes and the native-born workers, and by special attention to the rapidly-increasing numbers of women and youth being drawn into industry—all these questions become matters determining success or failure in our work. All passivity and indifference toward such questions must be rooted out of the Party, and the Party's energies applied to their solution in a resolute manner.

A recruitment campaign for Party membership was declared to be a special order of the day. Now that the old opportunistic poison is being rapidly eliminated, now that the old factionalism

which drove away from our Party so many healthy proletarian elements has been liquidated, now that the workers' struggles are broadening and deepening so rapidly, the time is more than ripe for a broad influx of new, healthy proletarian members of the Party, thereby preparing the ground for the rehabilitation of the whole work and activity of the Party and its advance to new achievements.

THE TRADE UNION WORK

The concrete application of the line of winning the masses, in the field of trade union struggle, was given a special report and discussion in the Plenum, and a special resolution was adopted on this question. Here the Plenum, while affirming the correctness of the line being followed and the healthy responses of the workers to this line (the South, the Cleveland Convention), yet wasted no time on self-congratulation. Rather it turned its attention to self-criticism, to the attack upon and elimination of weakness, deviations, and remnants of the old methods of work carried over into the new period.

This question will be made the subject of a series of articles in the press, and discussion in the Party units.

ORGANIZING THE NEGRO MASSES

The report and discussions on the Negro work, while still showing the unsatisfactory mobilization of the Party forces on this question, marked a distinct advance over all former considerations of the subject in our Party. Not only were the discussions centered about the practical experiences and tasks, in which progress is to be recorded, but the quality of the work and thought given to it was undoubtedly higher than it has ever been before. The Plenum registered an iron resistance of the Party to the poisonous opportunism of white chauvinism, and made the struggle against chauvinism the central point in advancing the work among the Negroes, not only as regards the inner life of the Party (even here remnants of chauvinism remain) but also among the broad masses of white workers. The progress made in the South, in spite of all mistakes and shortcomings, was distinctly noted, and was one of the most important aspects of the Plenum reports.

On the Negro question, also, there must be a wide discussion organized in the Party press and units, and the results of the work of the October Plenum must be diffused throughout the Party.

ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS

Registering the final liquidation of the old factional situation in the Party, the Plenum adopted the following resolution by all votes except one (Weisbord, who abstained):

"The Plenum states as a very important achievement that the Party and its leadership has succeeded in liquidating factionalism, to smash the old factional divisions within the Party and to unite the Party on the basis of the C.I. line in the struggle against the right danger.

"In order to continue the work and to strengthen the leading Party organs, the Plenum of the C. C. indicates the necessity of bringing into the C.C. and Political Buro as well as into district leadership, new forces and the forces of the former minority who were eliminated or barred from the work in these organs on the grounds of the new liquidated factionalism."

Further normalization of the Party life was indicated by the unanimous adoption of the motion: "That the Central Committee approves the proposal of the Secretariat adopted by the Political Buro to reinvigorate the political functioning of the Polburo of the C.C. and that the Secretariat be organized as an administrative secretariat to prepare the work of the Polburo and to carry out its decisions."

The vacancies in the Central Committee and Polburo created by the cleansing from the Party of the opportunists were filled in accordance with these decisions (the details have been published in the Party press) and one of the leading comrades was elected by the Plenum as the representative of the Party in the Comintern.

TAKING THE PLENUM TO THE PARTY

The Party has emerged from the deepest crisis of its history, it has made the most decisive turn in its political development—the recognition of the Third Period of the post-war crisis of capitalism, and its nature as the period of the maturing of revolutionary upheavals and imperialist wars, and the adoption of a line in accordance with this period.

The turn has been made. But the reorientation of the entire Party has not been completed. Now the results of the October Plenum, embodying the line of the Sixth World Congress and X Plenum of the E.C.C.I., must be taken to the entire Party and made a most intimate and dominating part of its entire life. This is the central task before us, upon the successful execution of which depends all the work and struggles of the revolutionary working class movement of America. The entire party membership must be mobilized in the spirit of the October Plenum, and the whole Party must move forward in one united whole, to new struggles, new achievements, and new victories.

“Organized Capital” in Each Separate Country

(Anent a certain revisionist theory of Comrade Bucharin)

By HEINZ NEUMANN

THE 10th plenum of the ECCI as well as the last plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, in their resolutions directed against the opportunist departures of Comrade Bucharin, condemned the theory of “organized capitalism,” which he has been developing systematically of late, as a capitulation before reformist ideology and a step in the direction of social-democratic revisionism.

For the parties of the Communist International outside the Soviet Union it is necessary, first of all, to uncover the basic ideas contained in Comrade Bucharin’s latest literary utterances. In defending his point of view directed against the basic views of the Communist International, Comrade Bucharin calls upon Leninism for the corroboration of his theory. He steps forth as an orthodox Marxist. We are, therefore, compelled to draw a comparison, based on fundamental theoretical documents, between Bucharin’s doctrine and that of Lenin.

MONOPOLY AND COMPETITION IN THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALISM

Comrade Bucharin formulated his viewpoint on the question of organized capitalism in two lengthy articles in the *Pravda* of May 26 and June 30, 1929. In these articles Comrade Bucharin, among other things, raised the question as to “the difference between the second cycle of the state-capitalistic wave and the first ‘war cycle’.” In connection with this, he dwells at length on the growth of the state-capitalistic tendencies in the present post-war capitalism, and asks the following questions:

“What constitutes the limit of the centralization tendency now pointed out by everybody? It is state capitalism in its highest form. What is the meaning of state capitalism from the standpoint of competition? *It means the decay of competition within the capitalist country and the greatest sharpening of competition among the capitalist countries.*” (Italics here and below are by the present writer.)

Comrade Bucharin, speaking elsewhere in his article about the “co-existence of monopoly and competition,” has a very peculiar notion of this “co-existence,” recognized by all Marxists. *Within* each capitalist country monopoly not only assumes supremacy, but it

makes it an autocratic supremacy over the joint economic resources. *Among* the various capitalist countries competition leads an isolated life. *Within* each capitalist country competition subsides, dies out. *Among* the capitalist countries competition deepens, sharpens, increases to the uttermost. It brings about new imperialist wars.

Here we get a remarkable coincidence between the position of Bucharin and the well-known theory of Hilferding concerning “organized capitalism.” In his program-article Hilferding expresses his point of view in a condensed manner as follows: the war and the postwar period mark a greater increased tendency in the direction of concentration of capital. The growth of cartels and trusts is receiving a powerful impulse. The period of free competition is nearing its end. Large monopolies are becoming the true rulers of economy. This means “a transition from the capitalism of free competition to a capitalism that is ‘organized.’” Organized capitalism means a conscious structure of economy, a conscious economic management. The development is in the direction of organized, even if only “hierarchic, and of antagonistic forms, but still organized economy.”

We will have occasion to return to Hilferding’s general final conclusions. Of importance to us in this connection is only the point of departure from which Hilferding proceeds to develop his theory. It is the same wrong point of departure from which Bucharin, too, proceeds: an underestimation, indeed a denial of the role of competition in the epoch of financial monopoly.

What analysis did Lenin make of the interrelations between monopoly and competition? It is sufficient to go through the most important of Lenin’s works on imperialism to realize clearly that Bucharin’s position contradicts sharply Lenin’s theory of interrelation between monopoly and competition. Lenin also regards the “transformation of competition into monopoly” as “one of the most important, if not the most important phenomenon in the economics of the latest capitalism.” But Lenin at the same time does not cease emphasizing the idea that “monopoly does not eliminate free competition, of which it is an outgrowth, but exists *above it and alongside of it* and consequently (this “consequently” has a decisive significance—H. N.) gives rise to a series of particularly sharp and grave contradictions, frictions and conflicts.”

In a program discussion that took place in 1917 Lenin expressed these ideas in a still more pointed and generalized form:

“It is, indeed, this combination of contradictory “principles”—competition and monopoly—that is essential to imperialism, and it is, indeed, this that prepares the crash, i. e. the *Socialist revolution*. (Lenin—“The project of change in the theoretical, political and other parts of the program.”)

Here the contradiction between both antagonistic theories of imperialism appears in all its sharpness. Lenin proves that monopoly *does not* do away with free competition. It is the *combination* of monopoly and competition that is an *essential* feature of imperialism. And it is, indeed, these dialectic inter-relations between monopoly and competition that create contradictions, frictions and conflicts. It is *indeed this* that hastens the socialist revolution.

Hilferding, in his effort to give imperialism a nicer appearance and to hide its contradictions, maintains that *all* competition is disappearing. Hence—"organized capitalism." Hence—*no contradiction* and *no* socialist revolution.

And what about Comrade Bucharin? Bucharin stands *midway* between Lenin and Hilferding. *In common with Hilferding* he has the negation of competition *within* the capitalist countries. *In common with Lenin* he has the recognition of competition *among* the capitalist countries. Bucharin finds an explanation for the contradictions, frictions and conflicts in the international realm, applying to the "external contradictions of imperialism." The class struggle, the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which Bucharin, of course, recognizes (though Hilferding, too, does that by way of his phrase about "antagonistically organized capitalism") is deprived of its economic basis. It remains hanging in the air. It does not find for itself a logical place within the frame of Bucharin's theory. Bucharin's point of view becomes pure eclecticism. It appears as going toward Hilferding and away from Lenin.

The question over which Bucharin breaks with Leninism, is not a question of little importance. One who does not estimate correctly the relation between monopoly and competition inevitably must arrive at the wrong position on the question of imperialism in general. Lenin defines the imperialist epoch as "a transition from entirely free competition to complete socialization." He derives the necessity of the socialist revolution immediately from this aspect of the imperialist epoch:

"Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private. The social means of production remain the private property of a small number of persons. The general framework of formally-recognized free competition remains, and the oppression by a few monopolists of the rest of the population becomes a hundred times more burdensome, acutely felt and intolerable."

Everywhere in his works on imperialism Lenin makes a sharp distinction between the epoch of free competition and the epoch of finance capital:

“The old capitalism of free competition with the stock-exchange as its indispensable regulator, is receding into the past. In its place came a *new capitalism*, bearing the marks of something *transitional*, of a kind of mixture of free competition and monopoly.”

It is, indeed, this dialectic placing of the question, this conception of imperialism as a transitional epoch, as a mixed form, that constituted the basis for the struggle that Lenin waged during the world war against the opportunists and social-chauvinists. And during the world war Kautsky, too, put over some “theoretical criticism” with respect to imperialism. Lenin showed up this “criticism” as a counter-revolutionary approval of bourgeois politics:

“Because this criticism circumvenes and places in the background *really the deepest and most fundamental contradictions* of imperialism, namely: *the contradictions between monopoly and simultaneously existing free competition*; between the gigantic transactions (at gigantic profits) of finance capital and the “honest” trade on the free market; between the cartels and trusts on one hand and the non-consolidated industry on the other, etc.”

It is worth noticing that all these contradictions pointed out by Lenin belong to the group of “internal” contradictions. Every concrete investigation of capitalist economics of post-war time leads to the same result and shows that these contradictions are not disappearing, as Comrade Bucharin maintains, but that they are becoming more sharpened: the contradictions between the gigantic transactions of finance capital and the trade on the free market; between trusts and cartels and the non-trustified industry; between industry and agriculture. *Within* the separate cartels desperate struggles take place as between one firm and the other over the distribution and re-distribution of quotas. Entire branches of industry are engaged in struggles over markets for the disposal of their products *within* and without the country. The new technical inventions of the post-war time, such as liquefying coal, have given rise to a series of new problems which, within the capitalist economy, can be solved only in an anarchic manner, by way of competitive struggle. We will point out here the struggle between the German chemical trust and the coal syndicate over the control of the Rhur coal mines,—a struggle in which the greatest financial concerns are taking part and which finds its reflection also in the parliamentary parties of the bourgeoisie. We will point out here the struggle over the consumers’ budget between the American industries producing luxuries and those producing articles of popular consumption.

Within the limits of this article it is impossible to trace further, on the basis of limitless available concrete material, the part played by competition within capitalist countries. On this subject we will refer the reader to the latest edition of the well-known study of cartels by Professor Liffman, a study abounding in data and instances of competition during the epoch of financial-capitalistic monopolies. We shall limit ourselves to a consideration of principle and theory underlying this question.

Before taking up the further course of discussion by Comrade Bucharin, we should like to point out one very important remark of Marx's. In his "Poverty of Philosophy" Marx pitilessly shows up the tangled "metaphysics of political economy" of Proudhon. In his polemics against the eclectic and pretentious phrases of Proudhon Marx devotes an entire paragraph to the subject of "competition and monopoly." This paragraph contains the following methodologically brilliant placing of the question, which is, unfortunately, remembered very little in our literature:

"In practical life we find not only competition and monopoly in their rivalry, but, likewise, in their *synthesis*, which is not a formula, but a *movement*. Monopoly creates competition, competition create monopoly. *Monopolists compete with one another, competitors become monopolists. . . .* The nature of the synthesis is such that monopoly may survive only by virtue of *constantly* engaging in a "*struggle of competition*."

These words written in the winter of 1846-47, many years before the publication of "Capital," contain in an embryonic form the entire dialectics of inter-relations between monopoly and competition. Throughout the works of Lenin in which he considered the same question against the changed surroundings of the imperialist epoch, the same Marxian dialectics runs like a red thread. Comrade Bucharin substitutes for the living synthesis of monopoly and competition, and their contradictions in motion, the artificial and ridiculous distinction between dying-out competition within each country and the flare-up of competition in the cosmic space. Obviously, this "improvement" upon Marxism may lead only to an improved platform of Hilferding.

II. ORGANIZED OR ANARCHIC CAPITALISM

The question of inter-relation between monopoly and competition constitutes only a partial problem in the general analysis of imperialist development. In his last article Comrade Bucharin devotes his efforts to the question of the general character of the

present post-war capitalism. He makes the following deductions from the objective development of capitalist economy:

"Its anarchic nature encroaches upon the basic lines of *international* economic relations. The problems of markets, prices, competition, crises are more and more becoming the problems of *international economy*, their place within each country being taken by *problems of organization*. The most painful, the most bleeding wounds of capitalism, its most crying contradictions are unfolded really here on the world battlefield. Even the problem of problems, the so-called 'social question,' the problem of inter-relation of classes and the class struggle, is a problem that is to the greatest degree connected with the position of this or that capitalist country on the *world market*."

This train of thoughts constitutes a logical, quite consistent development of Comrade Bucharin's utterances on the question of competition. Here again we see the sharp distinction between the "inner" and the "outer" contradictions of capitalism. The inner contradictions are disappearing. Not only competition is dying out but also the problems of markets, prices and crises. The question arises: what, then, is left of capitalism, of the capitalism analyzed by Marx and Lenin? Capitalism without markets, without prices, without competition and without crises,—this is no longer capitalism. In place of these basic distinguishing marks, these essential characteristic features of capitalism Bucharin sees rising within each country the "problem of organization." In other words; in the epoch of financial-capitalistic monopolies we are witnessing a development of organized capitalism. The amazed reader of Bucharin's articles will have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that if such is the case, good old Hilferding is right. It is sufficient to glance at the minutes of the Kiel Convention of the German Social Democracy in 1927. In his report to that convention on "The Problems of the Social Democracy in the Republic" * Hilferding in the main defends the same point of view as Bucharin advances in his latest articles. The overcoming of the era of free competition means to Hilferding that the rule of the "blind forces of the market" has come to an end. We are entering the age of capitalist organization of economy. The free play of economic forces has given way to "organized economy." To Hilferding this also means "the substitution for the capitalist prin-

* "The determining fact is that we are now living in a period of capitalism in which the era of free competition, when capitalism was subject solely to the rule of the blind forces of the market, has, in the main been overcome, and in which we are coming to a *capitalist organization of economy*, hence, from an economy of free play of economic forces, to an organized economy." (Minutes of the Kiel Convention, p. 166.)

ciple of free competition of the socialist principle of a planned economy. **

Within the capitalist countries Bucharin estimates the development almost exactly like Hilferding. The anarchic nature of capitalism "encroaches" upon the arena of international economic relations. It jumps out, in an unexplainable manner, from the capitalist countries. And what remains is—organized capitalism.

Within the limits of *world* economy, it is true, there still continue to exist markets, prices, competition and crises, and the capitalist contradictions grow and thrive as soon as they cross the boundary of the given country. Anarchy increases and leads to imperialist war. May nobody think that we are having to do here with an accidental derailment of Comrade Bucharin from the right track; that we have quoted without its due context a random passage from Bucharin's article. We are going to quote a still further passage from the same article. Bucharin writes the following:

"In a certain measure there *disappears the problematic aspect of the market*, although the race for markets still remains as a burning practical question. . . . The *organizational problem*, the problem of the best, the 'optional' *organization* under the given conditions, and this on a scale going out far beyond the limits of private economy—is placed more and more to the foreground. This problem includes first of all the question of *economic rationalization*, of this or that type of organization. . . . Thus changes the entire 'logical style' of the theoretical economics of the bourgeoisie. 'The method of production,' though it remains at the basic and determining point, where concerns the class relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in principle the same capitalist method of production, nevertheless is reconstructed internally: to the extent that we bear in mind not the world economy, but the 'national' capitalist organisms, there appears ever more clearly and distinctly the tendency toward the *rationalization of the economic progress*. . . . *The problem of irrational 'force of nature' gives way to the problem of rational organization.*"

According to Bucharin's description we get, therefore, the following new phenomena in the process of capitalist development:

** "Organized capitalism, therefore, amounts in reality to the *principle of substituting for the capitalist principle of free competition the socialist principle of planned production*. This planned, consciously directed economy is subject in an even increasing degree to the possibility of conscious influence of society, i. e. the influence on the part of the only conscious and armed compelling force of the social organization, the state . . . i. e., our generation is confronted with the problem *with the aid of the state(!)* with the aid of conscious social regulation to transform this economy, organized and directed by *capitalists* into an economy directed by the *democratic state*. It follows therefore that the problem confronting our generation can be nothing else but *socialism(!)*. (Minutes of the Kiel Convention, p. 169.)

1. Market, price, competition and crises in the capitalist countries are disappearing.

2. Capitalism in each country separately is losing its anarchic character. It is being transformed into organized capitalism.

3. The principle of planned economy of "economic rationalism" is victoriously paving a way for itself. Capitalist rationalization is not, as we communists maintain, a reactionary method for the increased exploitation of the working masses, not a *hopeless* attempt of the bourgeoisie to escape the growing contradictions of the capitalist methods of production, but a genuine "rationalization of the economic process," and hence, historically, a progressive development.

4. The capitalist method of production remains "in principle the same capitalist method of production" only with respect to the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In other respects there arises the principle of a new method of production, "a capitalism transformed from within." In this new capitalism discovered by Bucharin are *absent* the contradictions of joint capitalist development that existed until now, all but one—the contradiction between classes. Its anarchic nature is manifested only in the social realm, but not in the realm of economics. The economic structure of this "capitalism transformed from within" is, then, no longer chaotic but is rational instead.

Let us examine these assertions in the light of Leninism. Lenin never said that the problems of markets, prices, competition and crises in the imperialist epoch were giving way to problems of organization. In all these questions Lenin's point of view was rather the opposite of Bucharin's. In the course of the discussion on the project of the new party program of the Bolsheviks in 1917-1918 Lenin fought against the group of comrades who construed a mechanical development between the "old capitalism" and the "pure imperialism." At that time Lenin wrote the following:

"In its present version the general part of the program contains a description and an analysis of the more substantial characteristics of capitalism as a social-economic order. These characteristics have essentially *not* been changed by imperialism, the epoch of finance capital. Imperialism constitutes a continuation of capitalist development, its highest stage which is *in a certain sense* transitional toward socialism."

At a time when, according to Bucharin, imperialism "no longer remains in principle the same capitalist method of production" (with the exception of the class struggle), Lenin definitely points out that "the most important and essential characteristics of capitalism" in principle remain the same in every sense. Bucharin maintains that these characteristic are being radically changed by imperi-

alism. Lenin proves that they are *not* being radically changed. Let us quote further from Lenin:

“Imperialism in reality does not and *cannot* reconstruct capitalism from the bottom up. Imperialism complicates and sharpens the contradictions of capitalism, makes a muddle of freedom of competition and monopoly, but cannot *do away* with exchange markets, competition, crises, etc.” (Underscored by Lenin.)

Bucharin banishes markets, prices, competition and crises from every concrete capitalist country to a kind of abstract world economy, which leaves us to guess as to the planet upon which there exists a world economy which is not composed of distinct “national capitalistic economic systems.” In his turn, Lenin declares that imperialism not only *does not* destroy exchange, markets, competition and crises, but that it *cannot* at all objectively destroy them.

Lenin speaks still more sharply on this question in his further considerations in connection with the party program:

“Imperialism is declining capitalism, but not outlived capitalism, it is dying capitalism but not dead. Not pure monopolies, but monopolies alongside of exchange, markets, competition and crisis,—this is the most essential characteristic of imperialism in general.”

Bucharin denies, hides in the background the most essential characteristic of imperialism in general. It is clear that his point of view amounts not only to a revision of certain elements of Leninism, but to a revision of Lenin's theory of imperialism as a whole. By this Bucharin places himself in a position of open and conscious contradiction to the program of the Comintern. He places himself unhesitatingly on the basis of Hilferding, on the basis of “organized, even if antagonistically organized capitalism.” Capitalism without markets, capitalism without prices, capitalism without competitions, capitalism without crises,—this is nothing else but a utopian-reformist invention for the purpose of deceiving the working class and render attractive the bourgeois rule of exploitation.

How does the matter stand with the anarchic nature and chaotic essence of capitalism in the epoch of financial-capitalist monopoly? According to Bucharin capitalist anarchy against saves itself by escape into the airless spaces of abstract world economy, which is viewed not as a combination of national capitalisms, but which “frees itself from all its concrete properties and as an international ‘thing of itself’ presents a sharp contrast to the individual countries.” According to Hilferding anarchy disappears both within each capitalist country and in the relationships among the various capitalist countries. Lenin, on the contrary, says the following:

“The elimination of competition by the *cartels* is a fairy tale made up by the bourgeois economists who seek to justify capitalism

at any cost. On the contrary, the monopoly that is forming in certain branches of industry intensifies and sharpens the chaotic condition peculiar to capitalist production *as a whole*.”

Lenin by no means banishes the chaotic nature of capitalism into the realm of international economy, as does Bucharin, but proves the correctness of his analysis by a number of instances which, without exception are related to the group of “international contradictions,” to the anarchic nature of economy *within* the capitalist countries. Lenin, sharply differing with Bucharin, takes the viewpoint that “the ever faster development of technique creates an “ever greater disproportion *among the various parts of the national economy*, ever more increases the chaos and crises.”

He points out the struggle of the most trustified heavy industry, particularly coal and iron, against the other branches of industry, the “disproportion” between the development of agriculture and industry, which is generally characteristic for capitalism. Lenin in this connection speaks definitely of the “increased lack of planning” which is brought about by the privileged position of the large monopolistic combinations in the remaining branches of industry.

At the time when Lenin diligently searches in the writings of the theoreticians of bourgeois economy and quotes all their admissions, made even by such staunch defenders of capitalism as Eidels and Lifman, as to the chaotic nature of capitalism, Comrade Bucharin, unfortunately, accepts and spreads with self-sacrificing zeal all those “fairy tales of bourgeois economists who seek to justify capitalism at any cost.” Bucharin takes Sombart and Bente at their word, accepts their mendacious prattle about a systematically planned economy, their phrases about the “rationalization of the economic process.”

In like manner, also on the question of rationalization, of “regulating the economic life” Lenin always occupied the revolutionary Marxist position which is, as heaven from earth, far from the Bucharin philosophy of planned economy. Lenin says the following:

“The reactionary capitalist state which is afraid to undermine the mainstays of capitalism, the mainstays of wage slavery, the mainstays of the economic rule of *the rich*... such a government needs nothing more than a bread card. Such a government does not for a minute, in any of its steps, lose sight of the reactionary aim: to strengthen capitalism, to prevent its being undermined, to *limit* the ‘regulation of economic life’ in general, and the regulation of consumption in particular *only to such measures as are absolutely necessary in order to keep the people fed*.”

Lenin wrote these lines in the course of examining the measures of war capitalism which were introduced between 1914 and 1918 in the most important imperialist countries. Bucharin presents an opposite point of view both on the question of imperialist war economics and post war capitalism. Quite significant in this connection is Bucharin's work entitled "The Economics of the Transitional Period" published in 1920. In the very beginning of his book Bucharin advocates the question of the "consciously operating elements of the capitalistic world economy." He formulates his view on the structure of modern capitalism in the following manner:

"Finance capital *has destroyed the anarchy* of production within the countries of large-scale capitalism. Monopolistic associations of enterprises, the combined enterprises and the penetration of finance capital into industry created a *new type of productional relations, turning the unorganized capitalist system of goods exchange into a financial-capitalistic organization.*"

Here again we find in a particularly vivid form Bucharin's idea about the elimination of the capitalistic productional anarchy. In the Lenin Institute there is a copy of "The Economics of the Transitional Period" which Lenin was using personally. On the margin opposite the above-quoted passage Lenin made a very instructive notation. He crossed out the word "destroyed" and wrote on the margin "not destroyed." This "little" dispute over the formulae "destroyed" or "not destroyed," this discussion of the past has now again come to the foreground in our intra-party battles. The differences of opinion of that time have now grown to the decisive contradictions of principle as between Bucharin and the Comintern.

III. TWO THEORIES OF IMPERIALISM

Of great importance is also the question of the "*new type of productional relations*" created, according to Bucharin, by the monopolistic mergers. Also on this point Bucharin's stand is in contradiction to Leninism. We have already mentioned the program discussion of 1917-1918, in the course of which Lenin argued against the false idea that the capitalist method of production was in its basic features radically changed by imperialism. At the Eighth Party Congress of the All-Union Communist Party in March of 1919 this disputed question again came up. Bucharin and other members of the program committee at that time defended the theory of "pure imperialism" and simply wanted to erase the part of the Party program which dealt with the pre-imperialist capitalism. Lenin conducted a determined fight against that idea. In his report on the program at the Eighth Party Congress he said the following:

"If the program were to be written as Comrade Bucharin wanted it, the program would be incorrect. It would, granted, reproduce the best that has been said about finance capitalism and imperialism but it would not reproduce the reality, because in reality there is no such entity. . . . That is why another construction of the program would be incorrect. It is necessary to state that which exists: the program must contain that which is absolutely undebatable, that which is established by facts.

"Theoretically Comrade Bucharin quite understands this and says that the program must be concrete. But one thing is to understand and another—to carry out in fact. *Bucharin's concreteness is a bookish exposition of finance capitalism.* In reality we observe mixed phenomena. In every agricultural province we observe free competition alongside of monopolized industry. *Never in the whole world has monopolistic capitalism existed without free competition in a whole series of branches and it never will.* To talk about such a system would be to describe a system that is detached from life and is incorrect."

It is just such a "system detached from life and incorrect," in its deepest roots—a revisionist system, that Comrade Bucharin represents in his latest articles.

Instead of the meaningless and misleading phrase about the "new type of productional relations," Lenin gave an analysis of imperialism as a *superstructure of the old capitalism*. He says the following:

"If Marx said about manufacture that it was a superstructure of mass small-scale production, then *imperialism and small capitalism is a superstructure of the old capitalism*. If this structure is destroyed the old capitalism will be revealed. To take the standpoint that there is an entity of imperialism without the old capitalism is to accept the wish for a reality."

Lenin's theory of imperialism as a superstructure of the old capitalism is of the utmost importance. In Bucharin's stubborn effort for a number of years to "deny," revise and cause the fall of this theory we see one of the ideological roots of his present approach toward reformism. Bucharin wants to prove at any price that imperialism is not only a new form of the old capitalism in point of principle, its "newest stage," but that it is destroying, abolishing and overcoming all the basic features, all the essential characteristics of the old capitalism. Bucharin views imperialism as a new method of production. In his search of a real content for this new method of production he arrives at the opportunistic final conclusions. He substitutes for the basic features of joint capitalism which in reality continue to exist also in the imperialist epoch, *invented* "peculiarities" of finance capitalism such as the abolition of crises, systematic planning, rationalization, etc. But by doing so he inevitably lands in the camp of Hilferding.

Lenin fought these views of Bucharin's not only from the standpoint of theoretical analysis but also from the *strategic-political standpoint*:

"If we had before us an integral imperialism which has completely remade capitalism, our task would be a thousand times easier. This would give us a system in which everything would be subordinate only to financial capital. Then all it would be left to do would be to remove the superstructure and to give the rest into the hands of the proletariat. In reality the development is such, that we must act quite differently. *Imperialism is the superstructure of capitalism.* When it is destroyed we have to do with a destroyed superstructure and the baring of the foundation. *There is an old capitalism which in a number of its domains has grown to the stage of imperialism.* . . . In reality there is an enormous subsoil of the old capitalism. There is superstructure of imperialism, which led to the war, and from this war sprang up the beginning of the dictatorship of the proletariat. You cannot jump out of this phase. This fact characterizes the very tempo of development of the proletarian revolution throughout the world and will remain a fact for many years."

Worthy of note, here as well as in other disputed questions, is the complete certainty with which Lenin applies the dialectic method to the analysis of imperialism. As against Bucharin's bookish "concreteness" he gives an analysis of capitalistic reality such as it is at the present period in order to prove how old capitalism grows to the stage of imperialism, how as a result of the very economic and social development an imperialist superstructure is formed over the capitalistic base.

Lenin proceeds from the imminent contradictions of the imperialist epoch in order to derive from them the guiding landmarks of the socialist revolution, of the proletarian uprising. Bucharin strives to reduce these contradictions, to make nothing of them, to hide them in the shade in his abstract "world market." Lenin explains the process of the old capitalism growing into imperialism. Bucharin detaches imperialism, as a new method of production, as a new world order, from old capitalism. He mechanically separates one from the other. The result of this, in the final count, must inevitably be the growing of monopolistic capitalism into socialism—a growth in the Hilferding sense: no markets, no prices, no crises, no competition, no anarchy of production. But instead: systematic planning, rationalism, organization.

How does this "financial-capitalistic organization" look in its details? Bucharin pictures it in the following manner:

"The capitalistic 'national economy' has been transformed from an irrational system into a *rational organization*, from an unsubjective economy into a ruling subject."

Bucharin's point of view here completely coincides with Hilferding's course of development "from an economy of free play of economic forces to organized economy." It is true that according to Bucharin the economic of goods exchange on the world market is not yet disappearing. But the deciding point is that "within the country it either dies out or contracts to make room for *organized distribution.*"

Having abolished the anarchy of capitalist production and having turned the imperialist chaos into "rational organization" Bucharin adds "organized distribution." What then is left of capitalism as pictured by Marx? Nothing! Bucharin even tells us that under the conditions of finance capitalism exchange commodities, properly speaking, are no longer that. He says the following:

"The product (!) distributed within the country in an organized manner (!) remains an exchange commodity only to the extent (!) that its existence is connected with the existence of the world market."

Then Bucharin portrays in full detail the further "reorganization of productional relations" of finance capital:

"The reorganization of productional relations of finance capital proceeded in the direction of state-capitalistic universal organization with its abolition of the goods market, with the transformation of money into a unit of accounting, with *production organized on a state scale*, with the subordination of the entire 'national-economic' mechanism to the aims of world competition, i. e., first of all—to the aims of war."

Such is Bucharin's definition of capitalism in war-time.

Lenin said: the reactionary capitalist state needs nothing more than the bread card. The prattle of the social chauvinists about the planned "regulation of the economic life" is an impudent deception; such "regulation" limits itself only to such measures as are absolutely necessary for the feeding of the cannon fodder and for the equipment of the army. Bucharin, on the contrary, already sees here a "state-capitalistic universal organization," the abolition of the commodities market, the transformation of money into a unit of accounting, etc.

It is true, Bucharin approaches the question from a different viewpoint than Lenin. Lenin regards the development from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. He analyzes "in what measure monopolistic capital sharpened all the contradictions of capitalism." To him the "sharpening of contradictions" constitutes "the most potent motive-power of the historical transition period. Bucharin applies a method that is different in principle. He writes in his own words the following:

"We examined all the changes from the visual angle of the *overcoming of anarchy in production*. . . . The process of overcoming the anarchy in production has as its point of origin the organizational elements already produced by finance capital."

Lenin writes:

"The internal market is in capitalism inseparably bound up with the external market."

Bucharin erects a fantastic impregnable wall between the "planned and organized" internal market and the world market, where for the time being anarchy still exists.

Lenin analyzes the "capitalist monopolies in the *general environment of commodities exchange and private property*."

Bucharin sees in the monopolistic capitalism "a new type of productional relationships," the "*destruction of the commodities market*," organized economy.

Lenin defines imperialism as that stage of capitalist development, where *all* the contradictions of capitalism, both internal and external, unfold in all their sharpness.

Bucharin defines imperialism as "a new method of production" in which the *inner* contradictions have shrunk or disappeared, while the outer contradictions continue existing.

Hilferding defines imperialism as organized capitalism of which neither inner nor outer contradictions are a peculiar feature and in which there already triumphs "the socialist principle of planned production."

We should be guilty of exaggeration if we were not to mention that Bucharin amends his theory of elimination of internal contradictions by his reference to the continued existence of the class struggle between proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately, however, this concession to Marxism makes no great difference between Bucharin's theory and that of Hilferding. All more or less sensible bourgeois representatives of the vulgar economic science (including Hilferding) cannot help "recognizing" the class struggle as a *fact*. This recognition costs nothing and is worth nothing if at the same time the concrete objective basis of the class struggle in the present period is denied or misrepresented.

Reduced to a more compressed formula, Bucharin's point of view amounts to a *theory of organized capitalism in each separate country*. Like the Greek philosopher Epicure who banished his gods, in whom he really did not believe, into pores of the cosmic spaces, Bucharin transposes the deepest and most gaping contradictions of capitalist society to the "world arena," which leads a purely mythical existence beyond and aside from all concretely-existing capitalist countries.

Bucharin's theory of imperialism is not a revolutionary but a reformist doctrine. It is the guiding thread not for the activity but for the passivity of the proletarian masses. It does not arm the communists against social fascism, but it disarms the communists ideologically before Hilferding and Kautsky.

It is, therefore, necessary with all possible determination to wage a struggle against the legend of organized capitalism in its newest Bucharinist form.



The October Revolution and Dialectic Materialism

By A. DEBORIN

THE October Revolution is very closely connected with the Marxian theory, with the Marxian world conception, with dialectic materialism. The October Revolution could be accomplished only on condition of a correct application of a strictly scientific method, the method of materialist dialectics.

When revisionism as represented by Edward Bernstein and his followers brought forth the idea of *The Blunting and Conciliation* of the class antagonisms, his first task was *precisely to deny the Marxian method, i. e. materialist dialectics.*

It is remarkable that the philosophers of West-European revisionism perfectly understand the *revolutionary* significance of Marxian dialectics and that precisely because of that they have deliberately come out against it.

Between revisionism and revolutionary Marxism, says the philosopher of modern revisionism, Z. Mark, there exists a difference both in respect to *method* as well as in respect to the *conception of the world.* The author openly lays stress on the fact that *Revolutionary Marxism* is methodologically inseparably connected with *dialectics* whilst revisionism is connected with the *denial of dialectics.* Therefore, the author surpasses even Bernstein who had the courage to come out against dialectics towards the end of the last century.

On the other hand, the greatest leader of the revolutionary proletariat, V. I. Lenin, just like Marx and Engels, did not only champion and defend materialist dialectics, seeing in it the only revolutionary, the only correct scientific method, but also applied it with marvelous skill to all great and small questions of the revolution.

That Lenin saw in materialist dialectics the quintessence of the teachings of Marx and Engels is clearly seen, for instance, from the following:

In characterizing the essence of Marx' and Engels' correspondence, Lenin wrote: 'If we were to try to define by one word, so to say, the focus of the correspondence, the central point to which the essence of the ideas expressed is reduced, that word would be *dialectics.* The application of materialist dialectics to political economy since its foundation, to history, to natural science, to

philosophy, to the politics and tactics of the working class,—that is what mostly interests Marx and Engels, that is the most vital and newest elements they introduce, that is their ingenious step forward in the history of thought.”

Lenin did not only emphasize that the essence of Marxism is materialist dialectics, but was himself an ingenious dialectician and did a good deal for the further development of materialist dialectics; all practical successes of our revolutionary movement, the October Revolution, the proletarian conquest of power, the successful development of socialist construction, are a result of a dialectic study and analysis of concrete historical conditions, inherent class antagonisms of society and a correct class struggle on the basis of study and correct application of historical materialism to social phenomena, to contemporary history.

The strength of the proletariat is to a large extent determined by the scientific Marxian-Leninist world conception. On the other hand, all bourgeois factions and all tendencies of bourgeois thought are imbued with *hatred to Marxism and adherence to idealism*.

In the countries under bourgeois domination, even under the most democratic forms of government, all scientific institutions and establishments, all literature and the press are permeated with the spirit of animosity and hatred to all advanced scientific ideas and tendencies, particularly to Marxism.

Dialectic materialism can not only not become there the dominating doctrine, but is a persecuted and detested creed. But to the extent that revolutionary Marxism begins to circulate broadly and deeply, to the same extent the bourgeois ideologists try to make it obedient and harmless, to deprive it of its revolutionary virus and weaken it by idealism and liberalism.

On the other hand, the proletariat having come to power, naturally makes its world conception, its ideology, the *dominating doctrine*.

In the Soviet Union the bourgeois conception is *smashed* just as the bourgeoisie itself as a ruling class in the economic and socio-political sphere is smashed. The new economic and socio-political order in which the proletariat is the ruling class and where extensive Socialist construction is in progress requires the domination of proletarian ideology. In the Soviet Union, Marxism is the dominating, official, State ideology. The Socialist phillistines whimper also on this score. But this cannot and should not be otherwise because the ideas of the ruling class are the dominating ideas.

The ideological struggle, the struggle for our world conception and methodological orientation is for us an inseparable part of the struggle of the working class for Socialism. We therefore fight

and will fight in the future for the domination of the Marxian theories in all spheres of knowledge, making in this respect no concessions to the bourgeois conception because the incomparable superiority of Marxism and its revolutionary dialectic methodology is unquestionable. Defending Marxian science, the Marxian method of investigation, we at the same time defend *the highest type of scientific knowledge*. It is no secret to anyone that the bourgeois scientists really produce more or less valuable works only to the extent to which they *adopt* dialectic materialism. Thus, the struggle for dialectic materialism is at the same time a *struggle for science*.

After all let us see what the bourgeois conception of the world now represents. Is it not thoroughly permeated with idealism and religious and mystical elements? Why then should an openly obscure doctrine enjoy special patronage here? No, the liberation of the proletariat, and together with it of all toilers from the fetters of material slavery pre-supposes also the emancipation of humanity from spiritual slavery. Socialism is just as incompatible with religious, mystical and idealist conceptions of the world, as it is incompatible with primitive technique. Socialism is possible only if science and technique are broadly developed and flourishing. But the possibility of full realization of Socialism also pre-supposes a *revolution in the consciousness* of the toiling masses, and particularly the proletariat. For the first time in the history of the human race is a scientific conception of the world becoming *the conception not of the selected few but of the broad masses of the people*. This revolution in the conception of the world is of world historical significance and a necessary condition and guarantee for the realization of Socialism.

International revisionism has long since abandoned, as I already pointed out, both the Marxian *world conception* and the Merxian *method* in the form of a criticism of "Hegelism" and "Hegelian schemes" in Marxism.

But revolutionary Marxism sees in the method of dialectic materialism an *instrument of revolution and Socialist construction*. Under the proletarian dictatorship, dialectic materialism naturally becomes the dominating *ideology*. In the course of the last two years, Marxism played a leading role in the Soviet Union both in the theoretical life as well as in the economic and political practice. Marxism enjoys undivided rule in all Soviet social science, beginning from philosophy and ending with the tactics of the working class. Marxism is not a lifeless dogma there, but a living science, developing alongside of social life. Under the conditions of the new social order Marxism has been enriched by most valuable

works insofar as we have to give *concrete* replies to new *problems* brought forth by the development of Socialist relations among us.

Marxism discovered the basic laws of development and decline of capitalism. After the establishment of the dictatorship of the U. S. S. R., history placed them in an unusual position, the process of development of the *transition* period from capitalism to Communism has never been studied by anyone because here are absolutely new period, a new epoch in history which set in for the first time. The Soviet Union has to cover new roads as yet unknown in history, unknown to any of the social systems. As it is a question of building up a Socialist society, of the *transition* to a new higher type of society, of breaking up of all relics of the old order, the profound and keen interest in the method of Marxian dialectics can be understood. The new historical epoch requires not a dogmatic, bookish approach, but a profound study of *concrete* conditions and their historical *peculiarities*. In this great process of social reconstruction materialist dialectics serves as a powerful lever. But the mechanical carrying over of ready-made results from one social formation into an entirely different formation is inadmissible from the point of view of materialist dialectics. Materialist dialectics is not a scheme which is simply applied to one sphere of knowledge or another; it demands a concrete study of reality, it is based on the broad *foundation of experience*.

The peculiarities of our epoch imperatively demand from the Soviet Union the deepening and development of this science—materialist dialectics. This is so because they meet *in practice* everyday the question as to *how* to approach one new problem or another, and they have an innumerable multiple of problems, new problems, never considered by Marxism and Socialism before.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the method—the ways and means of investigation—acquires especial significance as the *new historical road* can be corrected, illuminated, and sounded only if they properly wield the method of materialist dialectics, studying with its help the *laws of the transition epoch and Socialist society*.

That is why the *problems of methodology* have acquired here foremost positions in all spheres of knowledge and action. And that is also why international revisionism is so vehement concerning the special “Soviet Marxism” and “Soviet world conception”, without understanding the profound meaning and significance of these words. Yes, there is a special “Soviet Marxism”! It is the revolutionary doctrine of Marx and Engels enriched by Lenin’s teachings, the experience of the October Revolution and a whole decade of struggle and Socialist construction. “Soviet Marxism” is Marxism on a higher stage of historical development of society

and the proletarian class struggle. The "philosophers" of revisionism are incapable of understanding that.

In no bourgeois country has Marxism attained such splendid successes, such unusual development as in the U. S. S. R., both from the point of view of its *circulation among the broad masses* and from the point of view of its *leading role* in all spheres of knowledge. The most valuable addition to the theory and practice of Marxism was naturally made by Lenin. His classical works on the question of dialectics, the theory of materialism, proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the working class, his criticism of international revisionism and reformism are not of transitory significance and constitute an acquisition of the international proletariat. Whole generations of revolutionaries will learn from them. The extraordinary and undivided influence of Lenin on modern theoretical thought, his unquestioned authority in all spheres of sociology is based on the fact that he penetrated the very essence of the Marxian method, the essence of materialist dialectics better than anyone else, ingeniously applying it to all spheres of knowledge. Our decade passed under the banner of *Leninism* which is understood as a *continuation* and further development of revolutionary *Marxism* under the conditions of struggle for the proletarian dictatorship and the construction of Socialism.

In going over to the conquests in the sphere of various objects, we will be justified in emphasizing first of all that in the sphere of world conception the Soviet Union secured one of the greatest victories. Idealism has been crowded out almost entirely without leaving a trace behind and has absolutely no influence whatever either in their universities or in scientific literature. The idealist offspring of the old world hid its countenance from the light of day, not wanting to be the object of ridicule and to show openly its reactionary nature. The bourgeois idealist "Sector" of ideology being a reflection of the capitalist sector of economy keeps somewhere in the backyards. The proletarian materialist ideological "sector" on the contrary, occupies leading key positions owing to its immeasurable scientific superiority and its oneness with the interests of the proletariat.

What has the bourgeois ideological sector to offer in opposition to our world conception? The most gloomy medievalism! Here is what the so-called Eurasians write about their ideology. "The Communist ideology must be countered by an ideology not less but more valuable than theirs. This more valuable ideology is orthodox Christianity. If we want to find an ideology which is absolutely true, absolutely unquestionable in its fundamentals, we must seek these fundamentals in religion, in faith. The true religion is

orthodox Christianity". This White Guard piffle truly sounds like a voice from the grave of history and cannot find an echo in our country.

The vast majority of scientists in the Soviet Union have either definitely adopted the basis of the materialist conception of the world, or are under its influence. In the sphere of philosophic materialism their achievements during the past ten years have found expression in an enormous demand for materialist literature. We have at the present time almost all classics of international materialist thought in the Russian language. Alongside with that the Soviet Union is working out a special history of materialism. During the recent years, a series of monographs on various great materialists, such as Feuerbach, Diderot, Hobbes, Helvetius, Epicurus and others, besides the works dedicated to Lenin as a philosopher, have been published. The institutions of the Soviet Union have published the collected works of Lenin and Plekhanov circulated in tens and hundreds of thousands of copies.

Materialist dialectics, for reasons indicated above, have conquered a central position in the theoretical work of the Soviet Union. In this sphere can be recorded great achievements. Dialectics is now really being worked out from all sides, just as Lenin wanted. On the other hand, it is everywhere being applied in the capacity of a higher method of thought and research in all spheres of knowledge, which means that it is always being tested in practice. Apart from that, dialectics is being studied by the Soviet Union in the light of historical development.

Marxian science in the Soviet Union has been enriched during the recent years in the sphere of dialectics by the most valuable, classical works of Lenin and Engels. The publication of the "Dialectics of Nature" by Engels, marked a great event in the Marxian literature of the Soviet Union. The very fact of the appearance of this remarkable work of Engels, 30 years after the author's death, on Soviet territory, is highly noteworthy.

The theoretical bankruptcy and impotence of revisionism was expressed in the "concession" of the literary heritage of Marx and Engels to the Russian Communists in the person of Riazanov) who secured the exclusive right to publish the complete works of the founders of Marxism. The first volume of the International Academic Publishers of the collected works of Marx and Engels was out in Frankfurt exactly on the eve of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. This monumental publication is to be published in 42 volumes and it will be a splendid monument which the Soviet Union, the first workers' State, in the world, will erect to the great founders of our science. This is so, because since the

October Revolution the centre of the international labor and Socialist movements and also the centre of proletarian Marxian science and thought have transferred to the Soviet Union.

Very much has been done by Lenin in the sphere of *historical materialism* as a method of sociology as every one of his articles, books or speeches is a brilliant example of the application of historical materialism to concrete problems.

On the other hand it should be pointed out that the works which appeared during the recent years on historical materialism are in one way or another based on Lenin's works endeavoring to summarize and generalize the richest *experience* of our revolution and the epoch of proletarian dictatorship. The problem of productive forces, the class problem, the problem of ideology, the "ripening" of Socialism, and the proletarian dictatorship as instruments of socialist construction, etc.,—all these problems serve as an object of investigation both in the schools and literature of the Soviet Union.

In the sphere of *psychology* there was at the beginning a struggle going on against the subjective method and philosophic idealism upon which that method is based. As a result of that struggle, materialism, as the basic methodological orientation in the Soviet Union conquered also here a leading position. However, at first it was not *dialectic* but *mechanical* materialism, regarding all complex forms as simple mechanical combinations of reflexes that tried to take the place of idealism. Naturally, such orientation had to lead to the denial of the reality of consciousness, "the qualitative characteristic of psychical phenomena", and of the behavior of man. Marxian psychology aims at overcoming, on the basis of dialectic materialism, both subjective and objective one-sidedness in psychology, and producing a synthesis. The main formula of Marxian psychology says: "Self-observation under the control of objective methods". (Kornilov).

I emphasized above that the point of view of the Soviet Union, the scientific orientation, i. e. methodology, is very closely connected with the working class struggle. It is now directly connected with the changes in the material property relations also by the fact that the proletariat has become the ruling class. Society has, so to speak, jumped off its old tracks, got out of its old orbit, and began to revolve around a new axis—the proletariat. Naturally, the Soviet Union regards the old facts in a new light, from a new methodological point of view. This is particularly noticeable in the sphere of the science of *history*.

M. M. Pokrovsky pointed out absolutely correctly that the most important thing gained from the experience of 1905 is the "trans-

formation of dialectics of the historical process from an abstract literary term into a live, tangible and concrete fact, a fact which is not only *observed* with our own eyes but a fact which was *experienced*. . . . That constitutes a new phase in the development of historical materialism in Russia exactly corresponding with the new historical phase which the historical life of our country entered." These words of Comrade Pokrovsky concerning 1905 are to a much larger degree true of the ten years which the Soviet Union has now experienced. Historical materialism since 1917 has entered a still higher phase of development. That is why Comrade Pokrovsky is again right when he says that "historical materialism of our days is more intricate and complex than the historical materialism of 1917, let alone 1897."

As far as so-called "economic materialism" which frequently distorts and narrows down the foundation of historical materialism is concerned, it underwent a process of vital "corrections", first of all on the part of the objective dialectics of history. The Revolution compelled the Soviet Union to deepen the historical-materialist conception, bringing forth, so to speak, its *dialectical* sides. Only correctly understood Marxian methodology, i. e., materialist dialectics, can save us from all these errors and shortcomings. On this path we have already great successes to record. Marxian historical research is now on a considerably higher theoretical level than it was in the period of 1905-1917.

The Soviet Union has considerable successes in the sphere of literature and art. The pre-October literature was primarily literature of the nobility, the bourgeoisie and the middle class. The workers and peasants, not being the masters of life, were not enjoying equal rights as objects of artistic representation. The literary men and artists, in their vast majority, were materially and spiritually in the clutches of the bourgeoisie which was the ruling class. Therefore the people, i. e. the workers and peasants figured in the works of art, primarily as decorations beautifying the life of the masters. Proletarian and peasant literature began to develop, it is true, within the womb of old society but it began to bloom only during the rule of the Soviet Union. With the change of correlation of classes in society, the class composition of the writers as well as the objects of literary works also changes. The "class which rules at a given time in society also dominates in literature and art"—says Plekhanov.

Literature constitutes a highly intricate and complex form of reflection of the class struggle in modern society. The whole intricate complex of problems connected with literary and art creation, the discovery of its social foundations, the connections

between certain form of artistic creation and its socio-economic formations, the questions of inter-relations between form and content, etc., in the epoch of shifting of classes in society and the growth of a new proletarian and peasant literature,—all that combined brought forth a great interest to questions of methodics in the given sphere. The Marxian method in the sphere of the theory of literature and art make one conquest after another.

There are a few words still to be said concerning Soviet economics. In connection with the process of the cardinal reconstruction of our economy, the content of the basic economic laws and conceptions also changes. Soviet economy already reveals its specific features and peculiar laws of development. The fundamental methodological questions connected with the specific character of Soviet economy serve as an object of polemic and controversy. Only a correct employment of the method of materialist dialectics can give a correct orientation on the question.

It stands to reason that we have not the slightest chance of enumerating all problems now facing Soviet economy. The following very interesting figures show how hard and intensively theoretical thought is working in the economic sphere. During the recent years about 500 books devoted to questions of planning and the theory of Soviet economy have been published. About 2,200 journalistic essays have been written on these questions during the last 5-6 years. During the first four-five years of the revolution only several tens of works were written on this subject.

Many journalistic articles are devoted to the utilization of the method of comparative research work in capitalist and socialist economy on questions of the organic composition of capital, the falling rate of profit, the laws of rent, the law of equal rates of profit, the law of value, reproduction of capital and crises.

I have given a brief outline of the achievements of Marxian methodology in the social sciences. But in the facts here presented every impartial man must recognize that there is a powerful development and tremendous achievements in Marxian science. Marxism is now playing a leading role in all spheres of sociology. But our achievements both in the sphere of socialist construction as in all concrete sciences greatly enrich our theory on the basis of the law of inter-action, raising it to a higher level. This is especially felt in the sphere of philosophical Marxism. There are few who understand that pure theoretical controversies around dialectic or one form of materialism or another are merely a reflection of the profound processes of change now taking place in our country.

The Marxian method has splendidly vindicated itself both as a theory of the conception of the world and as an instrument in changing it, as an instrument of revolution.

The Party Trade Union During Ten Years

By WM. Z. FOSTER

(continued from September issue)

PART II.

THE ERA OF "PROSPERITY"

IN the era of so-called "prosperity," which may be said to have lasted from 1923 to the middle of 1928, the position of our Party in the trade union struggle of the workers was a difficult one. American Imperialism was rapidly developing its productive forces and, in the face of a war-crippled Europe, the American capitalist class made gigantic strides in capturing the world markets and in establishing its imperialist hegemony over colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

In this period of capitalists began greatly to intensify the rationalization of industry. Speed and ever more speed in production became the slogan. The success of the rationalization drive required the wiping out or crippling of all organized resistance by the workers in the industries. The employers, victorious in smashing the key sections of the labor movement in the great post-war offensive, followed up this big advantage by systematically company-unionizing the remaining trade unions and degenerating them into adjuncts of the capitalist producing mechanism and the State.

The trade union bureaucrats at the head of the A. F. of L. and the big independent unions fell in line altogether with this program. They became the most brazen rationalization and war agents of American Imperialism. Almost immediately after the loss of the great national railroad shopmen's strike in 1922 they began to mold the trade unions in the direction of company unionism. They gave up completely even the faint show of resistance they had once made against the employers. They condemned in theory and practice the strike and all other forms of militant struggle. Intensified class collaboration, based upon the furtherance of the employers' rationalization and war programs, became the central policy of the A. F. of L.

More and more production became the gospel of the labor bureaucrats as well as of the capitalists themselves. Only by producing more, said these misleaders, could the capitalists be induced to make concessions to the workers. These ideas, summed up under

the term of "union management co-operation," were first crystallized in the B. & O. Plan on the railroads and later, under the name of "the new wage policy," adopted as the central policy of the A. F. of L. in the Atlantic City convention.

The surrender of the labor bureaucrats was complete. They became the speed-up agents of the bosses. Their aim was to oust company unionism and to substitute trade unionism for it, by turning the trade unions practically into company unions. They accepted wholesale and propagated widely the "prosperity" illusions advocated by the Chases, Lauckes, Tugwells, Carvers, etc., to the effect that the workers were becoming capitalists, that they were buying out the industries, etc. It was the era of labor banking, of trade union capitalism. The labor bureaucrats followed up all this by a complete surrender to the old political parties. They also turned tail on the Plumb Plan. Through the Pan American Federation of Labor, they acted as the willing tools of American Imperialism in Labor America. Their hatred of Soviet Russia even outdid that of many capitalists themselves.

As a necessary part of this class collaboration, the labor bureaucrats delivered a bitter offensive against the left-wing in the old unions who were urging the masses to reject class collaboration and to adopt a policy of struggle. This offensive, amounting to a liquidation of democracy in the unions, was marked by wholesale expulsions, blacklists, and gangster terrorism.

The Progressive and Socialist Party leaders, who in the years 1919-23 made a modest show of opposition to the A. F. of L. leadership, also surrendered outright to the employers' rationalization and war program. They joined with the extreme right. They repudiated their labor party demand, gave up amalgamation, and developed into bitter opponents of Soviet Russia. The Fitzpatrick, Hillman, Cramer, etc., became the most vicious enemies of the left-wing and the most ardent advocates of the worst forms of class collaboration. The Socialist-controlled needle trades unions, in their daily life, became practically indistinguishable from the most reactionary A. F. of L. organizations. They took the lead in expelling the left elements.

During this whole period, the masses of workers were in a state of relative lethargy. The great industrial activity took the edge off their discontent. Besides, they were weakened by the big post-war defeats and confused by the treachery of the trade union leaders. The trade union movement had lost much of its militancy and fighting spirit. It was a period of relatively few strikes, save in the mining, textile, and needle industries, which suffered most keenly from rationalization and general crisis.

These years, following the great strike period of 1919-23, were difficult ones for the Party and the T. U. E. L. in trade union work. The masses were not in a fighting mood. We faced a bitter offensive from the labor bureaucrats and the bosses. We lost many valuable contacts. The T. U. E. L. dwindled away to a skeleton.

Nevertheless, we conducted many sharp and effective struggles, principally in the mining, needle, and textile industries. The mining fight, which raged continuously from 1922, culminated in the big "Save-the-Union" conference of 1125 delegates in Pittsburgh, April 1st 1928, and finally resulted in the formation of the National Miners Union. The textile struggle, the high points of which was the great Passaic and New Bedford strikes, led to the formation of the National Textile Workers Union. The struggle in the needle trades, which constitutes the hardest fought battle in the history of the American labor movement, reached its high points in the Furriers' and Cloakmakers' strikes of 1926, in which we delivered heavy defeats to the bosses and the Socialist bureaucrats, and which ultimately led to the establishment of the Needle Trade Workers Industrial Union. In these battles the T. U. E. L. militants first came forward as actual mass strike leaders. Besides these struggles, the T. U. E. L. forces led many a stubborn battle in strikes, union elections, conventions, etc., in all the A. F. of L. unions.

During the so-called "prosperity" period we made serious errors which militated against the growth of the Party and the success of our work. These mistakes and wrong tendencies were like those made during the period of the great post-war capitalist offensive, predominantly of a right-wing character. For the most part they owed out of the prevalent over-estimation of the power of American Imperialism, and under-estimation of the possibilities of Communists to lead mass struggles of the workers in this period. Our own party ranks were by no means entirely free from capitalist "prosperity" illusions, as Lovestone now eloquently proves.

A basic error was in the direction of trade union legalism; that is, a tendency to confine our struggle within the status and limitations of the old unions. This manifested itself first of all by an over-correction of the early dual unionism, and the setting up almost as a fetish, unity with the old unions. It was this tendency that Losovsky later condemned as "dancing quadrilles" around the A. F. of L. We confined our work almost entirely to the old unions, thereby neglecting the work of organizing the unorganized. This wrong policy received its most striking expression in the mistake (condemned by the C. I.) of affiliating the Passaic

textile strikers to the A. F. of L., even at the expense of eliminating the Communist leadership. It also expressed itself in the needle trades and various other industries under different forms. Our fear of dual unionism was one reason why we failed to build up the T. U. E. L. as a dues-paying organization.

Related to this trade union legalism, to this fear of independent unionism, was a right-wing tendency to surrender the leadership of the opposition in the old unions into the hands of "progressives." Cannon and Lovestone were the great champions of this wrong policy. They objected on principle to the Communists coming forward militantly as the leaders and driving forces in the struggle against the reactionary bureaucrat. Consequently there was often paralysis of our struggle.

Connected with this was the failure to bring forward more aggressively the T. U. E. L. under its own name as the actual leader of the left-wing forces in the unions.

These wrong tendencies were bound up with the wrong united front policy of making joint movements with fake "progressive" leader who pretended to be in opposition. We made many mistakes in this direction, an outstanding example being the alliance with Brennan in the mining industry.

Related to these wrong policies of failure to have the left-wing seize the leadership was the bad tendency of trying to force the corrupt bureaucracy to act (Amalgamation, etc.), instead of cultivating the rank and file workers to take the leadership directly into their own hands in the teeth of the bureaucrats.

Other serious errors made in the trade union work during this period were:

Almost complete neglect of work among the Negroes; prevalence of wrong theories regarding this branch of our work; manifestations of white chauvinism. The work among the youth and women suffered a similar neglect. For all of which we were repeatedly and correctly criticized by the C. I. and R. I. L. U.

Underestimation of the importance of trade union work generally. Failures to mobilize full party forces. Tendencies toward diletantism.

Lack of internationalism in our work; failure to popularize the R. I. L. U. among the American masses.

Sectarianism, tendencies to accept the isolation of the T. U. E. L. and to give the T. U. E. L. a too advanced communist program, dictatorship clauses in T. U. E. L. program. Substitution of Party fractions for T. U. E. L. groups. The "head-on" collision theory.

Failure to utilize the mass struggles in the unions for Party building.

Confusion regarding the role of social reformism. Failure to fight "left" social reformists aggressively, and tendencies to unite with them.

Persistence of wrong labor party theories, leading to the making of united front movements from the top.

Factionalism. This was the period par excellence of the factional struggle, which centered largely around the trade union question and crippled our work disastrously in this field.

Almost total lack of self-criticism in estimating our work. ,

Generally, the so-called period of "prosperity" was one of weakness for our Party in trade union work. Nevertheless we did conduct many serious struggles, as above noted. It was a period of sharpening battle against the social bureaucrats, of development of our militants as strike leaders. The Party was drawn deeper into the trade union work and sank more substantial roots among the masses.

THE PRESENT PERIOD

In the present situation, designated by the Comintern as the third period of post-war capitalism, objective conditions develop rapidly for the making of big and sharp class struggles. This requires radical changes of trade union policy and methods on our part and the ruthless correction of errors, on the basis of a frank self-criticism.

Even as in all other capitalist countries, and as part of the growing world crisis of capitalism, class relations in the United States sharpen constantly. The capitalists, confronted with the growing basic contradiction of capitalism, the growth of the productive forces beyond the limits of the capitalist markets, and the resultant fierce international competitive struggle for markets and accompanying war danger arising therefrom, try to relieve the pressure by still more intensifying the exploitation of the workers, by the most drastic rationalization of industry.

This rationalization of industry is carried out at the expense of the workers. Its fruits for them are more unemployment, less wages, physical exhaustion, terrorism in the shops, great increase in occupational accidents and industrial sickness, etc.

Under this pressure discontent spreads among the masses of workers. They become radicalized. They develop a mood for struggle to protect themselves against the attacks of the bosses. A new spirit of resistance grows among the American working class.

This is part and parcel of the worldwide upsurge of working class revolt now manifesting itself in all capitalist countries.

Evidences of the radicalization of the workers are to be seen on all sides. The South offers the most striking example in the great struggles of the textile workers, the New Orleans strike, etc.

But similar evidences are at hand all through the industries, and are marked by a growing wave of strikes especially among the unorganized and unskilled. The working class, inert so long, is now going gradually over to the offensive.

The capitalists viciously fight to repress this growing struggle of the workers. Especially they try to smash our Party and the new unions. They make increasing use of their two main repressive measures, direct violence and social reformist trickery. The strikes of the present period are highly political. The bosses at once use the powers of the State against them. Troops, injunctions, jailing, etc., are the order of the day. The classical example of this State violence is the railroading of our comrades to jail in Gastonia. And when the State apparatus does not prove convenient enough, the bosses make increasing use of fascist bands. The bitter conflict centering around Gastonia is the symbol of the third period in the United States.

With this open violence the employers constantly make more use of social reformism. When they see that their workers are becoming radicalized and threaten real fight, they call in the A. F. of L. More and more they consciously use the A. F. of L. as a strike-breaking agency, as an auxiliary of their rationalization and war programs. The bureaucrats are quite willing agents. They become ever more fascized. They make ruthless war against the left-wing. They form a united front with the bosses and their State against the workers.

The most dangerous sections of the bureaucracy are the Socialists and the so-called Musteites. Basically in agreement with the whole reactionary line of the A. F. of L., and bitter enemies of the revolutionary trade union movement, they nevertheless, through their radical phrases, can trick masses of workers into the shambles of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the bosses, as exemplified by the textile situation in the South, the Boston shoe strike, etc. The Cannonites and Lovestoneites are outposts or feeders to the Musteites. Their main line goes in the same general direction. Their theories of American exceptionalism, which see no radicalization among the workers and no possibilities for struggle, conflict with the whole line of revolutionary unionism.

The big struggles of the workers in 1919-23 produced a crop of so-called "Progressives," the Fitzpatricks, Hillmans, etc., who fol-

lowed the tide of radicalization only to flagrantly betray the workers in the crisis and to buttress up the old bureaucracy. The present great radicalization trend among the workers also develops its "progressives" or Musteite movement. But its reactionary character is more flagrant than that of progressives of 1919-23. It shows far more clearly its true character as an auxiliary of the right bureaucracy to demoralize the masses and to prevent them grouping themselves under the banner of the left wing.

In the present period great tasks devolve upon the Party in the trade union work. The masses of workers seeking a way to fight against the employers can get no assistance from the A. F. of L. They must develop new forms of struggle, new organizations, new methods, new leadership. This whole tendency is crystallized in the Trade Union Unity League. The Party must throw all its forces into the building of the new trade union center and the carrying through of its basic work of organizing the unorganized.

This thrusts upon the Party a maze of urgent tasks; including the active building of shop nuclei and shop papers in the basic industries, the reorganization and strengthening of the whole Party fraction system, energetic building of the T. U. U. L. organizations on a dues-paying basis, development of revolutionary strike strategy and organization methods, the systematic building of minority groups in the old unions, intensive propagation of the burning economic and political demands of the workers, 7-hour day, 5-day week, social insurance, defense of Soviet Union, Gastonia defense, etc., active training of cadres of effective trade union leaders, the persistent bringing forward of the T. U. U. L. on all occasions as the revolutionary union leader of the workers, the development of new forms of struggle to meet the new conditions, such as workers' defense corps, rank and file strike committees, great strengthening of the Negro, youth and women work.

All this work must be done on the basis of a relentless struggle against the right wing in our Party and against the social reformists in the broad labor movement. This can only be accomplished in the spirit of a general self-criticism. As never before the Party must be fully mobilized for the trade union work. Only by such a maximum mustering of our forces can the new trade union center and its component unions really be built and made a leading, fighting force in all the struggles of the workers.

The Party has made many serious errors in trade union work in coming into the present period and in carrying on the work now. These are almost entirely of a right character. We were slow to see the general radicalization of the workers and equally slow to realize the necessity for building the new class struggle unions and

national union center as the means for organizing and leading the awakening workers. These wrong tendencies were especially systematized by Lovetone, Pepper, Wolfe and Gitlow. Only under the harshest pressure of the Comintern and Profintern did the Party begin to realize the true meaning and implications of the third period.

Nor is the Party fully awake to the situation yet. There is among the members still a far-reaching underestimation of the radicalization of the workers. Failure to develop our full force for building the T. U. U. L. Convention was an example of it. Such underestimation failing to see the real opportunities for the Party in the struggle, tends to paralyze the trade union work. It is the basic source of the right danger in the Party and must be ruthlessly eradicated.

A vital weakness in our present trade union work is the tendency to carry over into the new unions conservative practices developed in the reformist organizations regarding policy (arbitration, etc.), structure (local unions instead of hop committees, underestimation of the industrial form, etc.), strike strategy (lack of strike preparations, incorrect economic demands, etc.), organization methods (haphazard union building campaigns, etc.). These craft union hangovers handicapped vastly the building of the revolutionary policy, organization and fighting strategy fundamentally necessary to the new unions and the workers' struggles.

Another serious manifestation of this failure to adopt the new necessary form of struggle is the tendency to make the new unions into mere propaganda bodies rather than real unions fighting directly for the economic and political demands of the workers. This is a clinging to the methods of the movement when its main stress was as a minority opposition in the conservative unions.

Other typical and harmful errors of the present period trade union work are:

Underestimation of the role of social reformism. Theories that the A. F. of L. is dead, that it cannot get leadership in strike movements of the unorganized, etc. Tendencies to set up united front movements with Muste elements, or not to fight against them.

Chvostism: Reliance upon the spontaneous strike actions of the masses, rather than upon systematic preliminary organization building and the struggle initiative of the Party. Akin to this is the failure to assert leadership during strikes of organized and unorganized workers, thus surrendering these workers to the treacherous A. F. of L. bureaucracy and Musteites.

Dilittantism: Toying with strike struggle and organization campaign. Failure to mobilize the full party forces for the fight.

This is so deep-seated in many instances as to constitute a definite underestimation of the importance of trade union work.

Neglect of Negro work. Persistence of white chauvinist tendencies. The Negro trade union work is only beginning.

Abandonment of the old trade unions. Many comrades wrongly conclude that the added stress placed upon the building of the new unions means that the work in the reformist unions shall be given up.

Localization of strike struggles. Failure to spread strikes and organization campaigns broadly when the workers are ripe for action.

Spasmodic and loose organization campaigns in the new unions. Failure to link up these campaigns with the demands of the workers. Chaotic financial systems. Too hasty formation of new unions. Haphazard agitational methods.

Failure to deepen struggles politically. Resistance to the propagation of vital political demands. Neglect of the unemployment issue. Failure to develop concrete programs against capitalist rationalization in specific industries.

Insufficient application of the policy of the united front from the bottom. Tendencies towards sectarianism.

Underestimation of the role of Party. Syndicalistic resistance to Party leadership. Failure to utilize the mass struggles for building the Party.

THE PERSPECTIVE

The perspective is now excellent for the Party in trade union work. Both the objective and subjective factors are favorable. The main consideration is that the Party awake fully to its opportunities and throw all its available forces into the struggle.

The intensification of rationalization, with all its destructive effects upon the workers, is deeply radicalizing the masses and stimulating them to organize and struggle. The intensification of the class struggle, the outstanding characteristic of the present period, will be speeded up by the oncoming economic crisis, signs of which multiply on every hand. This economic crisis will bring with it still more rationalization, unemployment, wage cuts, attacks on the unions, etc., and further radicalization and great struggles of the workers. The big task of our Party is to lead these struggles.

Moreover, in addition to the more favorable objective conditions, the inner Party situation has vastly improved. The right wing in the Party has been dealt a shattering blow — for the first time the Party has been united for struggle against the right danger, the main danger. The long destructive factional struggle has been

finally practically liquidated. For the first time real self-criticism has been established in the Party. All these betterments lay the basis for an effective mobilization of the Party forces for the great mass struggles looming ahead in the near future.

The Southern textile situation, typified by Gastonia, is the sign of the present period. With its intense rationalization, wholesale worsening of working conditions, radicalization of the workers, vicious capitalist repression by the state and fascist bands, militant struggles under the leadership of our Party and the revolutionary National Textile Workers Union, treacherous role of the A. F. of L., etc., it presents a picture of the struggle as we shall see it on a larger and larger scale in the United States in the coming months. The strike of the steel workers in Hamilton, Ontario, *against a fifty per cent wage cut* shows also this trend of events.

The Party must realize the tremendous importance of trade union work in the present period. The first great steps of the discontented masses in the class struggle will be through strikes, through trade union action. The question of organizing the unorganized, of securing leadership over them in their growing struggles; and the development of them politically, is of the most vital importance to our Party. Success in this respect is the broad road to the building of a mass Communist Party in the United States.

During the past ten years the Party has had a rich experience in trade union work. We have made many mistakes, as well as achievements. The Communist International, by its systematic correction of our most stubborn and deep-seated errors, has shown time and again its invaluable services as leader of the world revolution.

Despite such errors as the Party has made in its trade union work, nevertheless it has established definitely its leadership among the fighting elements in the labor movement. Wherever there is a real struggle against the bosses and the social reformists, our Party leads the battle. It is the backbone of the real resistance of the workers to their exploiters.

Our big job now is to profit by our experiences of the past, especially by the mistakes we have made, on the basis of our general Marxist-Leninist analysis. But this we can do only on the basis of the sharpest struggle against the right danger, especially the dangerous and paralyzing Lovestone theories of American exceptionalism.

The Fight for Independent Leadership in Great Britain

By R. P. DUTT

THE next twelve months are the most critical in the Party's development. The situation created by the Labor Government, by the rapid advance to war and by the gathering wave of struggles, is the decisive test of our power to win leadership. If we fail, the movement will go past us and take other forms; and there will follow a long period of confusion, of dangers of apathy and heavy obstacles, before reaching the final outcome of the mass Communist Party.

It is for this reason that the question of leadership and the question of our line is now more vital and critical than at any previous point. Hitherto, we have been learning, and we have made the mistakes of learning. *But we cannot afford more mistakes now.* The mistakes of the past two years have already cost us too much. The easy-going attitude, which is satisfied to "recognize" mistakes and pass on, without deeper analysis or drawing of lessons for the future, and with the inevitable consequence of repeating these mistakes in new forms, must end. Such an attitude is not compatible with taking the struggle seriously. If a series of mistakes of a similar type is committed, then we must recognize that we are face to face with a tendency, which must be fought and rooted out. We have not yet fought out the issues of the right danger in our Party, as they have been fought out in other parties. We need, from top to bottom of the Party, to be far more sharply conscious of our line, and of the lessons of our mistakes, testing every action and every expression, and determined to end all weaknesses, and to fight the way forward to real active leadership of the workers.

Our claim to leadership is not established by repetition of the claim, but depends on our ability to lead. Formal acceptance of the correct line is not enough. The test of real acceptance is the power to realize it in action. If there is hesitancy, a vacillation or lack of confidence in our own ranks, how can the workers have confidence in us? In proportion as we show ourselves strong and active to lead, and able to overcome weaknesses in our own ranks, in that proportion the workers will gather confidence in

our Party as their leader. We need therefore, now to review all the issues before the Party, and to mark out the line ahead, with consciousness of the right danger, and with the aim of more effectively directing all our activities to the governing objective of the fight for the Party's independent leadership.

THE CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

The peculiar character of the present situation consists in this: that, while the contradictions are sharpening with very great rapidity, the political consciousness, and the formulation and expression of the issues, are dragging behind. The workers are still uncertain; the Labor Government is able to build, not so much upon their enthusiasm, as upon their uncertainty of the alternative; the potential volume of opposition to the Labor Government is still dispersed and unexpressed. It is precisely this situation that is calling for a leadership which can voice the workers' demands, which can awaken and carry forward their consciousness to the active struggle ahead.

The economic situation bears out in an extremely sharp form the Communist analysis, as against the reformist analysis. Not the gradual solution of the economic crisis, and improving conditions, but the intensification of the crisis and worsening conditions, is the present feature of the situation. The Labor Government finds itself so far paralyzed by the financial crisis from carrying through any large-scale development, and is thus condemned to disappoint its supporters. The menace of a possible still further rise in the bank rate is still present; and although this immediate crisis of the gold standard may be passed through without further restrictive measures, the general prospects of the situation point to a worsening, rather than an improvement, in the next stage, when the present New York orgy of speculation begins to give way to the inevitable slump, with its disastrous world economic consequences. Rationalization thus comes in Britain with the maximum of unfavorable conditions, and the minimum of favorable; and its experience proves it, not a solution of the decline, but a further factor in it. The conception that the advance of rationalization makes out of date, or runs contrary to, the Communist analysis of the British decline, is based on a misunderstanding of the character of the decline. This conception is itself a typical expression of the right danger. The Sixth Congress analysis of the British economic decline can be added to today by subsequent experience; but its essential analysis of the

reality and character of the British economic decline remains still in full force today.*

The international situation and the advance to war are also developing with an increasing sharpness which fully bears out the Communist analysis. The contrast between 1924 and 1929 is striking. In 1924 the Labor Government had the easy "pacific" role of carrying through the Dawes Plan Conference amid general plaudits. Today the Hague Conference begins with a battle before it meets, and from the outset develops into an unconcealed international clash on a larger scale than any since the ending of the war, bringing fully into the open, not merely the Anglo-French rivalry, but still more the cardinal Anglo-American rivalry which lies at the foot of the conflict (the question of the International Bank). In 1924 the Labor Government was forced to almost immediate recognition of the Soviet Union. In 1929 the Labor Government ruptures negotiations at the outset by refusing to re-open relations unless the demands of the British bourgeoisie are conceded. At the same time, through the Chinese war-lords, it carries forward, in even more open fashion than Chamberlain, the bandit attacks and war provocation against the Soviet Union. In all these issues the Labor Government reveals itself as the unconcealed national-jingo expression of the City and the war-mongers.

* The misunderstanding of the character of the decline is illustrated in an alluminating fashion in the recent situation in recent issues of the "Communist Review." Comrade Campbell argues (July "C.R.," p. 396) that the Sixth Congress analysis of the British economic decline is no longer applicable, because conditions have changed since then. In support of this, he quotes the Board of Trade index figure of production, which shows a total of 110.2 for the first quarter of 1929, as against 109.3 for the first quarter of 1928, on a basis of 100 for 1924. But this very table gives away his position, for it shows that the principal advance, of 100 to 109.3, had already taken place when the Sixth Congress thesis was written. If an advance of 100 to 109.3 did not invalidate the Sixth Congress thesis, why does a subsequent advance of 109.3 to 110.2 invalidate it? If, on the other hand, the advance of 109.3 to 110.2 does invalidate the analysis of "continuous decline," then much more so did the advance of 100 to 109.3 already invalidate it when it was written. In other words under the form of alleging change of conditions, Comrade Campbell is in reality attacking the Sixth Congress thesis as incorrect both now and when it was written. In reality, of course, the Sixth Congress analysis of the British decline is wholly unaffected by these figures of increases of production; and to argue that these invalidate it is simply to show that it has never been understood. The decline, as Comrade Joss has correctly pointed out, lies in the total position of British capitalism relative to world capitalism and to its pre-war position; and all the Board of Trade figures of increases of production will not conjure away the million unemployed, the decline in the British percentage of world exports, or the weakening of the City before Wall Street.

Again, with regard to economic struggles, the scale has risen from the small-scale local struggles which marked the first gathering of the new wave during 1928 and the beginning of 1929, to the full-scale battle of the half-million textile workers today. Once again we see overwhelming ballot votes and votes of delegate meetings pressing for resistance and the prosecution of the fight, while the entire reformist bureaucracy, in union with the Labor Government, are straining every nerve to secure a settlement on the basis of wage reductions.

Thus, for the first three months of the Labor Government, we find already a very considerable sharpening of the situation in every direction. This is the situation which opens out the strongest opportunity for the alternative leadership for the workers, against the Labor Government and the Labor Party trade union machine, to advance.

THE RIGHT DANGER

It is in this situation that the right danger becomes the principal danger confronting our Party.

What is the right danger? The Sixth Congress and Tenth Plenum of the Communist International have emphasized the right danger as the principal danger confronting all Communist Parties in the present period. Very sharp battles have been fought out in the German, French, Czecho-Slovak and other parties against the right danger and right tendencies, on issues closely related to our own. At the same time, the International has called attention with increasing emphasis to the existence and seriousness of the right danger in the British Party (Closed Letter, Tenth Plenum, etc.). The talk of the right danger is now a common theme of unanimous resolutions in our Party. But it is useless, if this talk of the right danger becomes simply a parrot phrase, repeated in general terms, without in reality affecting our line. We need to bring home the right danger sharply and clearly, *in relation to our Party*—and this means fighting, with the gloves off, every right expression and right tendency, whether at the Center or in Districts or locals, both in the leading bodies and press or among individual comrades, and in particular, where leading bodies and leading comrades are concerned, that we should not hesitate to bring out directly and plainly the right tendencies before the Party in order to overcome them.

In essence the right tendency is overestimation of the strength of capitalism and capitalist stabilization, underestimation of the radicalization of the working class, wrong relationship to social democracy and left social democracy, lack of confidence in the independent leadership of the Party; and on the basis of this, *surrender to depression, pessimism, scepticism, passivity*. It is thus

precisely the failure to react to the new sharpening situation, the surrender to depression, the lack of confidence in independent leadership, that is the distinctive mark of the right danger in the present period.

The basis in England for the right tendency is especially strong, for the following main reasons:

1. England is the traditional country of bourgeois democracy, parliamentarism and the corruption of the working class;
2. A very strong Labor Party is confronted by a very weak Communist Party;
3. There is a lack of revolutionary Marxist traditions and training;
4. In its social composition, the Party still lacks firm roots in the factories.

The forms of the right tendency in England may be abundantly illustrated from the mistakes already recognized. It is not necessary for present purposes to give detailed examples, but important ruling types may be borne in mind. Such are (1) overestimation of capitalist stabilization and working class depression, and incorrect treatment of the significance of the General Strike; (2) scepticism of the independent line of the Party and of the present line of the C. I. and of the R. I. L. U.; (3) building up of illusions in left social democracy; (4) passivity and legalism in trade union questions; (5) passivity on the question of the daily; (6) attribution of Party weakness and limited influence solely to objective conditions or organizing causes, without consideration of faults of the political line; (7) failure of adequate discussion and self-criticism, and even discouragement of such (8) failure to draw new forces into the leading work of the Party.

It is important to note that the right danger reaches its most serious form when it is combined with nominal acceptance of the "Conciliationism" which has been the principal center of fight in the other parties. The right danger, when it is open and openly expressed, is most easily fought, because it is in manifest opposition to the international line. *But the greatest danger is when the right tendency endeavors to conceal its opposition under the form of acceptance—i. e., Conciliationism.* This is the principal danger against which we must concentrate our fight.

Conciliationism is the formal acceptance of the international line, combined with failure to carry it out in practice, *i. e.*, practical opposition. This may take many forms. It takes an extreme form when there is direct resistance to effective execution, "interpretations" of the international line in such a way as to destroy its meaning or conceal its difference from incorrect lines, etc. This is in effect conscious sabotage. But it may take more subtle

forms when the process is less conscious or even unconscious, when there is simply lack of conviction or enthusiasm in carrying out the line, when acceptance has been honestly given, but the habits of thought move along old lines, etc. This last form is particularly important, because it can be largely involuntary and unconscious; nevertheless, in its objective effects, it can be as harmful as direct and conscious opposition. It can show itself, not merely in incorrect lines, but in vacillation and delay in carrying out the correct line, and failure in consequence to give clear and confident leadership to the workers.

How are we to fight the right danger? Three things are necessary.

The first is that we make its character clear, that we analyze the lessons of our past mistakes and the *line* shown in them far more completely and fundamentally than has yet been done, that we pin down every type of wrong action and wrong expression, that we make clear the issues to the whole membership, and that we are vigilant to deal with every new sign of right tendency as it appears.

The second is that we definitely set before ourselves the aim to realize and build up a leadership which will not merely accept the international line, but will be able fully to express it and realize it in action.

The third, which must never be lost from sight, is that, alongside all this we must at the same time realize, by *present revolutionary activity*, the fight against the right danger in action. It is positive revolutionary activity along the international line which, in conjunction with correct criticism and discussion, will bring out and expose the right tendencies in our midst (as two years' experience have already greatly helped to do). The essence of the right danger is precisely the surrender to objective difficulties, to moods of depression within the working class, the weakening of our fight, the waiting on events, the waiting for the workers to come over to us, the lack of revolutionary activity. When activity on the lines of independent leadership is strong in every direction and through every member, then we may still make many mistakes, but we need no longer fear the right danger. How to strengthen the Party's fight, how to realize independent leadership in every sphere, how to strengthen the political life within the Party—these are the positive questions which express the fight against the right danger. It is from this point of view that we need to approach all present issues before us.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE LABOR GOVERNMENT

In the present situation, the fight against the Labor Government is at the center of all issues for us, and gives the distinctive

character to the fight against the war danger, to the economic struggles, etc.

We need to raise this fight to a very much stronger level than we have yet done, both in respect to political treatment, and with regard to organizing the fight and the workers' opposition.

At present, there is a tendency manifest to let the fight against the Labor Government disperse itself into a series of separate, isolated issues, "grievances," points of agitation, etc. (Meerut, Trade Union Act, Soviet relations, Miners' hours, etc.), in such a way that these issues appear to become a substitute for the central issue of the fight against the Labor Government. These issues are all-important as a means to drive home the fight against the Labor Government, but they are not a substitute for that fight. Our aim is that we should *through these issues* bring out and make understood the supreme political issue of the Labor Government itself, so as to win the workers from its deadening, paralyzing influence to the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. What is missing in our propaganda is precisely the propaganda of the Revolution, of Communism, of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—of all that as a Communist Party we are fighting for. Our fight appears as a negative critical fight against the Labor Government, or a "ginger" group fight for specific issues. To propagate our main aims and revolutionary line without combining it with the daily issues of the struggle is useless; but it is no less our main aim of winning the workers for the revolution.

If we fail to do this, then we fall into the position of the left-reformist "tail" politicians, who also take up isolated issues, complain against the Labor Government, express disillusionment, demand concessions, etc. This already becomes a characteristic form of the right danger, *i. e.*, to fall into the old "Force the leaders" or "Make the Labor Government act" line, in the sense of making the crux of the fight appear to turn on the giving or withholding of certain issues by the Labor Government, and thus encouraging the illusion in the working class that (1) if only the Labor Government would grant certain concessions, it might then be supported, and, consequently, that (2) either this Labor Government, or at any rate some different kind of Labor Government, *might* be an instrument in the hands of the working class, if only it would turn to the "left." This outlook in the working class, which is the outlook voiced by Maxton, is precisely the outlook we need to kill; for it is the principal obstacle to revolutionary awakening.

For us, the separate issues are all the time means of agitation to awaken the consciousness of the workers to the reality of the Labor Government and the Labor Party as their most dangerous

enemy, and so to drive home the revolutionary understanding and lead the independent workers' fight which advances directly against capitalism and its Labor Government, and seeks to extort concessions from the Labor Government only as from any capitalist government. Our whole strength, as against the left reformists, is that we are able to show the line as a whole, to draw together the separate issues and bring out the conclusions which they leave unfaced, and so, in place of being simply an "opposition" voice, to point the way forward to the active revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

The Labor Government endeavors to build for its support in the working class, despite its flagrantly capitalist policy, upon the measure of political backwardness among the workers, and the possibility of still using the most commonplace liberal formulas of deception. The actual policy is wholly uninspiring and cannot arouse enthusiasm; in consequence, the arguments used are of a very simple general character. Examples are: (1) that the Labor Government is an alternative to the reactionary Baldwin Government; (2) that the Labor Government is a government of the workers, faced with a very difficult situation, and in a minority, and with which the workers must therefore be very patient; (3) that it is necessary first to solve the immediate economic crisis by measures of reconstruction, before there can be any question of advancing to socialism; (4) that the cause of international peace can only be secured in the hands of a Labor Government; (5) that any administrative or other small concessions which may be secured are already a justification of the Government's existence and an earnest of the future.

It is necessary to deal with all these and similar arguments very simply, patiently and understandably. We will not convince our hearers by general unexplained denunciations of the Labor Government as traitors, agents of capitalism, etc., if they have not yet reached the political level to understand this. Our first task is to develop just the elementary political understanding which alone gives a real basis. We need to show, by the easiest, plainest examples (1) that the Labor Government is not an alternative to the Baldwin Government, but a continuation of it; (2) that the argument of "patience," "giving a chance," etc., is precisely the strongest weapon of capitalism for keeping the workers in check; during the Baldwin Government the workers were told to be patient and put up with everything, in the hope of a Labor Government; now that the Labor Government is here, they are told to do the same, in order not to embarrass the Labor Government; thus the Labor Party and Labor Government is at every stage the instrument of capitalism to hold in the workers; (3) that the economic crisis

can only be met by socialist measures, and that measures of capitalist reconstruction can only be at the expense of the workers, and can only intensify the crisis; (4) that, so far from peace being secured in the hands of the Labor Government, the Labor Party is a war party, and the Labor Government is preparing war; (5) that real concessions can only be won by fighting capitalism, and that the parade of concessions is simply the old familiar liberal habit for concealing the real deception, placing of burdens on the workers, preparing war, etc. (These examples are of course only a few types of the arguments with which we need to deal.)

The left reformists in the Labor Party endeavor to fulfill their role of drawing into safe channels the opposition or dissatisfaction of the workers by fastening on particular issues on which they can express opposition, putting forward demands for concessions, complaining of disillusionment, speaking of conditional support, etc. Their type of language is: "The Labor Government is on trial"; "We look to the Labor Government to do such and such"; "We are disappointed at the Labor Government's decision to, etc."; "We shall support the Labor Government only if, etc."

Here we need to expose in the sharpest form the hypocrisy of this whole position, which spends its time on symptoms, secondary issues, empty expectations, etc., and will not face the central issue of the Labor Government as a government of capitalism.

The Communist line as against the Labor Government needs to be basically brought out, and made sharply distinct from that of the left reformists. We do not test the Labor Government, and must beware of appearing to test it, by the concessions that it makes; but by the fact that as a government of capitalism it can only act on the lines of capitalism, *i. e.*, against the workers. The throwing overboard of any pledges that run against the immediate interests of capitalism only serves to illustrate this. In taking up the fight for concessions and immediate demands, *e. g.*, repeal of the Trade Union Act, Soviet Union relations, Miners' hours, etc., we take it up with the full knowledge and clearness that such concessions can only be *extorted* from the Labor Government in the same way as from any capitalist government, *i. e.*, by working class strength and militancy. But from this it follows that such concessions can only be won by a fighting independent working class. This leads straight to the necessity of an independent working class leadership voicing the workers and confronting the Labor Party, *i. e.*, the independent fight of the Communist Party. Once this can be made to be understood, then the volume of feeling that powerfully exists on the issues of the miners' hours, the Trade Union Act, etc., can be turned, not merely to empty dissatisfaction and

disillusionment with the Labor Government, but to positive understanding and recognition of the role of the Communist Party's leadership and readiness to support it.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLES

Even more clearly can the role of independent leadership be brought out in relation to the present stage of economic struggles under a Labor Government. It is not possible within the limits of the present article to deal with the special problems here raised which require full separate treatment. But the main principle stands out clearly: that the new stage of economic struggles, which was already manifest in principle since the ending of the coal lock-out, is now carried a whole degree further, and can be far more powerfully brought out and made clear to the workers in the present situation, with a Labor Government pledged to industrial peace and the trade unions tied to it.

The reformists and left reformists are here helpless to make any pretense of leading the workers' struggles. They can only denounce the employers' "stupidity" and "wrong-headedness" in launching attacks on the workers instead of following the "wise" path of reorganization without wage cuts; and then proceed to direct all their efforts to secure settlement by the surrender of the workers and in defiance of the workers' own ballots.

We alone can frankly and clearly show that the present stage of capitalism necessarily involves attacks upon the workers; that capitalist reorganization can only be carried out upon this basis; that these attacks can only be countered by the strength of the workers' resistance and counter-attacks; that the Labor Government and trade unions are completely committed to capitalism and capitalist reorganization, and that the essential *junction* of the Labor Government from the point of view of capitalism is to check and hold in the workers' rising struggle; and that therefore the only alternatives for the workers are either surrender and worsened conditions, as the price and consequence of support of the Labor Government, or the forging of an independent leadership.

The special danger in our treatment of the present economic struggles, apart from the general dangers of passivity, legalism, uncertain leadership, etc., already dealt with in the lines of the R. I. L. U. and C. I. trade union resolutions, lies in the failure to bring out the *political* significance of these struggles, and, in particular, to relate them directly to the supreme issue of the Labor Government. It is through the economic struggles that we can most clearly bring out, in the light of the most elementary interests

of the widest number of workers, the role of the Labor Government as their direct enemy and the representative of capitalism. The task of a Labor Government is precisely in a period of rising workers' struggles to hold back the workers, where an open capitalist government would be less capable of being effective. The Labor Government, with its propaganda and enforcement of industrial peace, simultaneously through the state machine and from within the working class organizations, is able to be far more useful to capitalism for defeating the workers than the Baldwin Government could have been. This is what we want to drive home, with all the force and examples of the daily struggle, into the consciousness of the workers.

Once this central situation is widely understood, it inevitably leads straight to the necessity of the independent workers' struggle and independent leadership; to the necessity of independent strike committees, factory committees and organization, and the independent leadership of the Communist Party, as vital necessities of the present stage of the workers' struggles. It is in the coming economic struggles above all that we can count to bring home to the widest numbers of workers the understanding of the need of an independent leadership, and to show that the Party is able to point the way forward in the present stage of struggle, and so to organize mass support around the independent leadership of the Party.

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE BUILDING OF A MASS OPPOSITION

Our main task in the present period is to utilize the situation created by the existence of the Labor Government in order to unite the forces of working class opposition to the Labor Government, and so build up a wider mass movement of revolutionary struggle. The character of the present situation is that, while issues of an ever sharper character are rapidly developing, the forces of opposition to the Labor Government in the working class are still dispersed, hesitant, uncertain and largely passive. It is here that the energizing stimulus of real leadership is needed to arouse and unite them into a powerful force along the path of the class struggle, beginning with those issues that are already strongly present and awaken response. The realization of this depends on the Communist Party. Our main objective in the period immediately ahead is to awaken and unite the forces of mass opposition to the Labor Government.

For this we need a United Front campaign. In the most recent period we have tended to neglect the united front, as the election campaign showed, although the united front is the necessary accompaniment and condition of the realization of independent leader-

ship. We need now to concentrate on a United Front campaign of limited, definite demands, embodying the most elementary, most widely felt issues of the present moment (*e. g.*, miners' hours, Trade Union Act, Soviet Union relations, against the Labor Government's armaments program, unemployed demands, united wage struggle). On the basis of these, without *in this program* raising any wider or more ultimate issues, we need to endeavor to unite all forces ready to fight on them, not only in the Labor Party and trade unions, but also of the unorganized workers. We need to concentrate our propaganda and campaign around these demands throughout the country, hold local conferences and seek to build up local united front committees. The actual character of the local united front demands should be free to vary to some extent according to the locality, in the sense of taking up such general demands, and also such local demands, as are most strongly felt by the workers in the locality.

Once we get a movement of this character alive in the localities, we can then build it up on to a national basis, and so reach forward to the future wider mass opposition movement around the leadership of the Party, which is our aim and essential to the advance to the mass party.

THE LOCALS AND THE TASK OF LEADERSHIP

Both for the fight for independent leadership, and for the fight against the right danger, the role of the locals is of vital importance. The strengthening of the locals, of their life and activity, is a cardinal question. The right danger is not only a question of the main line of the Party, to be fought out in the Party as a whole. The right danger has also its characteristic forms in close relation to our daily work (passivity, failure of local leading role, etc.), of which we need to become sharply conscious.

Our Party locals have been undoubtedly through a difficult period in meeting the new situation. As the previous avenues of activity through the local labor parties and trade unions have grown increasingly narrower, there have been signs of a dangerous tendency for locals to be thrown back on themselves, or to fall back into the old rut of the open air meeting and literature selling as the main total of activity.

What we have to realize is that the new situation throws on us a far wider range of activities than before, throws on us the task of finding ways of reaching the masses directly and leading the local fight far more than we have ever done before. The party local is not a kind of ginger group within a network of existing working class organizations, but the direct local leader, the political

spokesman, teacher, agitator and organizer of the workers' fight, building up its own network of mass contacts, on every possible basis, but above all with the factories as its main basis.

Now the principal difficulty here is that we are still weak, not merely in numbers (this can be remedied, in proportion as we win the workers to us), but in propaganda. We are not yet doing anything like revolutionary political propaganda even commensurate with our present membership and strength. The present activities of locals tend to run along two main lines: (a) occasional meetings, and the selling of paper and literature; (b) in the case of some of the members, activity in the trade unions, but simply as good active trade unionists. In all this we are able to show the Communists as good active working class fighters, but we do not yet spread understanding of Communism and revolutionary politics. Some of our members are busy selling literature. Others are busy in the trade unions. But in all this, how far is there being carried out the primary work of propaganda for Communism and the revolution? The detail activities become a substitute for revolutionary political agitation and training, instead of a means to help these forward. *This becomes the characteristic form of the right danger in our local daily work: political leadership is swamped and disappears in mechanical detail activities.*

It has been noted in some recent discussions that party training has become weakened. But in fact we have never advanced to the full conception of party training, *i. e.*, not merely the training of members in the Party, but the training of workers outside the Party in elementary political principles (classes, lectures, discussion groups), *i. e.*, the training of workers *into* the party, one of the surest means of ensuring a steady stream of good recruits. (In this connection, the proposals of "Kern" in the *Worker* of August 2nd, 1929, in his article on the passing of the Labor College, suggesting the holding of elementary classes under Party auspices throughout the country, are well worth taking up.)

Revolutionary propaganda is not primarily a question of meetings, but of the *active communist propaganda of every member of the Party* through every possible contact, in the trade union branch, in the factories, in private discussion, etc. We need to win the workers to the Party. *The power to win them depends on our power to unite the handling of current issue and detail activities with basic revolutionary political propaganda.* General abstract principles without the current issues and daily fights are valueless; the current issues and daily fight without the general principles are valueless. In the first days of our Party, our fault tended to the former; and we had to fight to plunge the party in detail activities of the

daily struggle so as to overcome it. Since then, our fault has tended to the other extreme; the detail activities and current issues have come to swamp the revolutionary propaganda; and thus, when we are thrown on to our own strength in the new period, we find a sense of weakness, hesitation and difficulty to lead.

It is precisely this political weakness, this sense of weakness, hesitation and difficulty to lead, and the consequent scepticism and lack of confidence in the effective realization of the Party's independent leadership, which is the most distinctive oppression of the right danger in our Party. In this sense the right danger runs throughout our Party from top to bottom. *Where the political life is weak, there the right danger is strong.* From this follows inevitably scepticism, hesitation and passivity—which are the essence of the right danger.

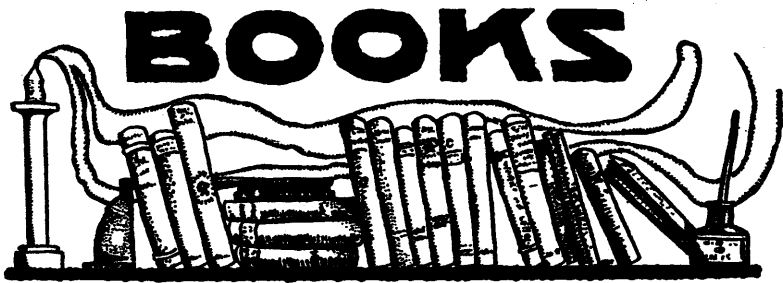
Here, then, in this political strengthening, in this stronger bringing out of living political leadership, is where we need to concentrate our fight. Unless the political contents are there, the detail activities necessarily become mechanical and lifeless. We can speak of factory committees, united front committees, etc., until doomsday; but these will never take on life and reality unless the political driving force is there to arouse enthusiasm and convince the workers of the purpose and need of organizing.

Stronger political life, more revolutionary enthusiasm, more active propaganda—these are all essential in order to win leadership, to overcome the right danger, to win the masses to the Party. Every local needs to become a political leader of the workers in its locality. Every member needs to become a leader among his fellow-workers. And the Central Committee and Political Bureau need to become the inspiring centers of leadership, the voice of the Communist International in the working class. Only so can we advance to realize the independent leadership of the Party in the working class.

A CORRECTION BY COMRADE BRIGGS

In my article in the September issue of *The Communist* I made the statement, "even in District Two, at least one unit (in Queens) 'did not know what to do' with several Negro workers they had brought into the Party." It has been called to my attention by the District Negro Director of District Two that the unit at fault was not the Queens unit, but the Bath Beach unit.

CYRIL BRIGGS.



MAX BEER: *The Life and Teachings of Karl Marx.* New York. International Publishers, 1929. 159 pp. \$1.75.

Reviewed by A. LANDY

In a country where Marxism has not yet become a powerful tradition in proletarian life, where its theoretical application is still in an embryonic stage, and particularly where bourgeois economic or pragmatic interpretations bearing a strong bourgeois left-wing physiognomy are widely prevalent, the popularization of the life and teachings of Marx must be viewed as a fundamental phase of revolutionary activity. Not only must we ourselves transform our acceptance of Marx into an increasing knowledge of Marxism, but our struggle to become the undisputed leader of the masses in the economic and political spheres must be accompanied by serious efforts to spread the influence and extend the prestige of Marxism as the solely correct ideology of the proletariat. A correct understanding and a systematic application of this ideology is a basic condition for the successful organization of the proletariat as a class for itself. At the same time, it is the fundamental condition for preserving Marxism from vulgarization. Lenin made this particularly clear nearly thirty years ago when he insisted that a Marxist party, especially in the process of its emergence, must "carry on propaganda for, protect from distortion and develop further the proletarian ideology—the theories of scientific Socialism, i.e., Marxism."

The biographies of men like Marx, Engels and Lenin have a vital place in the development of a Marxist tradition and in the establishment of the continuity of the world revolutionary movement. Aside from the extraordinary historical interest attached to Marx's biography, aside from the fact that any deeper understanding of his theories automatically requires a knowledge of the facts and conditions of his life, Marx's biography has the positive "pedagogic" value of being a source of revolutionary inspiration and an example of undeterred devotion to the cause of the revolution. As a contribution to the training of revolutionists, the biography of Marx will communicate a degree of revolutionary energy and intensity, of unshakable perseverance and revolutionary "faith" which constitutes the quality of revolutionary activity, or, as Comrade Stalin has aptly called it, the style of work. Without this "style," the quality of our activity must be seriously impaired, whereas the sharp struggles and enormous tasks confronting the revolutionary vanguard today render this "style" of the utmost importance. The biography of Marx is the biography of a new type of individual who subordinated everything to the achievement of the proletarian revolution: A man who makes

no fetish of words and ideas, but recognizing the simple proposition that behind all words are the people that create them, transform passive contemplation as an end in itself into a scientific guide to revolutionary action.

The number of Marx biographies in English is not too great. Of the four that we have at present, the earliest, by John Spargo, originally published in 1910, was branded as a worthless compilation by Franz Mehring, a verdict which Spargo himself has recently accepted; another, published in the earlier part of this year by the German Social-Democrat Otto Ruhle, is a pretentious conglomeration of psycho-analytic verbiage and philistine wisdom; while the best original volume, in the absence of Mehring's large biography which is to be published by International in the near future, is D. Riazanov's lectures on Marx and Engels, published under the title *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*. The fourth biography, by Max Beer, is the book under review.

Beer's little biography is not a new publication. It was issued once before in this country in 1924. On the whole, it is an excellent popularization of the life and teachings of Marx concentrated in less than a hundred and sixty small pages, and can be used very effectively in the nature of an introduction. Using only what has already been produced by Franz Mehring and others in the sphere of Marx-biography, Beer succeeded in fixing the decisive features of Marx's life and theory without becoming flat and shallow in the process of eliminating vital details. In this respect, it can be compared with Lenin's biographical sketch of Marx written for the Russian encyclopedia *Granat*.*

The entire book consists of five chapters and an introduction. Covering Marx's biography in the first three of his five chapters, in which about fourteen pages are devoted to the early days, over twenty to the formative period of Marxism, and twenty-five to Marx's activity from 1848 to the close of his life. Beer's fifth and last chapter constitutes his conclusions in the nature of an eight-page summary. It is this conclusion that we shall have to look at more closely later on.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of Beer's small volume is his introduction, consisting of a short evaluation of Marx's significance, followed by a popular exposition of Hegel's dialectics. This discussion of the Hegelian dialectic represents a highly successful and stimulating popularization, and supplies the reader with enough intelligible information to serve as a basis for further study of the subject. Beer is entirely correct when he insists that without a knowledge of Hegelian dialectics "no one can be in a position to appreciate the important factors in the life and influence of Marx or even to understand his first intellectual achievement during his student years." (p. 11).

Marx and Engels always recognized this. "Without German philosophy, particularly that of Hegel," Engels stated in 1875, "German scientific socialism (the only scientific Socialism extant) would never have come into existence." Lenin likewise stressed the importance of Hegel and the Hegelian dialectic. Writing in 1922 about the tasks of the Russian scientific journal, *Under the Banner of Marxism*, and of the necessity of applying dialectic materialism to the sphere of natural science, he stated: "For this purpose, the contributors to the magazine must organize a systematic study of Hegel's dialectic conducted from the point of view of materialism, that very dialectic which Marx applied concretely with so much success in his *Capital* as well as in his historical and political writings. . . . To be sure, such a study, such

*Cf. V. I. Lenin's *The Imperialist War, Collected Works*. Vol. XVIII, to be published shortly by International Publishers.

an elucidation, such a propagation of Hegelian dialectics is not an easy matter; and the first attempts in this direction will undoubtedly not be free from mistakes. But only he who does nothing is free from error. Basing ourselves upon Marx's application of Hegel's dialectics conceived in a materialistic way, we can and must develop this dialectic in all direction, publish extracts from Hegel's most important works and translate this Hegelian dialectic into the language of the materialist in citing examples of economic and political dialectic offered to us in such an extraordinarily abundant measure by modern history, especially the modern imperialist war and the revolution. The editors and collaborators of the magazine *Under the Banner of Marxism*, in our opinion, should represent a sort of 'Society of Materialist Friends of Hegelian Dialectics.'

One other feature of Beer's book deserves attention: his attempt to show that Bolshevism is not a departure from Marxism but its logical application. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Beer stands entirely, at least in this book (his views may have changed since it was written), on the ground of Marxism. "Rigidly conceived and applied," he says, "the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle *may* lead to ultra-revolutionary tactics of the Socialists and labor movement, to the system of Workers' Councils, and Proletarian Dictatorship. *If* the emerging class and its struggle constitutes the lever of social revolution and the impulse of the dialectical social process, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is justified..." (Italics mine). Skepticism as to the objective correctness of the Marxian theory of the class struggle is the essence of Beer's position here. But, as Lenin has well pointed out, mere recognition of the existence of classes and even of the class struggle does not necessarily make one a Marxist. For a Marxist there can be *no doubt* that the class struggle leads *necessarily* to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fact that Beer's book will probably be taken to represent the point of view of Marxism in its entirety, makes it especially necessary to point out those aspects in which he entirely departs from Marxism. Already the first page of Beer's biography, dealing with the significance of Marx, reveals differences of a basic character. And the last chapter brings these out even more sharply.

Apparently following Marx with the assertion that an appreciation of him can only be arrived at by the use of the Marxian method, Beer traces the theoretical and historical antecedents of Marx's theories, laying special stress upon the French Revolution, his studies on the economic transformation of England from 1760 to 1825, Hegel, Ricardo, and the British anti-capitalist school of the early nineteenth century, and comes to the following conclusions:

Marx's theory of value and surplus value was purely a battle-cry of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, just as Ricardo's theory of value and rent represented the battle-cry of the capitalists against the aristocracy. "The English proletariat," Beer asserts, "lacked a philosopher who could work out the idea to its logical conclusion, until Marx applied himself to the problem and solved it, so far indeed as philosophical problems can be solved by a science which places itself at the disposal of a class." (p. 156).

Two propositions are advanced in this assertion. First, that a theory of value is primarily a problem of philosophy; secondly, that a "science which places itself at the disposal of a class" impairs its ability to solve the problems confronting it. Judging from his further remarks, the term "philosophy" is used in the sense of a metaphysical process of creating social fictions that do not correspond to objective facts, but nevertheless may have tremendous social effects. The theory of value and surplus

value, Beer says in fact, "has rather the significance of a political and social slogan than of an economic truth. . . . Such militant philosophies need not in themselves be true, only they must accord with the sentiments of the struggling mass. It is with such philosophical fictions that humanity works." (p. 157.)

Beer's conception of philosophical fictions is nothing but utter confusion; and rather than having anything in common with Marxism, it is primarily an echo of the subjective verbiage of Vaihinger's philosophy of *Als Ob*. If philosophy is a series of fictions, then a "philosophical fiction" is not only a senseless tautology, expressing the same thing in different words, but a "philosophical problem" can only be the problem of creating fictions. In other words, the problem of discovering the law of value, as a problem of philosophy, is merely the problem of creating a social fiction, something that does not actually exist. In that case, what happens to the objective study of the laws of capitalist economy? The fact that some one may have found it necessary to create fictions, does not obviate nor touch upon the necessity of studying the economic phenomena of price and commodity production. These phenomena exist regardless of the fiction-creating activity of any individual. The test of a theory is not whether it accords with the "sentiment" of people, but whether it accords with the objective facts. It does not alter the validity of Marx's theory that at a certain stage of its development, the majority of the working class fails to accept it as its theory of action. The knowledge that the working class requires is knowledge about the conditions of its existence and disappearance as a class. Correct action and scientific control are possible only on the basis of scientific knowledge and not upon social fictions. The working class "sentiment" of which Beer speaks, is only the expression of the objective position of the workers in capitalist society. A theory that expresses this position and the condition of its existence and transformation is not a fiction, but a scientific truth, the description of an objective fact. Marx's problem was to find the law of motion of capitalist society. And this was essentially a problem of science, a problem of studying the basic social relations of people and the form that these relations assume.

Marxism also advances a theory of social "fictions." But it does not deny their objective existence. The physical universe knows no abstractions, and one of the most elementary propositions of Marxism is that truth is concrete. In physical reality, there is no such thing as abstract human labor. And value is at bottom only a social expression of the objective production relations between the basic classes of capitalist society. It has no physical existence like a building or a machine or any other material object or motion. No chemist, as Marx has pointed out, has yet been able to discover the physical existence of value in any object. Nevertheless, it has a definite social reality, constituting only the social relations between people in the form of commodity relations between material things. Social relations are objective facts which constitute the general conditions of human behavior. The problem of social science is precisely to get beneath the social appearances and social "fictions" and determine the objective conditions and class relations that give rise to them, studying the laws and specific modes of their existence.

Beer is confused by the relativity of truth and the historical character of social reality. Value, profit, and rent are social categories expressing concrete relations between people. Naturally, when these relations pass, the categories arising from them will also pass. But does that eliminate their

reality as long as they exist? They are real for a specific historic period. Concretely, and not in words, they are human beings in action, and changes in social reality merely mean that people have changed their relations to nature and to one another. In relation to the physical universe, value may be only a "fiction" of capitalist society, but in so far as it is merely the mode of existence of capitalist productive relations, it represents a definite reality. Not Marx invented "value," but society. To accuse Marx of creating what is essentially the product of society, is to turn matters on their head. And yet that is precisely what Beer does in this book.

Beer's second proposition regarding the relation of science to class likewise represents the attitude of bourgeois scientists who do not understand the connection between their activity as scientists and the social conditions under which they live, and hence imagine that their activity and its results stand above classes and above the material conditions of class society. But in what way is science above class, and what are the conditions for making advances in science? In so far as objective knowledge is possible only upon the application of an objective method to the study of phenomena, the actual problem is: What are the objective conditions for the acquisition and application of an objective method, for the development of that type of activity which will produce objective results and real scientific advances? This, in fact, is a concrete problem of actual history and not the abstract verbal problem of some individual; and as a problem of human beings living under definite historical conditions, it is a question of which social forces will further the development of science and which will hinder and retard it?

In as much as the productive forces of society, of which scientific activity is a part, cannot exist separate and apart from their social form (the social conditions of their existence), but nevertheless continue to develop with society, regardless of its form, the potentially revolutionary class is the class that represents the continuous development of the productive forces. That class is the class that will destroy the social barriers to the further, unlimited development of the productive forces. In this sense, therefore, the productive forces, including the scientific activity of men, are carried forward by certain classes but stand above all historical classes. They not only outlive specific classes which are limited to certain historical periods, and represent the historical movement as a whole, but they constitute the material basis for the evolution of a classless society. To that extent science, as a productive force, has a class basis developing through the class struggle, but is above classes—just as the proletariat is itself a class and yet is the class that represent the future classless society.

In class terms, the problem is one of class subjectivism or class objectivism. The proletariat, as the potentially revolutionary class, represents class objectivism: A correct analysis of reality, whether physical or social, is in its interest. For the capitalist class, on the other hand, only a correct analysis of physical reality, the products of which increase its material wealth, is of value to it; an objective analysis of social reality necessarily shows the historical character of the capitalists as a class, as well as of the capitalist system, and hence, the historical necessity of their disappearance. Such an analysis provides the class opponents of the capitalists, that is, the working class, with a weapon against the capitalist system. In the sphere of social analysis, of social science, the capitalist class cannot go beyond the point of view of class subjectivism without acknowledging its own ultimate dissolution. But this would conflict with the preservation of the capitalist system, with the continuous reproduction of the conditions

that make the capitalist a capitalist. The inherent contradiction lies in the fact that the development of all science is in the direction of objective materialist analysis—and to that extent the subjectivity of capitalist class interests clashes with the objective reality of social development.

The passing of one social form into another does not render social development less continuous. It is this continuity, this historical movement that is objective, that enforces and requires an objective method and analysis, that is represented by an historical class bearer, today the working class. The working class must and can not tolerate class subjectivism in any form; subjectivism is not in its interest, either in developing a free, unfetichistic outlook on life, which can only be developed on a social scale after the disappearance of classes, or an unhampered and unlimited control over nature in the interest of all human beings.

The idea of pure science is erroneously set off against the idea of science in the interest of a particular class. Reality, the object of scientific study and control, is continuous and dialectic. For the purpose of effective analysis, science arbitrarily breaks up this continuity,—but only in theory, not in reality. Pure science, therefore, is only that phase of scientific activity which studies the laws of phenomena. In so far as Marxism studies the laws of the phenomenon known as capitalist society, it is a pure science. This is a technical expedient. But when we view this activity of men from the point of view of its relation to other forms of their activity, to their general conditions, we can deny either the existence of this relationship nor of these general conditions. Scientific activity does not take place outside of human existence, hence, of society, hence, outside of the various social (class) forms of human behavior. It is only one phase of this behavior, of which productive activity is another. We must not confuse the technical with the social phases of a problem. If we are to raise the question of the relation between science and class at all, we must raise it only from the historical angle, namely: How does it happen that people come to view different types of social activity as unrelated phenomena, since it is only in thought that they are not related? The answer is to be found in history, in the development of production and the division of labor which led to the isolation and specialization of the various forms of activity. There is no other correct way of approaching this question. From the point of view of the class struggle, the assertion that science has and should have absolutely nothing to do with classes, that it stands entirely above classes, can have only one meaning: It is a slogan that seeks to discredit the ideology of the proletariat as a narrow, subjective, "class" ideology without any scientific validity. It is an objective attempt to deprive the working class of a revolutionary theory, and thus to cripple its economic and political struggle. It can have only one effect: to chain the workers even more strongly to the capitalist system.

Beer does not deny that Marx was a great pioneer as a sociologist; he merely insists that in respect of economic theory, Marx was predominantly an agitator; that his theory of value and surplus value does not represent an economic truth. If value is created by living labor power, Beer maintains, then an increase in the amount of value can only be brought about by an increase in the amount of living labor power. But, says Beer, "wealth measured in values, has, in the last few decades, increased by many times the increase in living labor power. In this connection, the old formula can be reversed: Wealth increases in geometrical, living labor power in arithmetical progression." In this reasoning, Beer ignores only one fact, namely, that labor time, which is the measure of value, depends, not upon the quan-

tity of labor power, but upon its *productivity*. He does not consider that every increase in the productivity of labor results in an increase in material wealth requiring a *lesser* expenditure of social labor.

It is entirely logical that Beer finds the greatest difficulty in Marx to be the fact that "the inventors and discoverers, the chemists and physicists, the pioneers and organizers of industry and agriculture, are not regarded by him as creators of surplus value. . . ." Their "creative and directive work, demanding, as it often does, an infinite amount of intensive intellectual effort, is not considered to increased the total sum of exchange values of the nation." (p. 157.)

Generally speaking, science, as Marx has pointed out "costs the capitalist nothing, a fact that by no means hinders him from exploiting it. The science of others is as much annexed by capital as the labor of others." (*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 422, Footnote.)

"Every advance in chemistry," Marx further states, "not only multiplies the number of useful materials and the useful applications of those already known, thus extending with the growth of capital its sphere of investment. It teaches at the same time how to throw the excrements of the processes of production and consumption back again to the circle of the process of reproduction, and thus, without any previous outlay of capital creates new matter for capital. Like the increased exploitation of natural wealth by the mere increase in the tension of labor power, science and technology give capital a power of expansion independent of the given magnitude of the capital actually functioning. They react at the same time on that part of the original capital which has entered upon its stage of renewal. This, in passing into its new shape, incorporates gratis the social advance made while its old shape was being used up. Of course, this development of productive power is accompanied by a partial depreciation of functioning capital. So far as this depreciation makes itself acutely felt in competition, the burden falls on the laborer, in increased exploitation of whom the capitalist looks for his indemnification." (*Capital* I, pp. 663-664.)

One more quotation from Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value* will conclude this review and help to throw light on whether Marx considers the products of science to have value. "The product of intellectual labor (geistige Arbeit) —science—," says Marx, "is always far beneath its value, because the labor time that is necessary to reproduce it is entirely out of proportion to the labor time necessary for its original production. For example, the binomial theory can be learned in an hour by a schoolboy." (Vol. I, p. 289.)

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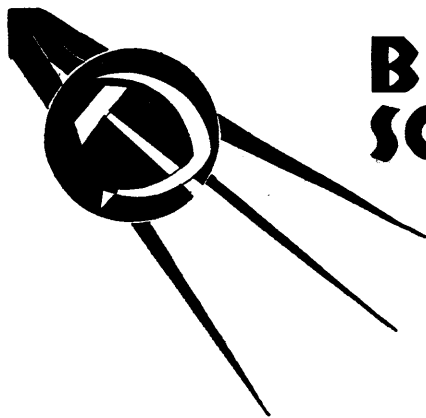
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