

OCTOBER, 1936



THE

COMMUNIST

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Review of the Month

Landon the "Liberal"—The Republican Party and Free Competition—Why Does Not Morgan Go Back to the Older Capitalism?—Thomas Should Explain—Finance Capital and Fascism—Demagoguery and Class Line-ups—Roosevelt's N.R.A. and Landon's Speech in Portland—Hearst and the Herald Tribune—Saving Fortunes and Saving Monopoly Domination—How Does a Fascist Demagogue Talk?—Finance Capital Fools Middle Classes—Thomas, Landon and the Labor Party—A "Socialist" Campaign That Makes Voters for Landon—Fighting Reaction and Building for the Socialist Revolution—The Communist Party Recruiting Drive—We Need More Communists—Hitler's War Against Democracy and the People's Front—The Answer to the Fascist Circus in Nuremberg—To a People's Movement for Peace.

LANDON Blasts Roosevelt Policies as Abetting Dictatorship and War"—thus the Republican *Herald Tribune* headlined Landon's speech in Portland. However, when one examines the speech itself, it becomes at once evident that it is largely a rehash of the old stuff that has been plentifully dished out to the American people by such well-known champions of democracy and peace as the Liberty League, Hoover and Hearst.

Landon and his party want the people to believe that they stand for "competitive capitalism" and against monopolies. But what informed person will honestly believe that? The biggest monopolies are backing the Republican Party and Landon. The Republican Party is backed and dominated by the most powerful aggregations of monopoly capital in the country—in steel, auto, rubber, railroads, shipping, banking, munitions, and in the public utilities. The angels of the Republican Party and Landon are the Morgans, du Ponts, Rockefellers—the very people who are daily destroying competition and are foisting the rule of monopoly domination upon all phases of economic life.

And yet the Republican Party wants the people to believe that it and Landon stand for competitive capitalism and against monopolies.

It is, of course, an old Leninist truth that monopoly capital cannot and does not eliminate competition altogether. The two continue to exist side by side. Moreover, the era of monopoly capital, which

began not with the N.R.A. and Roosevelt as Landon "innocently" pretends to believe but way back in the 1880's, gave rise to competition on a larger scale, competition between trusts and monopolies. And it was especially under Republican administrations, in the period following the war of 1918, that monopolies have thrived most freely and "happily".

Remember the age of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover.

Therefore, when Landon comes to Portland and makes a plea for "free competition" as against N.R.A.-fostered monopoly, the people are entitled to ask: do Morgan, Rockefeller and du Pont also believe in free competition? And since not even Landon would dare (or would he?) assert that they do, the people will be entitled to ask another question. They will ask: since Morgan, Rockefeller and du Pont stand for the very opposite of "free competition", why do they back the Republican Party and Landon? Why did they pour into Maine tens of thousands of dollars to enable Landon's party to win the state elections if that party is the enemy of monopolies?

The answer to this is that the Republican Party and Landon are as much opposed to the monopolies as Morgan, Rockefeller and du Pont are. In plainer words: Landon is merely engaging in demagoguery. He is trying to deceive the people.

But to say this alone is not enough. For the question might be raised as to why it is that the Republican Party, the party of the most reactionary and most powerful monopolies, has chosen *in this election campaign* to appear before the people as the enemy of monopolies and champion of "free competition". Is it because the forces backing Landon want to go back to the era of "competitive capitalism"? This is what Norman Thomas thinks.

"I have already said that Landon, or the interests behind him which are stronger than Landon, are in the strict sense of the word reactionary. *They want to go back to an older capitalism.*" (*Socialist Call*, September 12, 1936. Our emphasis—A.B.)

We wonder whether Thomas himself realizes what he has said. He asserts that the interests behind Landon, namely, the biggest monopolies in the country dominated by Morgan, Rockefeller and du Pont, want to give up their monopoly control, want to *dissolve* their trusts and monopolies, "want to go back to an older capitalism". This is actually what Thomas said if his words have meaning. If that is so, why don't they? Morgan and Rockefeller between them dominate the most strategic and vital parts of the national economy. They are dictators in the literal sense of the word. President Roosevelt called them "economic royalists". Yes, they are that and much more, and this Roosevelt did not say because he himself stands

for capitalism. He did not say that "economic royalists" in the present system of society—capitalism—means *the dominating force in capitalism*.

This being so, why don't the Morgans and Rockefellers go back to the "older capitalism"? Who doesn't let them?

It is sufficient merely to ask the question to see how nonsensical the Thomas assertion is. The interests behind Landon, the monopolists and dictators of the country's economic life, know full well, perhaps better than Thomas, that a return to an "older capitalism" is a dream of the small capitalist for which the Morgans and Rockefellers have nothing but contempt. The vultures of finance capital are determined to preserve and extend their monopoly domination, seeing in this the only hope of saving capitalism as a system. We know that this hope will not materialize because capitalism is doomed and because the forces for the revolutionary change to socialism are growing in the very struggle against capitalist reaction and fascism. The Morgans and Rockefellers see that also. That is why they are organizing and backing the reactionary offensive against the working class and all toilers. That's why they are turning ever more in the direction of fascist methods of rule. That's why they are encouraging and supporting the growth of fascist movements in this country and are encouraging fascism in other countries.

Precisely because the Morgans and Rockefellers seek to preserve and extend monopoly domination are they becoming more reactionary, more fascist-minded, more destructive of everything progressive in the life of the country. If Norman Thomas was right about the monopolies wanting "to go back to an older capitalism", they would, first, go ahead and do it and, secondly, they would become more liberal instead of more reactionary. For, as is well known, the older, "competitive capitalism" was also a more liberal capitalism. But Thomas is not right, as life itself shows. And his babbling about the "older capitalism" merely results in a "Socialist" campaign which gives aid and comfort to capitalist reaction.

But if Thomas is wrong, as he is, what *is* the correct explanation of the attempt of the Republican Party, through its platform and Landon speeches, to appear as the champion of "competitive capitalism" and of the small man in business?

We have already had occasion to discuss in these columns the meaning of the Landon nomination by the Republican Party and of its championship of the small man (*The Communist*, July, 1936). There we arrived at the conclusion that:

"The platform of the Republican Party, adopted in Cleveland, promises everything to everybody, especially to big capital, on the one

hand, and to the 'small man', on the other. This is in true Hitler style. "The candidate of the Republican Party—Landon—and the Landon men 'in control' of the party, are meant to put the 'small man's' face upon the party of the most reactionary monopolies in the country. Again in the style of fascism."

And while we made it clear that the Republican Party is not a fascist party and that it was impossible to say whether or not it will become a fascist party, nevertheless we stressed the point that "the Republican Party has taken on new features of a fascist character" (*Ibid.*).

Landon's speech in Portland, Maine, his declamations against monopoly and in favor of "free competition" to protect the small man, prove precisely the point that the Republican Party has taken on features of a fascist character.

One might argue that there is little especially new in the Landon *demagogy* against the monopolies; that Republican politicians have done that many times before, the most outstanding instance being the "trust-busting" demagogy of Theodore Roosevelt. That is true. The Landon demagogy *itself*, the words and slogans that he uses to present himself as a friend of free competition, may not differ materially from those employed by former spokesmen and figure-heads of the Republican Party. But the *political significance and class content* of the Landon demagogy *do* differ from those of his predecessors in the Republican Party. This means that the key to the political meaning of Landon's demagogy is to be found not in demagogy itself but in the class forces standing behind Landon and in the class alignment in the country as a whole. Concretely—

When the Republican Party has become, as it has, the chief instrument of the most reactionary and fascist-minded monopolies to prosecute the offensive of capitalist reaction against the people; when the Republican Party has become the main weapon of the Morgans, du Ponts and Rockefellers for the destruction of the liberties and living standards of the masses and for opening the road to fascism in this country; and when this main instrument of the monopolies for reaction *and fascistization* is made to appear as the champion of the small man and of free competition, then the demagogy with which it is done assumes the political significance of fascist demagogy, then it is that it begins to resemble the demagogic tricks of a Hitler.

* * *

AND another question has to be answered. What is it in the political situation in the country that enables this Republican demagogy to make certain headway among the small men? That it makes

such headway among the small men in the small communities, of this there is more than enough evidence. One does not have to grant all the extravagant claims of the Republicans to see that large numbers of small and medium business men are falling for the Republican demagoguery on the issue of governmental interference with business as well as on the issue of taxation and budget balancing.

The answer to this question is: the N.R.A. and Roosevelt's policies generally. Landon's Portland speech was primarily an attack on the N.R.A. This speech was demagogic from beginning to end but it exploited real grievances of the small men against the N.R.A. When Landon said:

"What the N.R.A. really undertook to do in this country was to *terminate our system* of free competition and to substitute for it a system of government-created and government-protected monopolies." (Our emphasis—A.B.)

When Landon said that, he was freely mixing falsehood with truth. There was no system of free competition before the N.R.A. Hence the N.R.A. could not terminate any such system. What the N.R.A. found was a pretty mature system of monopoly capitalism with plenty of symptoms of decay. The crash in 1929 was its most glaring expression. And Hoover, as well as Harding and Coolidge, had plenty to do with creating and protecting this rotten-ripe system of monopoly capitalism. By saying that only with the N.R.A. did monopoly capitalism begin in the United States, Landon was uttering a deliberate falsehood.

But many of his small men listeners probably did not notice that. What they undoubtedly heard and responded to was the attack on the N.R.A. And why? Because they knew that with the N.R.A. things became worse for them, not better. And that is true. Aside from its labor provisions for collective bargaining, the N.R.A. worked primarily for the monopolies and against the small men. It was the monopolies themselves, the same groups that are now backing Landon, that had suggested the N.R.A. set-up to Roosevelt, that dominated it and that most benefited from it. Hence Landon's demagoguery is *doubly* brazen. But he is exploiting a real grievance and one which Roosevelt helped to create.

What is the true and genuine criticism of Roosevelt's policies from the standpoint of the interests of the people? It is the criticism which the Communist Party has made from the very inception of the New Deal. It is the criticism that Roosevelt sought to save capitalism at a time of deep crisis largely at the expense of the toiling masses, primarily by strengthening the monopolies, while attempting to curb the most glaring excesses of only a few of the monopolists, while

granting only small and meager concessions to certain groups of the toilers, not all.

The monopolies feel no gratitude for what Roosevelt did for them but they cannot forgive him the few pin-pricks and attempts to make them look more decent. Hence their anti-Roosevelt crusade and their support of Landon.

The irony of the thing! Morgan, du Pont and Rockefeller, the bosses of Landon, are now trying to arouse the small men against Roosevelt, precisely for the things he did to protect the monopolies at a time when they needed protection most.

Was it inevitable that the small men, or large numbers of them, should fall for Landon (and Coughlin) because of the N.R.A.? No, it wasn't. An independent political organization and policy by labor in alliance with the toiling farmers and the small men generally could and can prevent reaction and fascism from capitalizing on the grievances of the masses against the monopolies and the N.R.A. A Farmer-Labor Party can and will do the job.

When, therefore, Labor's Non-Partisan League continues to hesitate to join with the Farmer-Labor Party movement in the building of Farmer-Labor parties in all localities and states (not alone in New York), it is not mobilizing the full force of labor in the fight against reaction and fascism. It is not securing the support of labor's allies among the farmers and middle classes for the struggle against reaction. It is letting Landon and Coughlin make inroads into this field.

When the Conference of the Progressives (Chicago, September 11) confines itself largely to securing the defeat of Landon—which is fundamental—but does not at once proceed to collaborate in the building up of the Farmer-Labor Party—the People's Front—locally and nationally, it is failing in the same essential respects.

These failures and hesitations are helping Landon. They have helped him in Maine. They will help him also in other places.

These same failures and hesitations to build the Farmer-Labor Party, especially *in the struggle for local and Congressional candidates*, are also helping Coughlin and Lemke. The elections in Maine, the primaries in Michigan and elsewhere, all indicate that the Coughlin-Lemke maneuver can do a good deal of damage to the camp of labor and progress.

These failures and hesitations must come to an end. And the sooner the better.

* * *

HEARST has been waging lately a little private war against the *Herald Tribune*. He is charging Ogden Mills Reid, the editor of

the *Herald Tribune*, with nothing less than giving aid and comfort to Communism. This will be news, no doubt, to the readers of this Republican mouthpiece in New York.

It is ridiculous, of course. But in the atmosphere and political set-up of the present election campaign it becomes a serious matter. Hearst is adopting Hitler's tactics. Like the raving maniac of Nuremberg, Hearst proceeds on this basis: he who is not with Hearst is a Communist, or near-Communist, and should be treated as such.

We say this despite the very profound observation of Norman Thomas that Hearst "wants above all to protect his \$220,000,000 fortune" and that therefore Hearst cannot be considered a fascist. This wisdom is altogether too profound. We can very well agree that all Hearst is interested in is to protect his little fortune of \$220,000,000, and that Morgan, Rockefeller and du Pont are each interested above all in protecting their respective fortunes running into billions of dollars. Does it follow from that, as Thomas suggests, that these gentry cannot be or aren't fascist-minded?

Thomas would be right if such fortunes as Hearst's could be protected by sewing them up into a stocking and hiding them away in some safe place in the cellar or in the attic. But even a child knows that this is not the way in which the Hearsts and Morgans are "protecting" their fortunes. The fortunes of these fellows represent large blocs of the economy of this country. Their fortunes are: strategic industries, land, banks and *monopoly control* of the nation's economy.

Yes, these people are interested above all in "protecting" their fortunes, that is, in maintaining at all costs their monopoly domination of the economic and political life of the country. That is precisely why, in this period of general crisis of capitalism, they become ever more reactionary. That is why decisive sections of finance capital become fascist-minded and resort to fascism.

Hearst does not talk like a fascist demagogue, says Thomas. "A fascist demagogue begins by a radical middle class appeal." This is not the whole truth and, therefore, is untrue. Fascist demagogues *adapt their slogans to the moods of the middle classes* whatever these moods happen to be at a given time and place. In Germany Hitler raved against democracy because the middle classes were disillusioned with the Weimar Republic. He called for an aggressive foreign policy because these masses were enraged against the Versailles Treaty. In the United States, fascist tendencies and fascist demagogues cover themselves with the banner of democracy and the Constitution because the moods of the middle classes are democratic. In the United States, fascist demagogues are sailing under the banner of "isolation" in foreign affairs because the moods of these masses

are still determined by the traditions of "no foreign entanglements". One could point to many more examples.

It is very important to examine the character of fascist demagoguery, its slogans, etc., in order best to expose and combat it. But this can be done effectively only from a correct understanding of the *class nature* of fascism. It cannot be done from the position that fascism is a middle class revolt against capitalism. Fascism is brought into existence by finance capital, by its most reactionary, chauvinist and imperialist elements. The Liberty League crowd, the monopolies that are today rallying around the Republican Party and are dominating it, these are the elements of finance capital in the United States that are pushing this country towards fascism. They are doing this in two ways: chiefly at the present time by intensifying reaction all around and seeking to place Landon in office and simultaneously by encouraging and supporting mass fascist movements of the Coughlin type, Black Legion, etc.

In the building up of a mass basis for fascism, the reactionary monopolies seek to capture the middle classes, to curb the indignation of the middle classes against the monopolies and capitalism. This is what Coughlin, Hearst and Landon are doing at the present time. This was what Landon did in Portland when he spoke for "free competition".

Of course, there is a difference in the slogans advanced respectively by Coughlin, Hearst and Landon. They don't all talk the same way. These differences must be noted in order to expose them more effectively. But the fundamental fact is this: *they all belong to the same class line-up*—to the camp of extreme capitalist reaction, fascization and fascism, to the camp of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital.

Within this camp not everything is hunky-dory. There is plenty of friction and conflict, economic and political. Not all is perfect harmony between the Landon crowd in the Republican Party and its "Old Guard". Hearst and Coughlin are not always singing the same tune. Nor does Hearst see always eye to eye with Landon (Teachers' Oaths, for example) or with the *Herald Tribune* whom he is accusing of giving aid to Communism. It would be a serious mistake not to seek to utilize this friction and conflict in the camp of the enemy to strengthen the camp of progress and anti-fascism. But this will not be accomplished by reducing everything to the character of the demagoguery of the fascists and reactionaries, as Thomas is proposing. We must look deeper into the class line-up and class relationships and with this as our basis build the independent organization of the working class and its allies—their independent political line and struggles.

* * *

IF YOU want a Labor Party, vote for Landon—this seems to be the latest development of the Socialist Party election policy and tactics.

On September 10, Norman Thomas made a speech in New York City on Labor's Non-Partisan League and the American Labor Party. Here was the occasion for Thomas to straighten himself out, to lay the basis for abandoning the Socialist Party's attitude of rivalry and hostility to the American Labor Party and to the Farmer-Labor Party movement generally. But this did not happen. Instead Thomas launched into an attack which puts him into the position of an enemy of the labor and Farmer-Labor Party movement in this country.

This is no accident. It followed inevitably from the election policy of the Socialist Party. We warned them that this would happen if they did not change. And it happened.

It began with the astounding assertion that it makes no difference to American labor whether Landon or Roosevelt wins in this election. It became rationalized into a position that there is no serious fascist danger in this country. America is not France—was the current slogan. Then in rapid succession we were treated to the Thomas-Landon correspondence which was to prove that Landon is about the same as Roosevelt, but which most workers recognized as giving aid to reaction, to those who are pushing America to fascism.

All the while, socialism was being dragged in the mud to "justify" this strategy of the Socialist Party. Thomas was supposed to be campaigning for socialism by aiding the worst enemies of socialism, by trying to force the people to make the battle in this election campaign on the issue chosen by the Liberty League—capitalism or socialism.

Worse still—and this is something that has not been sufficiently popularized—Thomas has been trying to make the people believe that a vote for Thomas and the Socialist Party in this election will directly decide the issue of capitalism or socialism in America. He has been peddling around as a new dispensation the old discredited reformist trash that you can have socialism by merely voting for a Socialist candidate. Socialism without the socialist revolution.

It was like this:

If you do what the Communist Party is doing—helping to mobilize the masses to defeat reaction and to build the Farmer-Labor Party as the only barrier to fascism, you are an opportunist, you are betraying socialism.

But if you help reaction to elect Landon and combat the labor and Farmer-Labor Party movement, thus attempting to deliver the American masses helplessly to the tender mercies of the Liberty

League, Hearst and fascism, you are carrying on a real Socialist campaign.

And further:

If you help strengthen labor and its allies all around, economically and politically, thus building the power of the working class and preparing it for the struggle for power and socialism, you are an opportunist.

But if you help weaken labor and estrange it from its allies, all the while raising illusions among the masses that by voting for Thomas they will get socialism in 1936, you are doing real work for socialism.

This has been the Thomas campaign. And, it must be admitted, it registered certain "successes". It played directly into the hands of the Trotskyites to further demoralize and disintegrate the Socialist Party. It isolated that party from the most progressive sections of the labor movement. And it did more than that: it actually convinced substantial sections of Socialist Party voters to cast their vote this year for . . . Landon.

The second tabulation of the returns from the *Literary Digest* poll shows that *614 people who voted Socialist in 1932 have cast their votes for Landon in 1936*. This is a trend which is growing, the first tabulation had only 250 Socialist voters switching over to Landon.

Clearly, Thomas is making a successful campaign; and it is not for socialism. Not even for the Socialist Party which is not the same thing.

Apparently fully satisfied with these successes (or maybe Thomas is losing his head), Thomas came to New York and made a slashing attack on the American Labor Party. And in order to drive his attack home, he delivered himself as follows:

"Conceivably a Landon victory might put iron in labor's blood and rally workers to a real Labor Party." (*Socialist Call*, September 12.)

In other words, if you want a real Labor Party, vote for Landon—this seems to be the latest message of the Socialist Party.

Let every Socialist realize clearly where this line of policy is taking him. And contrast this with the policy of the Communist Party as a basis for united action.

Fight to defeat reaction and Landon.

Build the Farmer-Labor Party as the only barrier to reaction and fascism.

Do not lose the broad perspectives of the struggle. Show the masses that this daily struggle against capitalist reaction and fascism

is building their political understanding and organized might for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist rule, for Soviet power and socialism.

* * *

THE COMMUNIST PARTY is now carrying on a membership recruiting drive—the Election Recruiting Drive. And it is no ordinary recruiting of new members. It is part and parcel—and a most essential part—of our Party's struggle against reaction, fascism and war.

This recruiting drive is a political act of first rate importance. Only if we make it so, if each member of the Party, each unit and branch, each Party committee from top to bottom, will carry on the recruiting drive in this sense will it succeed. And only if this recruiting drive succeeds, will our election campaign be truly successful.

Let us take our bearings. Our Party is now engaged in the widest mass campaign of its history. With what objectives? These have been clearly and repeatedly made known, especially following the Ninth Convention of the Party. To help defeat reaction and Landon; to build the Farmer-Labor Party; to make Communists out of the more advanced workers and toilers; to build our Party into the true revolutionary vanguard of the American working class and of the American people. This is what is meant by Browder's slogan: Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism.

We are becoming the revolutionary vanguard of the American people. This imposes obligations and responsibilities.

Chief of these is: Communists must always be in the front ranks of struggle for the daily interests of the masses. Everywhere where the masses need assistance, guidance, encouragement to organize their fight against the offensive of capitalist reaction, against the growth of fascism, on all fronts—economic, political, social, cultural—there must be organized Communists *to be with the masses and to point the way*. To be with the masses in their daily struggles against the enemy and to point the way to the socialist revolution and to communism.

This fundamental of Leninism is confronting us today in a new form. Our Party has broadened out politically to the wide platform of struggle against fascism and war, to the building of the People's Front. That's why our prestige among the masses has grown so substantially. This prestige is revolutionary capital. It is investment in the socialist revolution.

Yet in order to carry out this broad line of the Seventh World Congress and of our Ninth Convention, we naturally had to deploy our forces on a very wide front. And since we have only fifty thousand Communists in the Party and Young Communist League,

this means a *thinning out* of our organized forces at each particular sector of the fighting front. But this inevitable thinning out cannot go on indefinitely without beginning to endanger the fighting front itself.

Consequently, we must have more Communists. We must have them for the task of the struggle against capitalist reaction and fascism. We must have more organized Communists in the shops, unions, farm organizations, among the youth, women and Negroes in order that the *backbone* of the fight of the masses against fascism and reaction be strengthened.

We are too few today to do the job as it should be done. More must come into the Party to help do the work.

And another reason. We must have more Communists in order to point out to the masses daily, in the course of struggle, the road to the socialist revolution and communism. For the higher we can raise the political understanding of the masses, the better will they fight against reaction and fascism today and the sooner will they come to the struggle for socialism tomorrow.

Again we must say: we are as yet too few to be able to bring to all the masses that are moving into the fight against reaction and fascism the revolutionary political understanding.

More Communists—this is the demand of the hour; the demand dictated by the struggle today and by the needs of tomorrow.

More Communists—this is what the masses themselves want. They want their more advanced elements to go into the Communist Party because they already know the value of our Party even though they are not ready to join themselves.

Intensify the Election Recruiting Drive.

* * *

THROUGH Nuremberg Hitler has served notice on the world that German fascism is not going to tolerate the growing People's Front, People's Front governments or even bourgeois democratic governments which do not take dictation from Hitler. He has demonstrated that what he is doing now in Spain is no accident or isolated policy but that it is part of a general policy to help destroy democratic governments and People's Front governments everywhere.

This is the meaning of the Nuremberg Circus.

Of course, this is not the way Hitler raved about it. He tried very hard to hide the true meaning of his intentions by pasting the label "Bolshevist" on the people's movements against fascism in all countries. Everything that is not fascism and is against fascism is Bolshevism. Unfortunately this is not so, not yet. The peoples of the world

see the issue today as fascism or democracy and they are moving into people's fronts to combat fascism. And this is what Hitler fears. This is what he has declared war against.

In Nuremberg, it was as though Hitler had said: If you want peace with fascist Germany, you will set up a fascist regime that will take orders from Hitler. This was addressed especially to France and Czechoslovakia but also to other countries.

Hitler and Hitler allies over Europe—this is the message of Nuremberg.

He tried to hide this by raving about fascism as the savior of the world from Bolshevism. But when he said that he will not tolerate "ruined countries" in the neighborhood of Germany, he gave himself away. For he had made it pretty clear that Spain, France and Czechoslovakia are to him "ruined countries". Every country that does not take dictation from German fascism, that follows a policy of peace, where the masses are rallying into People's Fronts to check and defeat fascism and war, every such country Hitler considers "ruined" and proposes to establish fascist "order" within it. This is what he is trying to do in Spain. This is what his agents have begun doing in France, engineering a mutiny against the Blum government.

Nuremberg demonstrated that this is the policy for Europe.

And another thing that was demonstrated in Nuremberg was the desperate economic situation in Germany. Hunger and starvation among the masses. A precarious financial position forcing the country to inflation. Hitler's answer to the German workers and toilers was: If you want food, let us get the Ukraine, the Urals, let us make war.

Hitler had threatened the frontiers of the Soviet Union many times before. With the boldness of desperation, he has done it in Nuremberg even more brazenly.

It is becoming evident to widest masses that fascism, especially Hitler fascism, is an acute menace to the entire world.

He has also gone a step further in his anti-Semitism. From now on, to him every Jew is a Bolshevik, no matter where that Jew is, and should be treated accordingly.

What is the answer to Nuremberg?

The *New York Herald Tribune* was rather quick in reacting to the Nuremberg Congress. This Landon paper accepts without any hesitation the issue as formulated by Hitler, namely, as "a terrific, all-destructive clash between the two rival forms of authoritarianism in Europe—Communist or Fascist" (editorial, Sept. 14). Having accepted the issue as Hitler wants it, this mouthpiece of reaction proceeds:

"America has nothing to gain but much to fear from the ascend-

ancy of either cult in Europe. If ever shyness of foreign entanglements were this country's wise policy it will be doubly wise in the European situation which Fuehrer Hitler has aggravated at Nuremberg."

It is very helpful to the Landon campaign in America to make the people believe that the issue is between communism and fascism. Why is it helpful to Landon? Because the reactionary and fascist-minded forces that are backing Landon are seeking to make the issue in the United States somewhat similar to the way Hitler raises the issue for the world. Hitler says: communism or fascism; the Landon backers say: communism or Americanism, socialism or capitalism. Hitler as well as his friends in the United States are cheating. The issue here as well as in Europe is fascism or democracy, reaction or progress.

Hitler is trying to rally to German fascism the forces of reaction and fascism all over the world. And they are rallying. Make no mistake about it. Hearst has made no secret about his affiliation in this line-up. He is with Hitler. The *Herald Tribune* is more restrained. Maybe it is not yet ready to go the whole length with Hearst. But by accepting the issue as presented by Hitler, and popularized by Hearst for this country, the *Herald Tribune* is building a bridge to Hitler. If Landon wins, he will find this bridge ready-made to cross at the first convenience of Hearst, Morgan and du Pont.

What, therefore, is the answer of the American people to Nuremberg?

It is the intensive building of a real People's Front against fascism and war. It is the building of the Farmer-Labor Party. Hitler (and the Japanese military-fascist clique) menace the peace of the United States the same as the rest of the world. Secretary Hull, following President Roosevelt, had to admit this menace. And he was speaking right after Hitler's display in Nuremberg. He went to the extent of saying that the American government would welcome pacts among the European powers for the protection of peace and that this government was "eager" to support measures for the preservation of peace. A People's Front in the United States would see to it that these words are translated into deeds—into active collaboration with the peace forces of the world for the maintenance of peace. A People's Front in the United States—the Farmer-Labor Party—would make sure that Hitlerism gets no chance to operate in this country.

The answer to Nuremberg is the widest extension of the struggle for peace and against the fascist aggressors. It is the creation of a real *people's movement for peace*. The situation demands it. The situation is ripe for it.

American delegations of wide representation took part recently in

two important world congresses—the World Peace Congress in Brussels and the World Youth Congress in Geneva. At both of these gatherings the cause of peace and its maintenance by the organized efforts of the peoples were discussed and plans of action adopted. Some of these plans call for the holding of National Peace Congresses by all participating nations with a view to embracing in a concerted peace effort all adherents of peace. This is what this country needs. A movement of the American people for peace that would make the tremendous power of this country count effectively on the scales of world peace and thus keep the peace for the United States.

The organized labor movement can and should play a decisive role in the consolidation of the peace forces in this country.

The Communists must at once spread far and wide the meaning of Nuremberg and the answer to it. They must continue with redoubled energy to mobilize support for the Spanish people and against the fascist mutineers and interventionists in Spain.

All support to the Spanish government against the fascist mutineers and their instigator—Hitler.

For a real people's peace movement in the United States.

A. B.

For a Democratic Spain!

(Manifesto of the Communist Party of Spain)

FOR many days now the soil of our country has been shaken by the thunder of artillery and has been stained with blood, shed on account of a group of faithless reactionary generals who had repeatedly given promises of loyalty to the Republic, and sworn to be faithful to it. These generals took to arms and, having taken possession of the means intended by the state for the protection of the national territory, these traitors proceeded to ally themselves with the most degenerate sections of the ruling class, and the most shameless fascist scoundrels, of the fanatical and criminal traditions of the Inquisition, and set to work to crush the Spanish people. They are guilty of the most frightful crimes that can possibly be imagined, devoid of every semblance of humanity.

The traitors who have revolted realize very well that the people love the Republic and, from the depth of their feelings for the Republic, would have given a fitting answer to anyone who had spoken of destroying it.

Hypocrites and cowards came into the streets, proclaimed a state of war, loudly cheering the while the Republic, which they hate with the whole of their despicable monarchist souls. Thus they forced the soldiers into civil war. They have already shown their monarcho-fascist and reactionary character in Navarre, Burgos and Morocco, in which places they are setting up a fascist government in opposition to the legal government, which resulted from the correctly and honestly carried out elections of February 16 in our country, and which represents the overwhelming majority of the Spanish people.

They thought that the elements of surprise, deceit, and hypocrisy would combine to make their triumph easy, and that, once victorious, they would be able to hoist the black flag of reaction on the mountain tops of Spain.

But the unexpected happened. The people, whom they thought to be powerless, rose up with wonderful élan, capable and strong, with the support of the loyal forces, among whom the sailors of the fleet, the air pilots, and the Storm Guards distinguished themselves especially. They have already inflicted severe defeats on the black reaction, and have made it realize that it is not a simple matter to conquer a nation which is fully aware of its honor and which pre-

fers to shoulder courageously the burdens of war rather than to enter into fascist slavery.

And neither the betrayal of a handful of treacherous generals, nor the desperate endeavors of the degenerate fascist "gentry", nor the frightful crimes of the fanatical priests will be able to break the inflexible will of the *women* who are taking part in the fight with unshakable courage. The rebels may be able to take over a few towns and to hold them for a certain length of time, to destroy a certain portion of the people, and to get assistance from foreign governments who are the accomplices of these traitors; but all this does not make us anxious or throw us into confusion, for if the fascists can boast of the help of the fascist states, we, for our part, can count on the support of the democratic forces of the whole world. Despite all the changing fortunes of war and every difficulty through which our country goes, we always bear in mind that final victory is ours.

Why do they continue the revolt? They know that their cause is lost. This they show in their anxious radio appeals, in their preparations for flight, they show it clearly by evacuating their families abroad. Why then do they continue the revolt? Because they desire to see the best fighters of the people shed their blood in streams, and because they, who continuously have the name of Spain on their lips, represent to the least degree the interests of Spain. They continue the revolt because in their wretched betrayal of the country they are seeking the aid of foreign powers, which they will also get, because they offer the prospect of parts of the betrayed fatherland to those who give them immediate help. They continue the revolt, not only because they are under the influence of an ideology which has made slave nations out of two European nations, but also because they hope to be able to effect a compromise with these two dictatorships. This compromise is to provide a pretext for the two fascist powers to intervene in Spain, to turn our country into a fascist colony whose harbors and islands in the Mediterranean and North Morocco would become bases and provide facilities for provisioning in the world war which is daily drawing nearer, to be bases for the ships of those countries which desire to wage war with the democratic countries, and above all with Socialist Russia.

The fight has assumed the character of a national war. For the first few days this fight could be regarded as a struggle between democracy and fascism, between progress and reaction. Meanwhile, however, this war has changed into a holy war, into a national war, into a war of defense of the people against its betrayers, of a people wounded in its deepest feelings. It sees its fatherland, its homes, villages, the places where its forefathers rest, exposed to danger, trodden underfoot, wiped out, and to be sold to foreign countries.

The independence of Spain is in danger! And as in the glorious days of the Spanish War of Independence, all Spain that thinks and feels, the Spain of labor, of science, the Spain of culture and art, the women, children, men old and young, full of enthusiasm and the desire to express their flaming protest, have taken arms boldly, and have prepared themselves for defense, ready to sell their lives and the soil on which they first saw the light of day, as dearly as possible. They will not allow their country to be given into the clutches of the traitors to the fatherland. We shall follow the example of a nation which, attacked by all the imperialist powers, nevertheless succeeded in defeating them and in driving from its soil those who wished to share out its territory as war booty.

Shame on those miserable wretches who are incapable of fighting fairly, who committed treason out of cowardice, and have flung open the gates of the country to the bloodiest enemies of Spain!

How shall we defeat them finally? The intentions of the enemy become clearer every day: to prolong the fight in order to tire out the energies of the people and to destroy the economy of the country. They wish to leave tracks of blood, misery and terror after their defeat. To these foul intentions our people, which has given incomparable proofs of its heroism, must oppose its organizational capabilities.

Reorganization of the armed forces. The treachery of the fascist generals has clearly demonstrated the corruption and incompetence of an army built up on a basis of feudal despotism, and therefore characterized by the mentality of those in whose interests it operated. The honorable exceptions, who turned aside from these grasping and pretentious generals, this military clique, have, together with the militia created out of the ranks of the people, laid the foundations of a new army of the future, the members of which, conscious of their responsibilities and enthusiastic, go into battle regardless of death, and compel the enemies who far outnumber them, to retreat. It is necessary that this heroic army of the people should receive the discipline it requires. Every operation, every armament, must be in accordance with an organized plan of a war necessity. When we speak of discipline we mean conscious discipline, respectful, democratic discipline for the highest positions as for the lowest, as much for the units as for the command.

The hinterland must be organized. We must realize that we have to carry on a long war. Our comrades at the front can only put up resistance to the extent that matters are being organized in the hinterland, including the organization of supplies for the civil population as well as for the fighters at the front.

The traitors are seeking assistance from abroad, but we must

draw upon our own resources. With energy and with enthusiasm we shall be able to cope with all requirements which war brings with it, and to look after the necessities of life for a people that has no wish to die.

Our women are showing their capabilities and their heroism; the old superstition that the only use for women lies in house-work has been swept away. The women must go into the factories, into the workshops and offices, on to the railways and the tramways. The adaptation of private industries for war production must be completed quickly. All men capable of fighting must go to the front; all women to work. If we observe these basic points our victory will be assured in a short time.

The significance of our fight. The whole nation is ready for war and is aware of the significance of the present fight. It sees all democratic gains, all liberties of the people in danger. In view of the fascist menace, we have arisen to defend the Republic. We are defending our right to life. We wish to spare our country the danger of new military revolts, we wish to live at peace with all peoples of the world. We are defending true democracy. We are fighting so that the workers may receive decent wages, for we do not wish to be haunted by the specter of hunger and thirst. We are fighting for the just dispensation of laws, for equality of political and social rights for women. We are fighting so that the peasants shall receive sufficient land in order to be able to live. We desire prosperity for the whole people, and we know that within our democratic republic this is possible. That is why we are defending also those liberties to which Catalonia, the country of the Basques, Galicia and Morocco, have a right. We respect religious views just as we wish our own views to be respected, but we are fighting ruthlessly the grasping dealers in religion who are making centers for conspiracies and espionage out of the churches and the cloisters, and are turning these buildings into fortresses, which are directed against the people.

People of the Basque country! People of Catalónia! Abandon the treacherous leaders who would make you feel the lash of oppression and the most shameless exploitation on your backs after their victory! The people calls to you and will welcome you with heartfelt embraces.

Peasants! Soldiers! We are fighting in order to emancipate ourselves from feudal slavery, so that the ground of the landlords, who are your masters and at the same time traitors to the fatherland, may pass into your hands so that you may have an assured existence and a peaceful life, and not one of slavery!

Spaniards, on to the fight! Everyone must take the position assigned to him. It is possible to serve the Republic at the front just

as well as in the hinterland. Wives, mothers! The fight which is drenching the soil of our country with blood is the fight for liberty, for the bread of your sons! Let there be no weakness nor cowardice! Forward to victory so that our triumph may open up long years of peace, work and prosperity for our country!

Long live the democratic republic!

Long live the heroic people of Spain!

Long live the government troops!

Long live our brave airmen and our heroic marines!

Long live the People's Militia!

Madrid, August 20, 1936.

The Crisis in the Socialist Party

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

I. THE FAILURE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE REASON WHY

WHEN the Socialist Labor Party split in 1900-1901, and gave birth to the Socialist Party, this was a progressive development. The Socialist Labor Party, although some twenty-three years in the field, had not been able to root itself firmly among the American masses. It remained pretty much an organization of the foreign-born, and its program and activities had little immediate relation to the life of the native workers. The main cause of this was its narrow sectarian policy, especially in the previous ten years under the leadership of Daniel DeLeon.

In 1900, capitalism was undergoing a very rapid expansion. The working class was also growing swiftly and its grievances and struggles were multiplying. There was an urgent need for a better organization of the workers' struggles, economically and politically, in the light of a revolutionary goal for the working class. In this situation, breaking through the hard sectarian shell of the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party came into existence.

Great hopes were placed in the new organization by the bulk of the revolutionary elements of the time. And during the oncoming years these revolutionary forces put forth the most intense efforts to strengthen the party. Many thousands of workers made the building of the Socialist Party their life's work. They struggled and fought for it, and prepared and distributed seas of propaganda. At times it looked as though their efforts would succeed. The Socialist Party gradually grew in membership and influence. It appeared that the American party would be able to take its place side by side with the rapidly growing Socialist parties in other capitalist countries.

But since the formation of the Socialist Party thirty-five years have passed, and what do we see? The Socialist Party, into which so much devoted work was put, is small, stagnant and weak, in fact, actually in decline both in organizational strength and influence. In 1903, the Socialist Party had 15,970 members, and in 1935 it had 19,121 or about the number it started with a generation before, and it is now rapidly losing membership. The Socialist Party's vote in 1932 was 883,342, or less than the 897,011 which it polled in 1912. Twenty-five years ago the Party's trade union influence also

was many times greater than it is at the present time. The Party has long since lost its single representative in Congress. And so it is on all fronts: stagnation and decline. To cap the climax, the Socialist Party is now undergoing a national split which has thrown the party into confusion, is causing it a heavy loss in membership, and is generally creating a critical situation.

Obviously, the Socialist Party, like the Socialist Labor Party before it, has failed. That is the meaning of its present crisis. The Socialist Party has not been the means of winning the American masses ideologically for socialism nor of providing them with the necessary effective political organization. The reality of the failure of the Socialist Party is emphasized by the very existence of the Communist Party. It was only because the Socialist Party did not function as an effective revolutionary organization of the American working class that the Communist Party came into being.

SUCCESS WAS POSSIBLE

It is a pertinent question to ask why this miserable showing of the Socialist Party over so many years? Is this the best that could have been done for socialism in the greatest capitalist country in the world? The workers have the right to a correct answer to this question. No party can claim the right to carry the banner of socialism unless it can effectively defend it. Self-criticism is a cardinal Leninist virtue and the Socialist Party has great need at present to practice it. The lessons to be learned should be helpful in bringing the Socialist Party out of its present serious crisis.

The customary explanation for this inability of the Socialist Party to grow is that it was because of the great objective difficulties in the United States that it had to contend with. There is much merit in this contention; but as we shall see, it does not explain basically the failure of the Socialist Party.

Among the more important factors militating against the development of class consciousness among the workers and the building of a revolutionary party in the United States were (a) the existence of plentiful government free land during several generations; (b) the traditionally higher wage and living standards; (c) the development of a large and conservative labor aristocracy made up principally of American-born workers; (d) the presence of millions of low-paid, disfranchised immigrant workers of various nationalities, languages, religions and traditions; (e) the passage of large numbers of workers into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and many even into the big bourgeoisie during the long period of industrial expansion; (f) the existence of a relatively high degree of the formal democratic rights of free speech, free press, free assembly, to organize and strike, to

be elected to any office, the fiction of legalized social equality, etc., which were won by the toilers many years before in the early stages of the bourgeois revolution and which no longer served as major issues of immediate political struggle (as, for example, they did in Germany, Austria and other European countries).

These many economic, political and social factors undoubtedly tended powerfully to blur class lines, to create bourgeois property illusions among the workers, and to prevent their independent political organization as a class. But they did not stifle the class struggle altogether. Far from it. The American working masses bitterly resented the brutal and ferocious exploitation to which they were subjected, and they resolutely fought against it. This is amply shown by their long history of determined trade union struggles. Prior to the great war no country in the world except tsarist Russia had such a record of violent and fiercely fought strikes as the United States. This native strong class instinct and fighting trade union spirit were the raw material out of which a real revolutionary party could have been built. Not as big a party though as in some revolutionary countries, but certainly a strong, healthy growing organization. But the Socialist Party proved glaringly incapable of educating these discontented masses and raising their struggle from the economic to the political sphere. It is our task to learn the reason why.

WHY THE SOCIALIST PARTY FAILED

When the Socialist Party broke through the crust of Socialist Labor Party sectarianism and took up its work of education and organization it found indeed a very hard problem before it; more difficult in fact than that faced by the Socialist Party in any major capitalist country. The working class, in the grip of a tremendous ruling class propaganda, was thoroughly saturated with capitalist illusions; the trade unions were already in the hands of the deeply reactionary Gompers clique; the great mass of workers were still tied to the two big capitalist parties. Therefore, the most elementary work of enlightenment and organization stood before the Party.

In this difficult situation, in order to grow and to put itself at the head of these backward masses, dominated by ruthless capitalist enemies, the Socialist Party had to boldly tackle the great problems of mass education, organization and struggle confronting it. It had to militantly wrest the leadership of the masses out of the hands of the capitalists and their labor agents. It had to be a fighting party, a party of militant proletarian class struggle.

That is to say, the Socialist Party had to fulfil two major and basic conditions: (1) to give active political leadership to the workers in their everyday fights for immediate and burning economic and

political demands; and (2) systematically to educate its own membership and mass following in the principles of Marxian Socialism. Only in this manner could the Socialist Party come forward as the real vanguard of the workers in the class struggle and at the same time build up a strong body of revolutionary fighters to serve as the very foundation and structure of the Party and all its work.

The validity of the policy of class struggle is demonstrated by the whole history of the American labor movement. No organization can make headway against the powerful American capitalist class without an aggressive, fighting policy. For example, the trade unions have always grown most in their periods of greatest militancy, and stagnated most in their periods of intensest class collaboration. Recent expressions of this truth were the rapid expansion of the trade unions during the great strike wave of 1933-1934, and the paralyzing decay that set in among them during the period of widespread class collaboration in the so-called good times from 1923 to 1929.

Another elementary proof of the effectiveness and correctness of the policy of class struggle is furnished by the growth of the Communist Party in numbers and influence. Although the Communist Party is only half as old as the Socialist Party it has about three times as many members. It is unified and healthy, while the Socialist Party is torn with factionalism. The Communist Party, moreover, has had to face far greater persecution than was ever the case with the Socialist Party, exemplified by the Palmer Red raids in which thousands were arrested, wholesale expulsions from the trade unions and industries by reactionary American Federation of Labor leaders, violent attacks by the capitalist press, government deportations, etc. The growth of the Communist Party in the face of these difficulties is to be ascribed to its brave and tireless class struggle policy.

Still another demonstration of the correctness of the class struggle policy is provided by the history of the Socialist Party itself. The best periods of growth of the Socialist Party were exactly those in which its policies, because of Left-wing pressure, took on more of a class struggle character (thus, 1907-1912), and it was exactly during these periods in which the Socialist Party plunged most deeply into class collaboration (for example, 1923-1932) that the Party was weakest and least effective in the class struggle.

From all this we can put our finger directly upon the cause of the Socialist Party's failure historically. The basic reason for this failure lies precisely in the fact that, except upon rare occasions, the Socialist Party has not carried on a policy of class struggle. On the contrary, its traditional course has been one of opportunism, of reformism, of class collaboration. Throughout its history the Socialist Party has flagrantly violated the two fundamentals necessary for

the building of a revolutionary party in the given American conditions. That is, (1) it has not come forward as the militant leader of the toiling masses in their daily struggles over urgent economic and political issues, but instead, has systematically evaded assuming such leadership; (2) it has not striven to build up a strong body of revolutionary Marxian understanding among the Party membership and mass following, but, on the contrary, has definitely hindered and checked the growth of such revolutionary education.

The reformist, opportunist policy which the Socialist Party has traditionally followed was the natural consequence of the composition of its decisive leading forces. From its inception, the Socialist Party has attracted many elements of the city petty bourgeoisie who were feeling acutely the pressure of the trusts upon the middle class and who had no faith in the two old parties, but who in no sense were Marxian revolutionaries. Hence the Party became infested with a horde of lawyers, doctors, preachers, professors, journalists, small businessmen, with an occasional "millionaire" Socialist thrown in, and they, extra-vocal and very energetic, soon arrived at complete domination over the Party.

These people, the Hillquits, Bergers, Works, Wallings, Spargos, Russels, Myers, Waylards, Simons, Harrimans, Bensons, Stokes, etc., etc., were not revolutionists. They were radicals, the Left wing of the petty bourgeoisie which was being crushed by monopoly capital and which had no party of its own. Over and above mere wordy differences between them, the decisive idea animating them all was to build the Socialist Party into a sort of progressive-populist party. To this end they advocated reformist policies of government and municipal ownership of industry and various minor legislative reforms, with the general program of some day transforming capitalism into socialism through a peaceful process of the workers voting themselves into power and then legally buying out the industries.

The essential conception of the proletariat's role by these middle class elements was to serve as an instrument of the petty bourgeoisie in its fight for self-preservation against the advancing big capitalists. To them the class struggle of the workers was essentially something foreign, something at best that they only had a dilletante interest in and which, at worst, interfered with their vote-catching and class collaboration schemes. Their demands for better wages, hours and conditions for the workers were never backed up with a militant program of mass struggle. Consequently, the middle class, intellectual leaders of the Party throughout its history played down every manifestation of working class fighting spirit. And all the way along through the years they distorted or suppressed the teaching of Marxism to the party members and following and used their own power

to check the development of, and even to drive out of the Party in thousands, the very revolutionary elements without whom the Party could not possibly be built, the Left wing of the Party.

The general result of these long-continued reformist, non-revolutionary policies was to make it impossible to build the Socialist Party into a strong, revolutionary organization. The natural end-product of such a history is the present-day weak and stagnant Socialist Party.

II. A GENERATION OF REFORMISM AND ITS DISASTROUS RESULTS

PART I. THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S FAILURE TO ASSUME MASS LEADERSHIP

Now let us look briefly at the record of the Socialist Party and see concretely how it has violated the two main essentials necessary for the building of a revolutionary party in the specific American conditions, namely, the development of the Party as the actual leader of the masses in the daily struggle and the cultivation of Marxian principles among the party membership and mass following. We will take up the former essential first. Our summary of the Socialist Party's experiences in this connection makes no pretense at being a complete history of the party. All it does is to indicate some of the main opportunist errors of the Party and the lessons to be drawn from them. The period covered extends from the foundation of the party in 1901 down to the Socialist Party convention of 1936. As for the present tendencies of the Socialist Party, I shall discuss them in a later chapter.

A. PASSIVITY IN STRIKES AND OTHER STRUGGLES

When the Socialist Party was formed the trade unions were already in the hands of the Gompers machine. The reactionary trade union leaders did not carry on a campaign to organize the mass of the unorganized, but instead confined their efforts chiefly to the narrow fringe of skilled workers. Many of these leaders were slothful, inefficient, self-seeking, corrupt, and tied up with all kinds of capitalist organizations. They were open defenders of the capitalist system, worked hand in glove with the two capitalist parties and generally acted as a brake upon the development of the workers' class struggle.

In such a situation it was manifestly the task and duty of the Socialist Party to do everything within its power to stimulate and give political leadership to the immediate struggles of the workers,

particularly on the trade union field. This does not mean that the Socialist Party should have undertaken to take the place of the trade unions, but it should have sought thus to invigorate them, to enliven their strikes, to strengthen their organization campaigns and generally to give practical leadership to their struggles as against the reactionary policies of the Gompers machine.

This policy offered one of the high roads to effective mass leadership by the Party. But such a course was alien to the nature and policies of the Socialist Party petty-bourgeois leaders. They neither saw the historic task before the Party nor had the impulse to carry it out. They conceived the Party principally to be a propaganda organization, a movement to further their conceptions of public ownership and moderate legislative reform, as well as to conduct occasional election campaigns.

Since its foundation, the Communist Party has shown how a party should give the lead to the trade unions and unorganized masses. Time and again it has mobilized its organizers and financial resources to support and strengthen trade union and other struggles. Many examples of this might be cited, such as the placing of some twenty paid organizers in the Pittsburgh area during the 1927 coal strike; the maintenance of many organizers during various Labor Party campaigns; the extensive organization crews built up during the big unemployment struggles of 1930-1933, the financing of various united front conferences, etc. But this active and leading organization work was practically unknown to the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Socialist Party. Where any such work was done it was almost always under the direct initiative of the Left wing. It is true that individual unions controlled by Socialists and also minorities of Socialists within various organizations outlined active organization campaigns and strike work, but this was largely spontaneous; the Party as a whole did not follow any such general policy. Its essential attitude was that of a bystander, commentator and educational force, rather than the militant, actual leader of the workers' daily struggle for their burning economic and political demands.

Illustrations of this Socialist Party passivity could be cited, if space permitted, from many important strike struggles, organization campaigns, etc. Let the Socialist Party's attitude during the many great labor defense cases that came up from time to time serve to exemplify its non-militant relation towards the class struggle. In the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone case in 1907, the Left wing of the Party gave active support, but the Right wing, instinctively sensing the militant revolutionist Haywood as an enemy, sabotaged the fight. In the McNamara case of 1911, the Socialist Party leaders,

jointly with the American Federation of Labor, gave a certain support, until these brave fighters, badly advised, pleaded guilty in an effort to save the trade unions and their leaders from persecution. Whereupon the Socialist Party, like the American Federation of Labor, abandoned them completely and has never done a thing to help them since, although McNamara and Schmidt are still in jail after twenty-five years. In the Mooney-Billings and Sacco-Vanzetti cases of later years, it was the Anarchists, Syndicalists, Communists and Farmer-Laborites who took the lead in the fight, with the Socialist Party trailing along in the rear. And in the recent Scottsboro case, it was the Communist Party that leaped quickly to the defense of the condemned nine Negro boys and by its swift action undoubtedly saved them from electrocution, while the Socialist Party only joined the struggle in the later stages, and then lamely and formally.

This traditional passive attitude of the Socialist Party towards the daily class struggle of the workers, the tendency to tail after the masses, to preach at them rather than to stand militantly at their head on every field of battle, cost the Socialist Party much possible mass support and leadership. It is one of the major reasons why the Socialist Party never succeeded in actually being accepted as the fighting party of the proletariat in this country.

B. CONTRADICTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNION POLICY

One of the great mistakes also of the Socialist Party over many years was its opportunist handling of the vital question of industrial unionism. As early as 1903 the more progressive elements among the workers realized that the craft unions, because of specialization and trustification in industry, had become obsolete and that a system of industrial unionism was imperatively necessary. All sections of the revolutionary movement became impregnated with industrial union sentiment. With the issue of industrial unionism was bound up the whole question of the organization of the unorganized, honest leadership, militant policy, etc.

It was the historic task of the Socialist Party to give clear direction and active leadership to the industrial union movement, but it failed dismally in this obligation. It is true that the Party declared unequivocally for the principle of industrial unionism. But it never told the workers clearly how to bring about industrial unionism, nor did it give unified leadership to the movement. The Party was divided, for fifteen years into two sections over this fundamental question. The Right wing worked mildly within the A. F. of L. for the principle of industrial organization through amalgamation, but always ready to make an opportunist maneuver on the question with the Gompers machine. On the other hand, the revolutionary Left wing

of the Party, outraged by the corrupt regime in the A. F. of L., directed its efforts in the main towards the realization of industrial unionism through the incorrect policy of building dual unions, that is, industrial unions independent of the A. F. of L. The outstanding example of such dual industrial unions was the Industrial Workers of the World.

Manifestly, in this situation, it was the definite responsibility of the Party to liquidate by educational means and firm direction this glaring contradiction in policy within its ranks and to concentrate all Party forces for a militant struggle within the trade unions for industrial unionism. But the petty-bourgeois Socialist Party leaders did not want a militant fight for industrial unionism inside the A. F. of L., or outside either. They never wanted to fight the A. F. of L. leaders aggressively on basic issues. They were quite content to have the confused situation drag along as it was. So, over many years, they straddled the question, and the Right wing continued its opportunist line in the A. F. of L., while the Left wing frittered away its strength in dual unionism. The typical opportunist policy on this vital issue was expressed in 1912 when the Socialist Party convention endorsed the principle of industrial unionism but did not state whether this was to be brought to realization through the transformation of the old trade unions, or by the building up of the I. W. W. and similar dual industrial unions.

It was not until after the organization of the Communist Party in 1919, and especially under the influence of the writings of Lenin on the question of work within the old trade unions, that the revolutionary movement in the United States liquidated its traditional dual union tendencies and worked out a militant campaign in the A. F. of L. for industrial unionism, a campaign that eventually took organized shape in the Trade Union Educational League.

The general consequence of the Socialist Party's whole opportunist handling of the industrial union question vastly reduced the effectiveness of the Party's industrial union campaign in general. The work of one wing of the Party was antagonistic to that of the other, and because of this doubly wrong policy the Socialist Party as a whole lost its opportunity to secure real leadership of the masses on this fundamental question.

C. ANTI-LABOR PARTY TENDENCY

Another disastrous error of the Socialist Party in pre-war days was its opposition in principle to the formation of the Labor Party. This was a mistake also shared in by the Left wing, for ultra-Left reasons. It is a well-known fact that in those countries where, because of specific national conditions, the trade unions were organized

before the Socialist Parties took shape, the workers' first steps into independent political action were in the form of organizing labor parties based directly on the trade unions. This was notably the case in Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand. The United States fitted into this category of countries. Here, because of factors already pointed out, the political development of the workers had been delayed; but they had succeeded in building trade unions. The consequence was that when the workers began to feel the necessity for organized class political action their natural tendency was to do as the workers in Great Britain had done by developing a political organization, a Labor Party, directly out of the unions.

But the American Socialist Party leaders never understood this elementary fact. They resisted the natural trend of the workers to form a Labor Party. They tried mechanically to apply to the United States a policy which was adapted to Germany, Austria and old Russia, where the Socialist Party, either growing before or simultaneously with the trade unions, naturally became looked upon by the workers as the party of the working class. Thus, instead of helping the workers to take their first steps in political action through a mass Labor Party, the Socialist Party for many years sought to kill the Labor Party tendency by insisting upon the American workers accepting the Socialist Party as their mass party.

Instead of being its greatest champion as it should, the Socialist Party traditionally looked upon the Labor Party as a rival and fought against it. Harry W. Laidler said: "The formation of these parties [local labor parties—W.Z.F.] in various parts of the country brought a new competitor into the field against the Socialist Party.* Robert Hunter, the S.P.'s early expert on the Labor Party, said the Socialist Party "is a Labor Party and all it needs is the united support of all American organizations".** He believed that to build a Labor Party apart from the Socialist Party would be "about as foolish a thing as to scrap the machinery of the A. F. of L. and to form a new trade union movement"***

It was only in 1921 when the Socialist Party, with but a handful of members and with its anti-Labor Party policy clearly bankrupt, finally had to yield to the inevitable and endorsed in principle the organization of a Labor Party. But it never became reconciled to this perspective. It refused to join with the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Communist Party and other Left organizations in 1923 in a real fight for the Labor Party. It has never made an active campaign for the Labor Party. Even today it is passive upon this whole

* *Socialism in Thought and Action*, p. 465.

** *Labor in Politics*, p. 179.

*** *Ibid.*

question and still has the lingering feeling that the Labor Party is its rival.

The Socialist Party and the working class paid high for this long continued anti-Labor Party tendency. The Socialists' resistance to the naturally and spontaneously growing Labor Party definitely hindered the political development of the working class. It checked the growth of the Labor Party sentiment in the trade unions. It made it easier for the Gompers machine to keep the masses tied to the two old parties. Furthermore, with its wrong policy, the Socialist Party gave up perhaps the best weapon it ever had with which to fight the Gompers machine—the issue of the Labor Party. It was a sacrifice that the opportunist leaders could easily make, however, in their eagerness to be on good terms with the Gompers regime. The general consequence to the Socialist Party was that it failed to give leadership to the workers in the vital question of the development of their mass political consciousness and organization, and the Socialist Party itself as a result paid dearly in loss of potential membership and influence.

D. OPPORTUNIST TRADE UNION NEUTRALITY

Another disastrous reformist tendency that prevailed all through the life of the Socialist Party down to the advent of the present new leadership was the so-called attitude of neutrality towards the trade unions. In substance this policy constituted a failure to put forward the Party policy militantly in the trade unions. It was a refusal to take up the cudgels for the necessary active fight against the corrupt Gompers-Green leadership to win the masses for Socialism. W. J. Ghent, expressing many Party decisions, defended this opportunist policy on the basis that the "Party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and policy".

It is clear that for Socialism to make headway in the working class, especially in the trade union movement, the Socialist Party had to come into head-on collision with the reactionary trade union leadership. It was not a question of dictation to the unions, but of positive assertion of the Party policy. But the doctors, lawyers, preachers, journalists, etc., who led the Socialist Party, wanted no such fight. In many instances in the trade unions, the Left Party elements, notably such men as Duncan McDonald of the Illinois miners, made a militant fight against Gompers. But this was not the usual policy of the Party leadership. Such a struggle as that made later over many years by the Trade Union Educational League or such a determined stand as that now being taken by John L. Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organization against the trade union reactionaries, was quite foreign to the whole conception of the opportunist S.P.,

leaders. They seldom got beyond the stage of shadow-boxing with the reactionaries.

In fact, the S.P. leaders' real tendency was to collaborate and amalgamate with the Gompers regime. If they did not actually consolidate their forces with the Green ruling bureaucracy sooner, it was primarily because of the pressure of the large and militant Left wing in the Party. However, after the big split in 1919 which took the whole Left wing out of the Party, the petty-bourgeois leadership, with no Left militants to restrain them, proceeded to drop all opposition to Gompers and to identify themselves almost completely with the reactionary ruling trade union clique. Says D. J. Saposs, dealing with this period:

"This new political alignment of the Socialists with the administration forces marks the end of their leadership in the opposition in the labor movement. They have abandoned the role of initiators of new issues for the labor movement. They are no longer the center of aggressive opposition."

"In its political activities, the Socialist Party has followed a course similar to that of the Socialist trade unionists. It has ceased attacking the conservative unions and leaders."*

This traditional policy of the Socialist Party leadership to temporize and compromise with the reactionary American Federation of Labor officialdom was disastrous to the development of the Socialist Party as the real leading force in the labor movement. The only way the Socialist Party could have come forward as the vanguard of the working class was by a policy of sustained militant struggle on all fronts against the Gompers regime, and in this it failed dismally.

In summing up the general situation during the pre-war period, it can be safely said that if the Socialist Party had carried on a policy of class struggle, as indicated in the foregoing, it could have defeated the Gompers regime and given the trade union movement a Socialist leadership. In those days the Gompers machine was not so deeply entrenched, trade union democracy was much more prevalent, Red-baiting was not so effective (for the reactionaries then only deemed the revolution pretty much as an abstraction), and a well-directed fight could have upset the old leadership.

Even as it was, with all the wishy-washy opportunist policies of the Socialist Party, passivity in strikes, organization campaigns, Labor defense cases, etc.; its confused industrial union policy; its anti-Labor Party program; its weak fight against Gompers, etc., etc.,—the Socialist forces made distinct headway in the unions. In 1912 they controlled such organizations as the brewery workers, bakery workers, shingle weavers, cap makers, painters, Western Federa-

* *Left Wing Trade Unionism*, p. 39.

tion of Miners, machinists, fur workers, journeymen tailors, ladies garment workers, coal miners, etc. They also controlled many central labor unions and large numbers of local unions, as well as strong minorities in the printers, cigar makers and almost every other labor organization. In the 1912 American Federation of Labor Convention, the Socialist candidate for President, Hayes, polled 5,073 votes against Gompers' 11,974. A determined policy on the part of the Socialist Party leadership would have soon carried the majority of the trade union movement. But such a policy was not applied. And to make matters worse, the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Socialist Party proceeded to smash completely the hopes of the Socialist forces winning the trade union leadership by driving thousands of the best proletarian elements out of the Party during the big Party split of 1912, of which I shall speak further along.

E. OPPORTUNIST WAR POLICY

The world war presented a golden opportunity to the Socialist Party to develop its strength and mass leadership, but it fumbled the whole matter and failed to organize the masses effectively for anti-war struggle. There was undoubtedly a huge sentiment among the broad ranks of the people against America's entry into the war. This was demonstrated, among other things, by the election of Wilson on his anti-intervention program, and also by the total immediate failure of the volunteer system to recruit soldiers for the war. Not only did the situation offer a splendid opportunity for mass anti-war work, but this was also the central revolutionary task of the time.

But the reformist-led Socialist Party proved incapable of rising to the occasion. It did not develop a definite and well-organized mass struggle against the war. True enough, the Left wing, led by Debs and Ruthenberg, did succeed in putting the Party on record against the war and in developing considerable anti-war agitation, even though this was somewhat of a pacifist type and not yet a real Bolshevik anti-war policy aiming at transforming the war into a revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

The Right wing, however, took an equivocal position towards the war. Many of the petty-bourgeois leaders—Russell, Walling, Spargo, Simons, Stokes, Ghent, etc.—split away from the Party on a pro-war program. The rest dilly-dallied with the question and, in effect, sabotaged the Party's anti-war resolution. So that there was no real crystallization of the Party's forces to mobilize the masses against the war, no serious attempt to win the trade unions to an anti-war position, no organization of anti-war strikes, etc.

The general result was that, instead of making the huge gains

that it should have made, the Socialist Party, because of its vacillating, opportunist policy on the war, only made a relatively moderate membership increase in the war years. And this advance was more than offset by a disastrous sharpening of the struggle between the Right and Left wings in the Party over the reformist leadership's opportunist war-time policies, and also by serious losses of position and control in the trade unions. During the war the Socialist Party paid heavily for its long years of wrong trade union policy. Because it had failed to entrench itself in the unions in former times by a militant struggle based on sound principles, the Gompers clique was in firm command at the crucial moment and was able to use its official control with telling effect to swing the trade unions to a pro-war position. Thus they largely isolated the Socialist Party and crippled the whole anti-war struggle. The Socialist Party reformist leaders muffed the war situation almost completely. What should have resulted in a great victory of the Party they eventually turned into a serious defeat.

F. SABOTAGING THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

One of the most harmful sins of the reformist petty-bourgeois leadership of the Socialist Party against the working class and the Socialist Party was its hostile attitude towards the Bolshevik Russian revolution. Perhaps nothing in the whole history of the Socialist Party did more to destroy that Party's internal unity, prevent its growth, and kill its mass influence than the bitter warfare that the professors, preachers, lawyers, and similar non-proletarian elements running the Socialist Party directed for many years against the Soviet government.

The advent of the October Revolution presented an unequalled opportunity for the Socialist Party to educate and organize the masses. Here, at last, was the long-dreamt-of, long planned socialism come into being after a glorious victory over Russian tsarism and capitalism. The revolution taught a thousand vital lessons in proletarian theory, strategy and tactics; the heroism of its fighters was an inspiration to the toiling masses of the world; it gave the first real ray of hope to the oppressed in all countries. What a tremendous opportunity for the Socialist Party to build itself by using this great world-shaking event for the furtherance of the Socialist cause in the United States! And together with this immense propaganda value of the Russian revolution to the Socialist Party there was also the duty-bound revolutionary task upon the shoulders of the Socialist Party to use all its power to organize the masses to defend the newly-formed Soviet government, attacked on all sides as it was by capitalist forces.

During all the years of its existence it has been one of the

strongest factors in the growth of the Communist Party that it has fully understood the revolutionary significance of the Soviet government and thoroughly appreciated the opportunities and revolutionary duties pertaining therewith. But not so the Socialist Party. Its petty-bourgeois leaders were not revolutionists. They did not want to destroy capitalism, but to reform it. The Russian revolution was a thing alien and hostile to them. The overthrow of capitalism in Russia in October, 1917, upset all their plans of gradually transforming society from capitalism to socialism. So, instead of supporting the Soviet government as all true revolutionists must, they viewed it with hatred and spared no words in denouncing it. And all this was in line with the antagonistic position assumed towards the Soviets by the Second International.

Throughout the life of the Russian revolution, the American Socialist press has reeked with anti-Soviet attacks, even though the Socialist Party has grudgingly endorsed the Soviet government because of mass pressure. Hillquit clearly expressed the general attitude of his co-middle class leaders when he declared, in a spirit of thorough hostility:

"The Soviet government has been the greatest disaster and calamity that has ever occurred to the Socialist movement. Let us dissociate ourselves from the Soviet government."*

Every slander against the U.S.S.R. set forth by bourgeois enemies was picked up, repeated and enlarged upon in the Socialist press. The Party leaders accused the Soviet government of "Red imperialism", of starving and oppressing the masses, of betraying the Socialist cause. Norman Thomas, characteristically, added his voice to the deplorable anti-Soviet chorus when he said:

"One thing, however, is certain; the Russian government rules by tyranny and terror, with secret police, espionage and arbitrary executions."**

Gompers, Woll and Green did not outdo the Socialist leaders in vicious anti-Soviet attacks. And as for Hearst, he copied many of his worst slanders from the columns of the Jewish Socialist *Forward*. The Socialist Party heroized the Menshevik counter-revolutionary Abramovich when he came to the United States, and the bourgeois world applauded the shameful spectacle of Hillquit, leader of the Socialist Party, acting as attorney for former Russian capitalist oil interests in the American courts in an effort to force the Soviet government to return their confiscated property.

* *New Leader*, Feb. 4, 1928.

** *As I See It*, p. 93.

Of all the non-revolutionary policies in the history of the Socialist Party petty-bourgeois leaders their anti-Soviet line was the worst and most destructive to the health, growth and mass leadership of the Socialist Party. It was the poison fruit of many years of reformism in all its putrid rottenness. It worked profoundly to undermine the integrity of the Socialist Party, to alienate from it the best fighting elements in the working class and to weaken its mass influence generally. This enmity towards the U.S.S.R. had a powerful effect in driving still deeper the wedge separating the Socialist and Communist Parties. Altogether it was a decisive factor in reducing the Socialist Party to the impotency which it has suffered in the past fifteen years. The anti-Soviet policy of the Socialist Party leaders was an aid and comfort to the capitalist enemies of the revolution, and it showed conclusively that these petty-bourgeois opportunists never could build the Socialist Party into a powerful revolutionary mass party.

G. NECK DEEP IN CLASS COLLABORATION

After the World War the American big capitalists initiated their notorious movement for speeding up the workers. It was the period of the great rationalization of industry. New methods of driving the workers were introduced on all sides and the toilers' productivity swiftly increased. To secure some pretense of consent of the workers to the inhuman speed-up, all sorts of welfare systems, bonus plans, old age pensions, and the like were established. Besides this, illusions were intensively cultivated far and wide among the workers by Carver, Gillette, and many others to the effect that through the new-fangled employee stock-ownership plans they were actually buying control of the industries and were on the highroad to some sort of collective commonwealth. This speed-up movement raged nearly all through the Coolidge prosperity period, from about 1922 to 1929. It spread in the unorganized as well as organized industries. It vastly increased the exploitation of the workers and brought fresh billions into the coffers of the money-drunk capitalists.

The top A. F. of L. leaders, true to their reactionary role, fitted themselves into this whole speed-up program. They declared that strikes and the class struggle were obsolete and that the way of the workers to prosperity now lay through cooperation with the bosses to increase production—of which the workers were somehow to get an increased share. The A. F. of L. leaders adopted the whole speed-up system under the euphonious phrases of the "new wage plan" and the "higher strategy of labor". They hired efficiency engineers for the unions and set up the B. & O. plan and other forms of "union-management cooperation" to apply the bosses' speed-up.

As a result of this monstrous class collaboration policy the A. F. of L. leaders reduced the unions to a semi-company union status, to mere appendages of the employers' production schemes. The workers' hard-won working conditions were ruthlessly sacrificed. In consequence, the unions declined steadily in membership and fighting spirit. For the first time in history they did not grow during a period of economic expansion. The whole trade union movement was afflicted with dry rot.

As befitted revolutionary organizations, the Communist Party and Trade Union Educational League fought uncompromisingly against this whole speed-up development. The Communists raised the question in every trade union. They denounced the B. & O. plan as disastrous to the trade unions and the interests of the workers; they exposed the many illusions that were being built up around employee-stockbuying, labor banking, etc.; they demanded a fighting, class struggle policy. And in making this fight the Communists had to face wholesale expulsion and discharge from industry and organizations all over the country; for the combined employers and reactionary trade union leaders proceeded to extremes to break up all opposition to their class collaboration program. Never in the history of the American labor movement was trade union democracy at such a low ebb. The brave fight it made in these times was one of the best pages of the life of the Communist Party.

How did the Socialist Party meet its revolutionary duty in this critical situation, when the masses needed correct leadership so acutely? As usual, it did not rise to the occasion. On the contrary, the Socialist trade union leaders everywhere identified themselves almost completely with the Green leadership. This was the period cited by Saposs above when the S. P. leaders ceased to be the trade union opposition. They became ardent supporters and theorizers of the "new wage policy" and the "higher strategy of labor". They condemned strikes as entirely out of date. In no industry did the speed-up campaign reach greater height than in the Socialist-controlled needle trades. And nowhere was the expulsion policy so ruthlessly applied against the militant Left-wing elements who were fighting to keep the trade unions from being used as tools to increase the exploitation of the working class.

The Socialist Party made no fight whatever against the infamous B. & O. plan, union management cooperation, the "new wage policy", and all the rest of it. This is not surprising, because the whole Second International had become greatly enthused over the speed-up movement, helped the bosses to introduce it in Europe, and hailed it as the broad way to socialism. Spinning fancy theories about an "organized capitalism", "super-imperialism", and a long period of

peaceful capitalist expansion ahead, they outdid even the hectic American theorists of the rationalization of industry movement.

In 1925, when the Communist Party was fighting against union-management cooperation throughout the trade union movement, Norman Thomas, in his booklet, *What Is Industrial Democracy?*, gave his blessing to the notorious B. & O. speed-up plan in the following words:

“ . . . the railroad management in return for improved standards of shop production is doing its utmost to keep the men supplied with work so that the men gain, not lose, by efficiency. The plan seems to be working well. . . .”

The American Socialist Party naturally suffered severely from its tailing after the bourgeoisie in this situation. It became afflicted with the dry rot that had infected the trade union movement generally, except that the Socialist Party got it worse. The Party sank to the lowest stage in all its career, both ideologically and organizationally. By 1929 it had remaining only about 7,500 members, and its revolutionary spirit had dropped to correspondingly low levels. This was the generally unlovely period of the Party's support to LaFollette's candidacy, the removal of the class struggle clause from the Socialist Party membership application card, the agitation of Norman Thomas to change the name of the Party, etc. In short, the Socialist Party was on the very brink of bankruptcy. The Party was harvesting in full the dead sea fruit of its many long years of opportunist petty-bourgeois leadership.

H. SOCIALIST PARTY INERTIA IN THE CRISIS

When the great economic crash came in 1929 the employers, with the Hoover government their willing tool, proceeded to slash the wages of the employed and to force the millions of unemployed to starve. It is a notorious fact that the A. F. of L. leaders took no real action against this brutal course. On the contrary, they objectively aided the employers by viciously fighting against unemployment insurance and in support of Hoover's stagger system, and by signing the infamous Hoover no-strike-no-wage-cut agreement which enabled the bosses freely to slash wages. And for all this they were duly praised by the capitalist press.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, militantly took up the fight for the employed and unemployed workers. Beginning with the famous March 6, 1930, national demonstration of 1,250,000 unemployed, it carried on during the next three years a most aggressive struggle for and with the unemployed all over the country. It organized hundreds of local and state mass hunger marches and

other demonstrations. It carried out several national conventions and marches on Washington. During these bitter fights the Communist Party and its following faced violent attacks from the police; hundreds were clubbed and jailed and many were killed in the demonstrations. The general effect of this big mass struggle under the Communist Party leadership was to make unemployment insurance and relief real issues in this country and to force many important relief concessions from the employers. It also laid a strong foundation for the Communist Party among the masses.

And what was the Socialist Party doing in these crucial early years of the crisis? Practically nothing to organize the unemployed masses for struggle. It was still paralyzed from its former orgy of class collaboration. While the Communist Party was on the firing line with huge demonstrations and other struggles, we find Norman Thomas and J. P. Morgan jointly supporting over the radio the useless block-aid system. The Socialist Party, it is true, talked a great deal in these years of unemployment relief and insurance, but it did not go out and fight for them. It was only after the Communist Party had long taken the lead in the struggle, and especially after new Left elements began to develop in the Socialist Party, that that Party slowly started to play a role in the struggle of the unemployed.

When the great strike movement began under Roosevelt's regime early in 1933, again the Socialist Party could not rise to the situation and give the awakening masses effective leadership. Manifestly, it was the task of every revolutionary organization to do all possible (as the Communist Party did) to stimulate and lead the employed workers in this the first real blow they had struck against their oppressors for a dozen years. But the Socialist Party was incapable of giving such aggressive leadership. Instead, its leader Norman Thomas, who in 1932 had complained of the "docility of labor" and who was now filled with illusions about Roosevelt's "socialism", actually tried to put a damper on the struggle by telling the workers that "strikes are inadvisable at the present time".* But the workers paid no attention to Thomas' opportunism, no more than they did to the similar advice of William Green; but went militantly ahead with the development of their enormous strike movement. Thus, once more, the Socialist Party, moved by reformist considerations, dilly-dallied with a crucial situation and failed to give the masses the necessary class struggle leadership.

A WORD IN SUMMARY

In this section I have shown that historically the Socialist Party

* *New York Herald Tribune*, August 8, 1933.

has consistently violated the first fundamental of the class struggle policy: namely, the necessity to come forward aggressively as the champion of the masses in their daily fights for urgent economic and political demands. Instead of fulfilling this imperative necessity, the whole history of the Socialist Party is an abdication of such mass leadership. The illustrations cited: the Socialist Party's traditionally passive attitude towards strikes and organization campaigns; its long-continued contradictory industrial union policy; its anti-Labor Party tendency; its opportunist policy of neutrality towards the trade unions; its failure militantly to fight the Gompers-Green bureaucracy; its wavering policy during the war; its hostility to the Soviet government; its failure to fight the deadly union-management cooperation speed-up movement; and its lethargy in the struggles of the unemployed and employed workers during the early years of the present industrial crisis;—all these wrong policies together amply prove the point that the Socialist Party has failed to give a fighting leadership to the toilers in their situations of deepest need. And to these illustrations others could be added as, for example, the Socialist Party's complete neglect of the burning Negro question over many years, etc.

The general result of the Socialist Party's traditional flabby, reformist, class-collaborationist policies, dictated by its opportunist middle class leadership, has been that the Socialist Party could not and did not become a strong, mass revolutionary Party. Its leaders ducked and evaded and compromised every struggle and issue that the workers were basically interested in. By its weak, opportunist course, the Socialist Party was unable to defeat its powerful capitalist enemies and their labor leader henchmen. Hence it could not secure the leadership of the masses and become their accepted revolutionary party. There could be no other outcome of the Socialist Party's long record of opportunist vacillations and abdication of leadership in the class struggle than the Party's present crisis and obvious failure.

NOTE: In the November Issue of THE COMMUNIST Comrade Foster will deal with the social composition of the Right and Left wings of the Socialist Party; the program of the Left wing and its weaknesses; the war against the Left wing by the opportunists, the various Socialist Party splits, the formation of the Communist Party and the present situation in the Socialist Party.—ED.

The Trotsky-Zinoviev Assassins Before the Bar of the Working Class

By P. LANG

THE trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist center was conducted for five days by the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. This center was accused of the gravest crime, namely the murder of Comrade Kirov and the preparation of a number of terrorist acts against the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government. At the open public sessions of the trial the accused were allowed every possibility for defense. They fully utilized the possibilities offered them with the skill of cunning politicians. If they refused the right to invite counsel and call witnesses it was for the simple reason that they knew that it was impossible to deny the facts of their crimes. At the same time every one of the accused in every way strove, both at the preliminary investigation and at the trial, to minimize, at the expense of the others, their role in the crimes they jointly committed. The chiefs of the center in particular tried in every way possible—in the words of the other accused—“to hide behind the backs of the others”.

But, with the existence of indisputable proofs incriminating all the criminals, the whole of this struggle led to the fact that not a single one of the terrorists was in a position to deny his guilt. All of the accused right up to Smirnov himself, who stubbornly not only defended himself but was anxious to conceal the remaining fragments of his terrorist group, were obliged to admit the complete justice of the charges against them.

By the end of the trial not a single one of the terrorists was able to deny the fact that the Trotsky and Zinoviev counter-revolutionary groups, who were active in the territory of the Soviet Union, in 1932, following an instruction sent by Trotsky from abroad, united on the basis of the use of individual terror against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government. Nobody, not even Zinoviev and Kamenev, with all their unsurpassed cynicism in denying established facts, could conceal that on their hands lies the blood of Comrade Kirov. No evasions could shake the truth of the charge against the members of the terrorist group that, simultaneously

with the preparations of the murder of Comrade Kirov, and after this murder, they time and again tried to assassinate Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Zhdanov, Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Kossior and Postishev.

Not all the provocation and hocus-pocus of the fascists and cunning efforts of other defenders of Trotsky will be able to white-wash the absolutely established fact that Trotsky not only demanded of his representatives by every available channel that they speed up terrorist murders but, apart from this, personally, at different times, sent terrorists from abroad to the U.S.S.R. Five of them were in the dock and had, with the direct knowledge of Trotsky, worked directly with the agents of the German secret police in carrying out terrorist acts, or were paid agents of the Gestapo.

A passport of the accused Valentine Olberg, with the name of a citizen of the Honduras Republic which was taken when his house was searched, figured as *corpus delicti*. Olberg could not deny that he received the passport through Tukalevsky, an agent of the German police, living in Prague, in order to travel to the U.S.S.R., paying for it with money which he had received from the Trotskyist organization for this purpose. In the dossier there is a visiting card of the very same Tukalevsky, which he sent to Olberg at a secret address in Stalinbad, with letters written on it in cipher.

Could Olberg with all his adroitness as a spy deny his connections with the Gestapo in the face of such facts? Could Valentine Olberg, after the arrest of his brother Paul Olberg on Soviet territory, the same Paul Olberg who was convicted of being in the service of the German secret police and who admitted it, deny the fact that they both collaborated in carrying out the terrorist acts as instructed by Trotsky?

The accused Nathan Lurye, convicted by the materials against him which were to hand, was compelled to confirm the fact that, in making the preparations for terrorist acts against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. indicated to him by Trotsky, he joined up with the terrorist organization of the German fascist Franz Waiz which was pursuing the same aims. Once having admitted his collaboration with Waiz, who was one of Himmler's trusted men, Nathan Lurye took no further trouble at the investigation to conceal what he had said about this collaboration to Moissei Lurye, who had been his teacher in Trotskyism in Berlin. How did M. Lurye react? He turned to the highest authority, Zinoviev, for a solution of this "debatable" question. What did Zinoviev do? He gave his permission to cooperate with Franz Waiz. Zinoviev did not deny this conversation.

The fact of Zinoviev's cooperation with the Gestapo for the

purpose of carrying out his terrorist plans is so monstrous that the question could arise whether M. Lurye is not denouncing Zinoviev, to mitigate his own guilt? Perhaps Zinoviev renounced the fight against this slander for some personal reason, perhaps because he considered that anyway he would not be believed? In view of the possibility of such a doubt arising, the whole circle of incriminating evidence with regard to Trotsky, Nathan Lurye, Franz Waiz, Moissei Lurye and Zinoviev in all its links was subjected to a thorough check-up both at the preliminary investigation and at the trial, and particularly in its last link, Zinoviev-Franz Waiz. M. Lurye's assertion concerning his talk with Zinoviev with regard to Waiz was investigated critically from all angles.

In the course of the court proceedings the following points became perfectly clear. First of all, both Zinoviev and Lurye give almost the same version of the *subject* of this conversation—both state that the question of whether joint terrorist work with Waiz was permissible was discussed by them and was decided with the help of the reference to “Lassalle considered it possible to use Bismarck in the interests of the revolution”. At the same time, however, they did not simply repeat each other's words. No. They fought against each other. Each one of them, in accordance with his own interests, gave *his* version of the conversation.

Moissei Lurye's version was that the historical parallel with Lassalle was cited by Zinoviev and accepted by him, Lurye, and that as a result of this, Nathan Lurye continued to cooperate with the fascist terrorist organization, making the preparations for the assassination of Comrade Stalin, and, after the departure of Waiz to Germany, also conducted the work of this organization. Zinoviev's version is that Lurye was the one to quote Lassalle and that he, Zinoviev, rejected this parallel; but Nathan Lurye's cooperation with Waiz still continued. This dispute, which took place at the trial between the “teacher” and his “pupil”, leaves no doubt of the fact that the conversation about cooperation with Hitler's agent Waiz actually took place and Zinoviev admitted the fact of this conversation and the subject of it not because he did not care a rap and was ready to take upon himself all manner of false charges. No. He fought against the facts incriminating him, he denied that he had given Lurye his sanction to take part in the terrorist organization of the fascists, he gave his version of the conversation and, with the given evidence, did everything possible to hide behind the back of his pupil Moissei Lurye.

But even if Zinoviev's subterfuges are to be believed, or even if his version, which he was forced to give in order to justify him-

self, were to be accepted, it becomes clear that, first of all, he was aware of the cooperation of his terrorists with Waiz, and secondly, that the joint work of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist center with the agents of Himmler did not stop as a result of this conversation. On the contrary. As has been established by the facts accumulated, this work received its "theoretic" basis and the "sanction from above".

All the material of the trial was fully printed in the Soviet press. There was nothing to stop the representatives of the bourgeois press present at the trial from giving adequately objective reports on the proceedings, if only they had the least respect for truth.

First and foremost the trial showed that the Trotsky-Zinoviev plotters were an isolated gang, having no support in the country of Soviets, no connections with the masses. This gang does not represent any section of Soviet society today. The Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorists were only the relics of the exploiting classes, the rotting refuse of the old regime which is carrying on a vicious struggle against the people, against its will, against its decisions.

The convicted criminals are the fiercest enemies of socialism. Ten years ago they started a struggle against the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, hypocritically whining that the building of socialism would inevitably lead the country to catastrophe and doom. Today, it is victory on all fronts of socialism in the Soviet Union that is continually aggravating their raging fury against the C.P.S.U., their savage hatred of its leadership.

Isolated from the people, the enemies of socialism could not screen themselves behind any political program which they could promise to carry out had they succeeded in getting power.

Anyone who acquaints himself with the reports of the trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist group will be struck by the following fact: among the various documents which came up before the court there was not a single document which usually forms an integral part of any political trial, there was no *political* program, political platform, or political slogans of any kind.

Is this perhaps to be explained by the fact that in the preliminary investigation the activity of the Trotsky-Zinoviev center was not thoroughly enough investigated? Or, perhaps, the investigating authorities intentionally did not attach this document to the dossier? No! The preliminary examination was conducted with the most extraordinary care. The court gave the accused the right to refer to all documents, even to those which were not read out to the court, as well as to all known facts and documents even if they were not in the dossiers. In their speeches, the accused used this possibility.

Why is it then they did not even mention a single political program of their own, or any kind of political views? For the simple reason that the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorists had no political program, that they did not even take the trouble to invent such a program. Why? The accused themselves clearly answered this question.

At the trial, they declared that their terrorist activity needed no program. "We had nothing in our group," stated the accused Reingold. "All we had was a gun". To such an extent have the Trotsky-Zinoviev adventurers lost all semblance to political leaders! In the dock are "has-beens", degenerates, criminals who, carrying on an unprincipled struggle simply for power, had nothing to show the Soviet people but their fascist face distorted with rage.

In the struggle against the Communist Party, against the Soviet power, against the Soviet people, the Trotsky-Zinoviev center passed from one means of criminal counter-revolutionary struggle to ever more criminal forms of struggle. They began with internal Party discussion which had the object of forcing their will on the Party. Then, they unsuccessfully tried to carry their counter-revolutionary agitation into the masses who cast them off. They ended up with gangster terrorism.

Those of the accused who were formerly members of the Communist Party could not but mention at the trial the patience and leniency with which the Bolshevik leadership treated them, how the leadership repeatedly tried to save them from final disgrace. Even Kamenev, when he spoke of the depths to which he had fallen, had to state that the Party many times had warned him, forgiven him, had given him the possibility of atoning for his crimes, believed his statements, promises, and oaths.

But the Trotsky-Zinoviev adventurers made use of the leniency of the Party, and afterwards of the proletarian court not in order to come to their senses and to leave the path of crime. On the contrary, they used ever more cunning means of evading the vigilance of the Soviet government. They fell so low that they became gangsters of the counter-revolutionary underworld, knowing no bounds to their bloody plans. They joined up with the Gestapo.

The question may be asked, why did people who had fallen so low hold on so firmly to the mask of revolutionaries and Marxists?

The court proceedings showed that they needed this mask *not only in order to avoid punishment for crimes committed, but also in order to have the possibility of continuing their crimes in the future.*

Camouflage was the most necessary element in all the terrorist work of the Trotsky-Zinoviev criminals. They knew that once the

mask was torn from their faces they would lose the particular value they had in the eyes of international reaction.

Zinoviev, Kamenev and their associates did not fraudulently make their way into the Bolshevik Party because of any kind of ordinary careerist aims. No! They made their way in because, under cover of a stolen Party card, they calculated on assassinating the leaders of the Party.

A document of exceptional baseness and treachery is the obituary on Comrade Kirov which Zinoviev wrote with his hands stained in the blood of the great son of the Bolshevik Party, whom he murdered, the close comrade in arms of Comrade Stalin, the unforgettable Comrade Kirov. In order to understand the full value of this document not only from the point of view of its depravity, but also from the point of view of its danger, it is necessary to remember that Zinoviev, hiding behind his hypocritical tears over the body of his victim, not only had it in mind to avoid all responsibility for the brutal crime which he had committed, *but also to preserve the possibility of continuing to organize the assassination of Comrade Stalin.*

TROTSKY—THE ORGANIZER OF TERROR

In all the testimonies of the terrorists, who were sent from Germany to the Soviet Union by Trotsky, one point stands out: to everyone who began his conversation with "German Affairs"—and they were all taken from the circles of the Berlin Trotskyites—Trotsky declared that all talk about the German labor movement is at present of no importance, as everything must be solved in Moscow. How? To this question Trotsky, after the probing of his companions, gave the curt answer: murder. To go to Moscow and murder Comrade Stalin. Trotsky's whole so-called "international position" and the scoundrelly plans which he dictates to his groups in the various countries are defined by this basic aim: to prepare and select the maddest adventurers for terrorist assassinations of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government, to help the fascist aggressor in his military attack on the Soviet Union.

But, ask those who do not want to, or have as yet not been able to understand all the monstrous Trotskyite provocation revealed by the trial, is it possible that Trotsky not only politically instigated the murder of the leaders of the Bolshevik Party and Socialist state but also organizationally guided the murders? Why does Trotsky deny his guilt in organizing individual terror, basing himself on the fact that "being a Marxist he cannot consider individual terror an expedient form of struggle"?

Let those who are in doubt compare two facts. Firstly, the

murder of Comrade Kirov by Zinoviev and secondly the obituary on Comrade Kirov written by Zinoviev. No doubt can be cast on these two facts. What do they prove? Zinoviev's "indignation" about the murder of Comrade Kirov is expressed no less eloquently than the "indignation" with which Trotsky writes against the fascists. But this indignation at the murder of Comrade Kirov did not hinder, but rather helped, Zinoviev to murder Comrade Kirov. Exactly in the same way Trotsky's fight with words against fascism does not hinder but helps Trotsky and his agents to cooperate with the Gestapo for the purpose of organizing the assassination of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and Soviet government.

"Only petty-bourgeois Marxists can reject the application of individual terror in the struggle against the Stalinist leadership", was the lesson Trotsky taught his gangsters in private conversation. But with Jesuit evasiveness, he in public writes of the inexpediency of individual terror. Let the philistine reading these articles think that he, Trotsky, condemns the murder of Comrade Kirov. Let the more shrewd advocates of Trotsky think that they, officially, were not aware of the fact that Trotsky advocated the terrorist assassination of Soviet leaders.

At the same time, these articles of Trotsky, which were more than once exposed in the Communist press, even at the time of the preparations for the murder of Comrade Kirov, contained in a clear enough form a call for the physical destruction of the "Stalinist leadership". Recently they have even more openly praised the application of individual terror in the Soviet Union.

To this public incitement to murder Comrade Stalin and his closest comrades-in-arms, Trotsky added frantic underground work—directly organizing these murders, and the demand for speeding them up without shrinking from the most criminal means.

TROTSKY AND THE GESTAPO

But how could the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist center act in alliance with the Gestapo, why do Trotsky and Goebbels so sharply attack each other?—will be said by those who believe what Trotsky and Goebbels write to be the truth. But it is better not to believe the writings of these provocateurs.

We saw from the private conversation of Zinoviev with Moissei Lurye to what word shuffling the "theoreticians" of the Trotsky-Zinoviev center resorted in order to give a "basis" to their collaboration with the Gestapo. "The enemy of my enemy is my friend", such was the theoretical formula, in the words of the accused themselves, that was used by the heads for the purpose of setting at ease

any doubts the terrorist gunmen entertained in connection with joint work with the Gestapo. The gunmen themselves were not very much in need of "theoretical" justification. Coached by such scoundrels as Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev they were quite ready to merge with the fascist terrorists.

"I came to the conclusion," stated the accused Nathan Lurye, "that if the Trotskyists had gone over to methods of armed fight, then this had its logic, that is, if a fascist offered his services for terrorism, these services had to be made use of. I continued the connection with Franz Waiz and worked under his practical guidance."

The proposal of Trotsky's son Sedov to make connections with the Gestapo, to get a false passport, could not arouse any doubts in Valentine Olberg, for the simple reason that, according to his evidence at the trial, he knew that the connections of the German Trotskyists with the German secret police was a system which had been introduced with the knowledge of Trotsky.

At the trial Olberg defined this connection between the German Trotskyists and German fascist police, established in 1933, as an "agreement". Olberg, who was absent from Berlin for a time, found out about this from his benefactor Tukalevsky who advised him to go to the Soviet Union through Berlin, in order to meet there somebody by the name of Slomovitz, who was the connecting link between these two honorable organizations. Olberg took this advice.

"In Berlin", states Olberg, "I visited Slomovitz who told me the following: during my absence, few Trotskyist cadres had remained and now the dilemma was for the Trotskyists either to disband or to come to an agreement with the German fascists. *The basis for the agreement was the question of the preparation and carrying out of terrorism against the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and of the Soviet government. Trotsky sanctioned the agreement between the Berlin Trotskyists and the Gestapo, and the Trotskyists were really unmolested.*"

Was there any one at the trial who, at the end of the court proceedings, had made up his mind to deny, or at least to cast doubt on the proved fact of cooperation between the Trotskyist terrorists with the Hitler terrorists? No, there was not one.

"I ask myself," said Kamenev in his last words, "is it an accident that along with me, Zinoviev, Yevdokimov, Bakayev, Mrachkovsky there sit the emissaries of foreign secret police, people with false passports, with doubtful biographies and with undoubted connections with the Gestapo? No! It is not an accident. We sit here together with the agents of foreign secret police because our weapons were one and the same, because our hands had intertwined earlier than our fates were intertwined here, in this dock."

But perhaps Kamenev took responsibility for the most shameful

crime that can be imagined, although he was not guilty of it, hoping in this way that the punishment awaiting him would be mitigated. No! Such base suggestions which the defenders of the murder try to circulate cannot deceive a single honest person. When Kamenev pronounced these words he already understood that the only answer to continuous gangsterism could only be to be shot. He himself had to say:

"I am now before the proletarian court for the third time, accused of terrorist intentions, plots and acts. Twice my life was spared me. But there is a limit to everything, there is a limit even to the magnanimity of the proletariat, *and we have exhausted it.*"

Not only at the time when Zinoviev and Kamenev reckoned on keeping the stolen Party card but also in 1935 they were both deadly afraid that their cooperation with Trotsky would come out. When the murder of Comrade Kirov was being investigated in January, 1935, both Zinoviev and Kamenev, even while admitting their guilt of the grave crime of political and moral responsibility for the murder of Kirov, continued to deny two facts, which they considered particularly dangerous—firstly, their direct participation in the brutal murder of Comrade Kirov, and, secondly, their connections with Trotsky. It is not difficult to understand why they denied that they were the murderers of Comrade Kirov: they knew that the Soviet court and the Soviet people could only shoot them for such a crime. But why were they so afraid to reveal the existence of the Trotsky-Zinoviev center and connections with Trotsky? Because they knew that the discovery of this connection would completely expose them. Connections with Trotsky meant connections with the Gestapo, *i.e.*, with the secret police of German fascism, the fiercest enemy of the working class, the savage torturers of the Communists, Socialists and non-party workers. Connections with Trotsky are connections with the fascist aggressor for a military attack on the Soviet Union.

As a band of murderers, as the bitterest enemies of socialism, the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist center could not but gamble on the defeat of the Soviet Union in a war with the imperialists. As far back as 1931 Zinoviev and Kamenev instructed their associates as follows: "We are for defeat, which will overthrow the present leadership, even at the price of a piece of Soviet soil, even at the price of a piece of the Far East." This is the same policy of selling land to the imperialists, which General Franco is at present trying to carry out, promising to pay Germany and Italy for their military intervention against the Spanish people with "pieces" of Spain.

But the difference between Franco and Zinoviev is very fundamental. Franco could make use of the fact that the young demo-

cratic republic of Spain had not in good time cleansed the state apparatus of fascist and monarchist plotters. But Zinoviev was drawn into the fight against the great socialist state of workers and peasants, the impregnable bulwark of the liberty of the peoples, against the Soviet power. Zinoviev's gamble on the defeat of the U.S.S.R. therefore pre-supposed the direct connection of the Trotsky-Zinoviev center with international reaction, and first and foremost, with fascism. This connection was embodied and is embodied in the person of Trotsky.

TROTSKY AND CITRINE

The sentence in the trial of the sixteen counter-revolutionary gangsters who, in the name of their shameful, self-seeking aims, have taken to the most disgraceful crimes, and who have shown themselves as dangerous and as incorrigible as mad dogs, could not be other than shooting. This sentence was dictated by the whole enormity of the crimes committed. The whole of the Soviet people burning with anger and fury against the murderers, the Soviet people, each one of whose sons was ready, at any moment, to protect Comrade Stalin from Trotsky's fascist bullets with his own body, the Soviet people demanded this sentence. Former members of the Trotsky opposition, Comrades Pyatakov, Radek, Rakovsky and Preobrazhensky have published articles in which they declared that "To the highest degree of treachery and depravity can be accorded only the highest degree of punishment." Finally, the accused themselves, in their last words, agreed that the demand of the prosecutor that the highest sentence be passed on them was a just, inevitable and lawful demand.

The sentence of the Supreme Court has called forth a feeling of relief and satisfaction throughout the U.S.S.R. The working people of the whole world, and all honest men who are interested in barring to fascist agents the road to the Soviet Union, and in cleansing the wonderful Land of Socialism from all remnants of Trotsky-Zinoviev rotteness welcome the sentence.

But the condemned gangsters have found defenders. Who are the defenders? First and foremost the fascists themselves.

The help which the Trotsky-Zinoviev gang are getting from fascism is of two kinds. First, and this the trial has clearly shown to the whole world, the Trotsky-Zinoviev band of terrorists rely on the material forces of fascism. If Trotskyism had not the forces of international reaction behind it, its pernicious work would not be a danger to the working class movement.

Secondly, the fascists are giving real assistance to the Trotskyists by helping them to disguise themselves and to appear as revolu-

tionaries. The fascists know the value of Trotsky's lies and his pretended hostility to fascism, and they pay him in the same coin. They present the Trotskyists, their agents and collaborators, as their uncompromising enemies.

Before the beginning of the trial, when they saw they had been found out, the fascists hastened to speak of the "persecution" of Trotsky.

The fascists of Norway, where Trotsky has now set up his fascist headquarters, have taken even more demonstrative action: a few days before the beginning of the trial a group of young fascists played the comedy of an arbitrary search of the "revolutionary" Trotsky's house.

In view of this house searching, *Der Angriff* and the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, which have nourished the German Trotskyists, have raised the cry that the revolutionary work of Trotsky threatens the peace of fascism.

After the trial Goebbels and Rosenberg did not withdraw their support from Trotsky. The *Voelkischer Beobachter* prints Trotsky's picture and underneath it in black type a biography in which Trotsky is shown as a "permanent revolutionary" who, from youth up, has devoted himself to the "service of the revolution".

But now that Trotsky is exposed before the whole world as the direct ally of the Gestapo, that, in the public sessions of the court, people have appeared who are at the same time agents of Trotsky and of Himmler, and that the names of others of the same kidney were mentioned, the disgraceful Trotskyist *Bulletin* and Goebbels' *Angriff* can no longer keep up the comedy of mutual attack and their game of provocation.

But the murderers of Comrade Kirov and the organizers of an attempt on the life of Comrade Stalin and other leaders of the Land of Soviets have found other defenders.

The official representatives of the Socialist International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions, De Brouckere, Adler, Citrine and Schevenels did not ask their organizations to come out against these foul terrorists; they tried to present them as "guiltless victims" of the injustice of the proletarian courts. Citrine and company are trying to save the agents of the Gestapo from the just, lawful and inevitable demand of proletarian justice with the hypocritical, consciously dishonest objection that the trial of the counter-revolutionary terrorists in the Soviet Union is a danger to proletarian solidarity with the Spanish people. Comrade Dimitroff tears the mask from the face of these hypocritical, reactionary leaders of reformism.

"The employment of the courts against the terrorists and agents

of fascism," writes Comrade Dimitroff, "is an integral part of the anti-fascist struggle of the international working class. True solidarity with the Spanish people is not compatible with the taking into protection of the agents of fascism in other countries. One cannot sincerely support the Spanish people, who are fighting against fascism and at the same time play the part of protector of the terrorist rabble in the Soviet Union which is helping fascism. Whoever supports counter-revolutionary terrorists directly or indirectly in the Soviet Union is in principle serving the ends of Spanish fascism, he is rendering difficult the fight of the Spanish people and facilitating its defeat."

The day after the publication of these words in *Pravda*, Citrine gave a clear proof of the fact that he is not interested in helping the Spanish people in their fight with the rebels, who are supported by international reaction as a whole, and in the first place by Hitler, but that he is interested in helping the counter-revolutionary gang, who commit the foulest crimes and who are defended by the whole of international reaction headed by the Gestapo.

At the meeting of the National Joint Council of Labor, Citrine spoke against the proposal that the Council, in the name of the trade unions, Labor Party, and Cooperative Union should approach the British government in order to make it assist the legal Spanish government based on the will of the whole people, in the fight against the monarchist rebellion. Citrine succeeded in making the National Joint Council adopt, by a majority vote, the standpoint of "neutrality", the standpoint of the Baldwin government which hides the policy of the military intervention of Germany and Italy in Spanish affairs in the course of the civil war.

Sir Walter Citrine has special reasons for hastening to the aid of those convicted of criminal Trotsky-Zinoviev work. As is well known, he belongs to the most reactionary sections of the reformist leadership who, in the days of the murder of Comrade Kirov, tried by all possible means to conceal from the workers of the capitalist countries the Trotsky-Zinoviev organizers of this crime. These reactionary leaders of reformism spread filthy rumors about the causes of the murder. Even after the exposure of those guilty of the murder they took Nikolayev and the other gangsters under their protection.

When, at the beginning of 1935, Zinoviev and Kamenev stood their trial for the murder of Comrade Kirov, Citrine and his press repeated the Trotskyist reference to the alleged "Marxist opinions" of Zinoviev and Kamenev, in order to prove that they could have had no connections with Nikolayev's crime. What then can Sir Walter Citrine say now that the whole world knows that Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev were the chief organizers of the murder of Comrade Kirov? He can only either honestly admit that he, in fact,

perhaps without meaning to, covered up the murder of Comrade Kirov or he must continue on the path of covering up these criminals. Sir Walter Citrine has chosen the latter.

He has voluntarily placed himself in the dock along with Zinoviev, Kamenev, Olberg and Trotsky, before the tribunal of the English and the entire international proletariat.

No "guarantee" of impunity on which Citrine is counting as permanent Secretary of the General Council of Trade Unions can free him from this tribunal, since he is playing the disgraceful role of a political accessory to convicted criminals.

DE BROUCKERE'S ARGUMENTS

The action of the four reactionary reformist leaders in undermining the solidarity of the international proletariat with the proletariat of the Soviet Union is a blow to the movement for unity of the working class. It is, therefore, understandable that Sir Walter Citrine, who is the open and bitter enemy of the unity of the working class, participated in it. But how can De Brouckere justify his participation in this step, seeing that he states that he is anxious for "the ever greater unification of those who defend democracy" against the attacks of fascism? How can he justify his step, which is clearly directed against the united front of the working people?

In a special article (*Peuple* of August 22, 1936), the President of the Labor and Socialist International gives his reasons for his step. The author states that he was guided not by political but by moral motives, thereby showing a peculiar form of color-blindness. In the title of his article, he demonstratively calls the trial of common murderers a "Political Trial" but his telegram to the Council of People's Commissars which has a political aim, coinciding with the interests of world reaction, he represents as a moral act.

On what does De Brouckere base his attempt to oppose his private opinions and desires to the judgment of the public court of the great proletarian country, to the will of one hundred seventy million Soviet people who have given the whole world an example of how to build up a free and happy socialist life?

The first argument of De Brouckere. The reference to the trial of the Bureau of the Menshevik Union (Groman, Suhanov, etc.) of 1931. At that time, writes De Brouckere, Soviet justice did not satisfy the wishes expressed by him and his confreres; he foresees that this time, too, it will not satisfy them.

But the President of the Second International was so careless as to fall into Trotsky's trap and take the path of historical recollections which strongly compromise De Brouckere himself.

It is understandable that Trotsky just now is recalling the Menshevik trial. But why does De Brouckere need to?

In the August number of his shameful *Bulletin*, Trotsky solemnly declares:

“The editors must agree that at the time of the Menshevik Trial, they greatly underestimated the degree of shamelessness of Stalinist justice and so took too seriously the *confessions of the former Mensheviks*.”

It is not by chance or by accident that Trotsky does such reverence to the Mensheviks. He knows that his terrorist band had been smoked. He foresees that they will be convicted for their crimes and breaks with them in advance, and deprecates the statements to the court of members of the gang. At the same time, Trotsky makes a proposal to the leaders of Social-Democracy in the following sense:

“I withdraw what I wrote in 1931 when your people were convicted of a counter-revolutionary struggle against the Soviet power; but you must now defend me.”

The President of the Second International openly accepts this proposal and, by reference to the Menshevik trial, he now actually comes forward on Trotsky's behalf. Mutual amnesty for crimes against the power of the Soviets.

This is the political meaning of De Brouckere's first argument.

Recollections of the trial of 1931, however, should take from the leaders of Social-Democracy any desire to press their standpoint on the Soviet courts. What was the position at that time?

Before the beginning of the trial of the Menshevik Union Bureau, the Executive Committee of the Second International sent a ruffled telegram to the Council of People's Commissars, stating that they considered it impossible that people of such unstained political standing as the accused could have committed the alleged crimes. But when the trial began, the Social-Democratic leaders, who had signed the telegram, had the doubtful satisfaction of becoming convinced that all the accused were so deeply incriminated that they admitted their guilt before the court.

The Menshevik emigrants, who had nothing more to lose, limited themselves to calling the oldest members of the Menshevik Party—with “unstained political standing”—“liars, calumniators and provocators”. But the leaders of the Second International were in a painful position: with their predictions and “guarantees” they came to grief in the eyes of their own adherents.

In connection with the Menshevik trial, the Second International turned to the Soviet workers with an appeal in which they tried to

frighten them with the inevitability of a catastrophe, of peasant uprisings, etc., if they did not give up the policy of industrialization and collectivization. The authors of this appeal, by unprincipled calumnies, tried to destroy the confidence of the working class of the Soviet Union in its Communist advance guard and its leadership. They naturally came to grief. The leaders of the Second International took miscreants under their wing and called on the Soviet workers to rely on the Mensheviks. Naturally the working people of the Soviet Union laughed at this advice.

But let one or another of the leaders of the Second International print in its own press this appeal to the Soviet workers with regard to the Menshevik trial! They should try it! Let them dare to make themselves ridiculous before their own readers, before the Social-Democratic workers, who, though still under the influence of their leaders, do know that the Soviet country has prospered just because it has followed and is following unitedly, unswervingly and devotedly the path of Stalin.

The second argument of De Brouckere. The reference to the trial of the Central Committee of the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries who were sentenced for organizing the murder of Comrades Uritsky and Volodarsky and for the attempt on the life of Comrade Lenin. At that time, said De Brouckere, representatives of the Second International were permitted to defend. He would like to repeat this experiment now. But this historical comparison defeats De Brouckere and his comrades for the following reason:

Even before the beginning of the Socialist-Revolutionaries' trial, Lenin gave warning that Bukharin and Radek had committed a great mistake when they thoughtlessly voted for allowing representatives of the Second International to come as defenders. Only by swindling could the representatives of the Second and Two-and-a-Half International wring this promise from Bukharin and Radek at the Berlin Conference of the three internationals on the establishment of the united front. When the trial began it immediately became clear that Comrade Lenin's warning had been correct; when Vandervelde, Rosenfeld, and Theodore Liebknecht took their places as official defense counsel they did not set themselves the task of helping to find out the truth about the activity of their clients but did everything possible to obscure the truth. For this purpose, they tried with their invective and political demonstrations to discredit the court and disorganize its work. They tried to influence some of the accused who had carried out terrorist acts, admitted their crimes and convicted the Central Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionaries of having given terrorist instructions.

This attitude of the representatives of the Second International in the court called forth the natural indignation of all sections of the working people throughout the Soviet Union; and when Vandervelde, Liebknecht and Rosenfeld were convinced that they would not succeed and that the defense devised by them would not be allowed by a proletarian court, it then occurred to them to leave the court.

The "case of precedence" of 1922 does not speak in favor of but against the intervention of the representatives of the Second International in Soviet justice.

Thirdly, De Brouckere, in the comparison between the Socialist-Revolutionaries' trial of 1922 and the trial of the Trotsky-Zinoviev center of 1936 conceals one very essential condition from his readers. Low as the leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionaries had fallen—who tried to take shelter behind the backs of the terrorists whom they had sent to do murder—the Central Committee bore themselves in the dock as a definite political group. In 1936, in the trial against the Trotsky-Zinoviev center, there sat in the dock common murderers who possessed nothing but bitter, impotent hatred of the Land of Socialism and its leadership, who were united by only one aim: to get personal power through no matter what crime, who had so far degenerated that even simple personal confidence in one another was lacking. . . . It was just for this reason that Zinoviev appeared before the court, as he himself said, with a Gestapo agent, Olberg, on his right and another such agent, Nathan Lurye, on the left. How is it that De Brouckere has not seen the kernel of the activity of the Trotsky-Zinoviev gang of terrorists—their entanglement with the Gestapo?

The Third Argument of De Brouckere. He considers it, he says, as unlikely that "Trotsky could prepare assassination from his distant exile . . . that Kamenev and Zinoviev, under strong guards, and anxious not to worsen their position, would have been so naive as to prepare crimes whose achievement is practically impossible". Whether De Brouckere believes in the innocence of the terrorist chiefs or not is his affair. But one thing is sure, that no worker believes in De Brouckere's own innocence. Even in a capitalist country, only a shady lawyer would defend convicted criminals; a lawyer who, in the interests of his client, does not shrink from cynically and insolently distorting well-known facts. "Could Trotsky prepare assassination from his distant exile?" But it is proved by facts that he did it. "Could Kamenev and Zinoviev murder Comrade Kirov?" But they did murder him, the best son of the Soviet people, a devoted fighter in the cause of the working class.

The murder leaves De Brouckere and his friends unmoved.

They make a fine show with their light-minded unconcern of the life and security of the best men of our time. That is De Brouckere's and his comrades' own lookout. But they should not give the Soviet people and the international proletariat lessons on how to protect the cause of socialism from fascist murderers! Don't let them shield these murderers!

The trial has shown the friends as well as the foes of the Soviet Union that there is no place on Soviet soil for cowardly terrorists and fascist mercenaries.

It has shown the international proletariat that the renegades, the double-crossers, the miscreants in the ranks of the working class, who, like Trotsky, play with radical phrases, are carrying on fascism's dirty work.

"To be able to display class vigilance at every step, to be able to distinguish real friends from concealed enemies, to know how to expose double-dealers and agents of the class enemy and to remove ruthlessly and in good time from the ranks of the proletarian organizations,—this is one of the most important lessons of the trial for the workers' movement in all countries." (Dimitroff.)

Reaction Bids for Farm Support

By HENRY DAWSON

THE farm program which is being put forward by the reactionary forces in America today is a program which reduces a big section of the farm population down to a peasant level. Most of the farm families of the nation are on this downward course, producing a smaller and smaller crop for sale in commercial channels, and approaching a subsistence level on which the family produces much of its own needs on its own farm and gets along by selling very little and buying very little.

Capitalist America faces what is considered a surplus of farmers. Tugwell's remarks that two million out of our six million farm families are not needed to supply the nation's food requirements are based on accurate statistics. The present reduced buying power of the population can be easily supplied by half our present farm population.

Capitalism has only one answer to this problem—peasantry. The word "peasantry" has a bad sound, so the country agents call it "the live-at-home program", or "subsistence homesteads" or "diversified farming". The surplus workers get the dole, the surplus farmers are being eased into a quiet, harmless, subsistence existence.

THE DEPTH OF THE FARM CRISIS

To indicate how farmers are shifting from commercial production to peasantry, we will point to some of the vital factors:

First and most revealing is the condition of farm income. The following table of index numbers shows the sharp fall in farm income in 1929 and the very limited degree of recovery which was made in the past two years:

INDEX NUMBERS OF GROSS INCOME FROM FARM PRODUCTION, AND RATIO OF GROSS INCOME TO PRICES PAID BY FARMERS

(Division of Statistical and Historical Research, U.S. Dept. of Agr.)

Year	Gross Income (1910-1914 equals 100)	Ratio of Gross Income to Prices Paid (1910-14 equals 100)
1920	201	100
1925	177	113
1929	177	116

1930	140	97
1931	103	83
1932	79	74
1933	95	87
1934	108	88
1935	120	96

The inadequacy of farm income at all times is shown up very clearly when we take notice of the actual cash income in the average farm home in the nation. In 1930 the average net cash income for the average farm operator throughout the nation, above operating expenses, was \$26.50 per month. In 1934 it was only \$18.42 per month. In 1930, the states with highest average income per operator per month were California \$90, and New Jersey \$81. The lowest were Arkansas \$7, Mississippi \$8, Alabama \$9 and Tennessee \$9. (Figures were prepared by the Division of Agriculture, Bureau of the Census, from basic figures furnished by Congressman Peterson of Georgia.)

It should be noted that the above monthly income is all the farmer has to pay his debts other than current operating expenses, and in addition support and clothe his family, provide household necessities, pay doctors' and medicine bills, educate his children, pay social obligations, furnish and maintain automobiles, radios and sewing machines, and meet all other obligations of the normal family.

Obviously it can't be done. When the farmer spends more than this meager amount, the result is an unpaid mortgage. He is on the road to bankruptcy. The Farmers' Union slogan of "cost of production" is no idle phrase—it reflects the farmers' intense desire for higher prices so he can escape sinking deeper in debt with each passing year.

A second indication of the depth of the farm crisis is the activity of the Federal Land Banks in foreclosing on their loans:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Foreclosures completed during year</i>	<i>Amount of Foreclosures completed during year</i>
1929	3,350	\$11,629,000
1930	4,645	16,866,000
1931	7,386	27,169,000
1932	10,039	40,420,000
1933	6,616	25,801,000
1934	4,780	15,244,000
1935	11,452	36,210,000

(Farm Credit Administration, Division of Finance and Research)

We see that the high level of foreclosures in 1932, which was also a year of farm revolt, has been surpassed by 1935 in the number of farms foreclosed on. More Federal Land Bank loans are

foreclosed on each year than are paid. On January 1, 1935, over one-third of the outstanding loans were delinquent.

A third indication of the crisis is the steady rise of tenantry:

PERCENTAGE OF ALL FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES, BY TENURE AND BY MORTGAGE STATUS

(U. S. Census of Agriculture)

Year	Owners free of mortgage debt	Mortgaged owners	Tenants	All others
1890	48.8	19.2	28.4	3.6
1900	42.2	19.0	35.3	3.5
1910	40.7	20.6	37.0	1.7
1920	32.2	22.7	38.1	7.0
1930	29.4	23.8	42.4	4.4

Translated into farm families, the above table means that today about three million farm families are tenants, almost two million more families have their farm homes heavily mortgaged, and less than two million are owners free of reported debt.

Ruined by so profound and prolonged a crisis, the farmers are demanding basic changes which will save them from bankruptcy. They want higher prices for their products, and support the Farmers Union slogan "cost of production". They want relief from the impossible load of debts. They want security from foreclosures and evictions by legal moratoriums or mass protests as popularized by the Farmers Holiday Association.

This growing demand for reforms which will mean definite improvement in living standards placed the Republican and Democratic parties in a most difficult situation. They can only meet the farmers' demands by sacrificing the interests of a section of the bourgeoisie; on the other hand they are faced with a growing farm revolt against the needless distress which the farmers are enduring. The old parties are trying to avoid the issue as long as possible, confuse farmers with much talk about the "long range" purposes of the Soil Conservation Act, and meanwhile try to lure one farmer after another to accept a program of reduced production. That the farmers are pretty well aware of what's going on is indicated by their lack of enthusiasm for the Republican and Democratic parties, even though the Democratic administration has been responsible for a large amount of relief and benefit payments.

In contrast to this, the Union Party pretends to put forward a program of basic reforms. The old appeal which a score of different farm organizations have used throughout our history has been dusted off and put up for exhibition: the currency issue. Boiled down, the proposals of Lemke and Coughlin amount to relief from farm debts

by inflation with a curbing of certain abuses such as tax exempt securities. But the very fact that the Union Party is creating the impression of grappling with some kind of a basic issue which will affect the price of farm products and debt load is the reason why it is gaining some farm support from the huge ranks of those who are disillusioned with the two old parties.

REPUBLICAN REACTION

The crudest version of the Republican farm program, without any sugar-coating or demagogic generalities, has been put forward by the Farmers Independence Council, which is financed by the Liberty League. Stanley Morse, Executive Vice-President of the Independence Council, stated over the radio in January, 1936:

"I urge all sensible, independent farmers immediately to wire or write their congressmen telling them not to vote for any farm program at this session of Congress. . . . I suppose you are wondering what we have for a farm program. . . . Well, we don't know of any panaceas that will work or of any short cuts that will save our farmers from having to continue hard work, self-denial and thrift. Like many of you I was raised in the old American school characterized by the New England adage which some of you may remember: 'Eat it up, wear it out, make it do, do without.'"

In another speech, he stated:

"Labor, earning five to fifteen times more per hour than the farmers, constantly raises the cost of manufactured articles, transportation and distribution to farmers—labor unduly increases the production costs of farm products and thus constitutes what is probably the principal obstacle to recovery."

But even in more skillful campaign leaflets, the Republican National Committee allows its reactionary purposes to show up. For example, their official leaflet says:

"Until a balanced production can be brought about through the retirement of unprofitable land, and better handling of good land, the Republicans propose that the farmer shall receive benefits on land devoted to soil conserving practices. They will not attempt to outbid the New Deal in paying the farmer to throw away the crops he needs for feed, . . . but they would help him with his taxes and interest, conceivably through the remission of taxes by his local government and some grant by the federal government to cover his interest."

The Republicans would continue the benefit payment plan, until prosperity returns, but they would place restrictions on the purposes for which farmers might use their benefit payments. At present farmers are using their benefit payments for meeting some of the

needs of their families. Under the Republican plan this money could only be used to pay creditors, private or governmental. It means a serious cut in the farmers' living standards.

The Republicans don't even mention the impossible load of farm debts, no mention of security from foreclosures and evictions, and only a higher tariff on farm imports as their remedy for low farm prices. There is nothing in such a program which will help the average farmer of the nation who is existing on a \$20 a month income.

ROOSEVELT AND FARM RELIEF

The Roosevelt administration had made available sizable amounts of money for benefit payments and direct relief in the distress areas. The following are the total rental and benefit payments to farmers for 1933, 1934 and 1935:

1933	\$161,734,000
1934	555,784,000
1935	582,974,000

There are thousands of families which are absolutely dependent upon these benefit and relief payments, especially in the widespread drought areas. In the South, the bankruptcy of the sharecropping system is as great a disaster as the drought—and more permanent—and there the distress is intensified by the fact that these payments for the most part go to the landlords.

Why is it that these large payments by the Federal government have not built up an enthusiastic support for the Democratic Party?

Why do those farmers who are planning to vote for Roosevelt appear to be rather indifferent to the campaign? Their support for Roosevelt is a vote for the continuation of that benefit check inadequate though it is; their indifferent attitude is notice that they recognize that along with the payments goes the reduction program to which they are bitterly opposed. They also see that in the administration of the farm plans, the interests of the big packers, and millers, and dairy companies have been fully protected.

The farmers see the Roosevelt administration paying a considerable amount of relief and benefit payments, but they also see conditions attached to these payments which have the effect of permanently driving the smaller farmers out of commercial production. Here are some examples:

In the drought of 1934 and also 1936 a "unit plan" was put into effect in certain sections whereby farmers can only get benefit payments if they reduced their livestock down to a certain number of units—approximately ten. A horse or a cow counts as a unit,

a pig or sheep as half a unit, etc. This is reduction with a vengeance, leaving the farmers with practically nothing above family requirements after the drought is over. Government purchases of cattle in 1934 was at so low a price—about \$20 a head—that farmers were wiped out. The packing houses bought the best animals at a bargain by paying just a little more than the government price. They filled all available cold storage facilities and then sold that meat at an unusually large profit. It remains to be seen what the government will do during the fall and winter of 1936, when there will again be a large amount of distress selling.

A general rule has been consistently followed in the handling of all relief that applicants must exhaust all resources before they can receive any help. This includes putting a mortgage on every last possession which the farmer has managed to keep clear. Only after all his possessions are tied up in a mortgage which he cannot pay off, is the farmer eligible for relief. In this way another big step is taken in driving farmers into peasantry.

And if a person on relief has some luck and gets some small amount of unexpected money, he is immediately taken off until that money is spent. Thus when the bonus was paid, the ex-servicemen were taken off relief with the warning that they had to make the bonus last the full length of time that an equal amount of relief payments would have required. In this way the ex-servicemen were really robbed of their bonus. Similarly when one of the cooperators of the old A.A.A. or the new Soil Conservation Plan received benefit payments, they are taken off from relief until the money is spent.

Farmers are kept fairly quiet by benefit payments and relief, the food processors make unusual profits, a few large farm operators get big benefit payments for not producing on their worst land, these large operators also get sizable government loans, but meanwhile no basic changes are made to raise farm income and the mass of farmers keep on sliding into bankruptcy. Farmers can see little basis for hope for a permanent solution in the program of the Democratic Party.

SALVATION THROUGH INFLATION

The Union Party has made some headway amongst the farmers. It has the support of many of the backers of the popular Frazier-Lemke Bill for the refinancing of farm mortgages, combined with all those people who have been led to believe that currency manipulation can solve our economic problems. Most outspoken in support of the Union Party amongst the farm leaders is E. E. Kennedy, the National Secretary of the Farmers Union, who is doing his best from the platform, on the radio and in the press to advance Lemke's

candidacy. His line is entirely similar to that of Father Coughlin, a bitter attack upon the New Deal and Roosevelt, and very little criticism of the Republican Party.

It must be recognized that there is a very strong appeal to debt-burdened farmers in the currency schemes. The various apostles of currency reform, from Bryan to Coin Harvey, have always succeeded in making quite a stir amongst farmers. The argument runs something like this:

"The international bankers have hogged the money crop. The Federal Reserve Board has virtually given these financial buccaneers [as Milo Reno used to call them] the right to coin and regulate money, and have only charged these bankers with the cost of printing the paper. This is a direct break with the Constitution of the United States which provides that the government alone shall have the right to coin money. Furthermore the issuance of enormous amounts of tax-exempt, interest bearing bonds, has given these bankers the opportunity to load up, sit back in their leather chairs and enjoy a steady income without contributing a cent to government expenses."

What is the remedy? The Union Party platform contents itself with providing that only Congress shall coin and regulate the value of money; the abolition of the Federal Reserve Banking System and the establishment of a government-owned central bank. Father Coughlin, however, has made it very clear that he is not in favor of the nationalization of the banking system. He has never explained how these measures are expected to put the new money into the hands of the people.

William Lemke in his speeches waves a dollar bill at the audience and explains how that dollar can pay off a thousand dollars worth of debts if each person in the crowd paid a debt to a neighbor with it and kept it moving. On such pitifully shallow grounds does Lemke urge the issuance of more money.

Coughlin has been careful to say that he opposed inflation, although his plea for printing press money is nothing but inflation. Some of the officials of the Farmers Union are more outspoken. Recently the *National Union Farmer* printed the following paragraph in Secretary Kennedy's column:

"Inflation is a very simple act. It means to restore the money taken from the people in 1920, when the Federal Reserve Banks called upon the business to pay up and no renewals. Inflation means to restore the conditions which existed at that time when deflation began. Inflation means restoration. What is wrong about such a proposition?"

Shallow and misleading though it is, the arguments for inflation

—which is what the Union Party is really calling for—have a strong appeal. It looks to farmers like a golden opportunity for writing off a big section of their fixed indebtedness. If inflation doubles the price they get for their farm products, they will have little difficulty in meeting their interest payments, even though they will be in no better position to buy family necessities. Inflation looks like one way they can escape that terrible load of debts which haunt them day and night; it looks to them like a real blow against their exploiters.

To argue with such farmers who hope for relief from inflation, that such a policy represents a betrayal of the interests of their fellow sufferers in the city, the wage workers, is impressive but not convincing. They will not set aside their hopes for relief from inflation on any such grounds. Rather it is necessary to prove that inflation itself will not save the farmers, that they will not be able to write off a big section of their debts in any such fashion. Under capitalist production, farmers cannot escape from debt. They require credit every year to carry on their farm operations—and the terms of that credit are written by the very bankers whom the inflationists denounce. If they shift an old debt they will quickly encounter new ones. It is possible to point to the experience of the farmers in Japan at the time that Japan inflated her currency 100 per cent, with consequent rises in the prices of most commodities. However, the price of rice, Japan's largest staple crop, did not change during this period of inflation. Inflation to the Japanese rice farmers meant a sharp drop in their living standards.

Quite in the style of the budding fascists in all countries, the promoters of the Union Party are combining their incriminations and fulminations against big business with wild and sweeping promises. Thus in his North Dakota rally at Hankinson, he called for the cancellation of all farm debts—a demand which would benefit every working farmer. Then the next day he publicly withdraws from this position. He attacks the bankers, then opposes the nationalization of the entire banking system.

Similarly, Lemke has avoided the burning relief issue by talking about raising the water table of the Great Plains by a series of dams on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. The dams can be expected to help little spots, but they are no solution for the drought area. He is avoiding the issue of cash relief.

All this vacillation and plain demagoguery of the Union Party opens the road wide for thorough exposure by those who are working for an honest third party movement, based on and controlled by the people's organizations. This exposure will have the effect, not alone of opposing the Union Party's immediate purpose of electing Landon President of the United States, but also it will serve to counteract

another danger—the forming of a more or less permanent third party which will be dominated by rich farmers, a party of inflation, a party which would split away the farmers from the workers.

PROGRAM OF THE FARMER-LABOR MOVEMENT

It appears from the above that the rising forces of the Farmer-Labor Party have a field in which to launch a farm program which will improve the standard of living of the mass of farmers.

Such a basic program of the Farmer-Labor Party will of course provide for adequate emergency relief in the form of old age pensions, other forms of social insurance, and direct grants to distress areas, on a level that will provide for a good standard of living. It will provide that such relief payments be administered by local committees democratically elected.

The Farmer-Labor program will work for a refinancing bill which will lower farmers' interest rates down to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, but it should provide that the money required for the refinancing shall be raised by taxing wealth and capital, and not as in the present Frazier-Lemke Bill by an inflationary issue of paper money. In fact the Farmer-Labor Party should take up the struggle for this bill in a way which will be in marked contrast to the individualist methods used by Lemke and others for the bill. A vast and militant mass movement could be built on the issue of refinancing debts. The Farmers Union has taken important steps in this direction—the campaign can now be raised to the scale of a nationwide mass movement. With the inflationary provision cut out, a direct appeal can be made for the support of organized labor.

Another important Farmers Union slogan, "cost of production", can be championed by the rising Farmer-Labor movement. True, the bill calling for cost of production must be framed so as to protect the interests of the consumers. The fire must be directed against the enormous profits which the food processing companies have been making, the enormous spread which exists between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays. It can be shown that farmers can get cost of production and still not raise the price to consumers.

In France we have a historical demonstration of how the principle of cost of production can actually be put into practice. The important farm measure passed by the People's Front government has created a National Wheat Office consisting of a board of fifty-one members. Of these, twenty-nine must represent the producers, nine the consumers, nine the milling industry and four the government. The board has been given the power to fix the price of wheat to be paid farmers, and a control over the price to be charged consumers

for a loaf of bread. The board has already met and set the price of wheat at \$2.49 a bushel for August, with the provision that this price will gradually rise until it reaches \$2.74 next July. The price is one which means cost of production for the French grain farmers. The same general machinery is being contemplated for the wine growers and dairymen. Here is a practical working out of the principle of cost of production for the growing people's front parties of all nations to imitate.

This kind of militant program can attract the support of the bulk of the farmers of the nation, organized and unorganized. All progressives must press for such a program with all forces.

Building the Party During the Election Campaign

By F. BROWN

AT THE Ninth National Convention of our Party there was an enthusiastic response to the appeal of Comrade Browder to double our membership by the end of the election campaign. Everyone present at this historic convention understood that the problem of building a mass party could not be considered as a distant perspective. It is a problem of immediate importance. A mass party is demanded by the present situation. We need a mass party to cope with the big tasks before us, rallying the masses into a mighty People's Front to check the advance of the fascist forces, and closely connecting our Party with the organized masses of city and country.

The statistics and facts brought forward at the Ninth National Convention are evidence that the possibilities for building a mass party are here. The influence of our Party is increasing steadily among broad masses, and we have created during the last few years a solid foundation upon which we can rapidly build a mass party. Our Party of 50,000 young and adult members constitutes a powerful working force which if properly mobilized can use the election campaign for recruiting and drawing into our ranks tens of thousands of workers, farmers, professionals. The statistics prove our strong points, but at the same time they also show some fundamental weaknesses which we must overcome during the course of the recruiting drive.

During the last recruiting drive, 6,000 native born and 3,000 foreign born were recruited. Today for the first time the majority of our Party members are native-born workers. This is a real advance. It shows that the Party is consciously orientating towards recruiting native-born workers. Yet we must go a step further and make *the composition of the Party reflect the composition of the American working class*. This does not mean that from now on we will neglect the recruiting of foreign-born workers. On the contrary, while concentrating our efforts on the native workers, we must at the same time intensify our recruiting of the foreign-born workers, especially among the largest nationalities, the Germans, Italians, Poles, Jews, Spaniards, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the foreign-born masses. The strength of the Party among the

Italian, German and Polish workers is especially important if we are to check the influence of fascism amongst these nationalities. Another reason is the position of these masses in the basic industries of the country, in the steel, rubber, and auto industries, and hence they play an important part in the organizing drives.

It is well known that in those places where the Party made inroads among the American masses, recruiting young and new people, there we registered the best progress, and there we have people who can be developed into leaders.

From January until April of this year over 1,000 Negro workers were recruited into the Party. Other hundreds have been recruited since then. Yet this does not match the influence that the Party has among the Negro masses, and the possibilities for mass recruitment of Negro workers. If we consider the struggles conducted in the past two years by our Party among the Negro masses, the continuous struggle for Negro rights, the Scottsboro and Herndon campaigns, the struggles developed among the Negro masses against the fascist invasion of Ethiopia, then we see that our splendid opportunities have not been fully used among the Negro masses. Where the Party concentrated properly and strove to build the Party during these campaigns, the results are noticeable, as, for example, in Harlem, where our Party not only extended its influence, but has grown in size and today is a significant factor in the political life of this large and strategic Negro center. The example of Harlem must become typical of the whole Party and it is on the basis of studying the experiences of the Harlem Division, especially in regard to building the All-People's Party in which the Negro organizations are playing a decisive part, that we will also be able to build the Party in the other Negro centers, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Baltimore, etc.

In the South where our Party has become known to millions of suffering Negro workers, tenants, and sharecroppers, the possibilities of building the Party are tremendous. The problem is to transform these possibilities into realities. It is true that in the South we cannot conduct a recruiting drive with the same methods as in the North, yet the experiences of the past have shown that with proper methods weak Communist forces were able to build a Sharecroppers' Union of thousands, and the International Labor Defense into a mass organization.

At the Ninth National Convention one of the Negro comrades from the South gave a concrete example of how he was able to build the Party and the I.L.D. in his territory under the most difficult conditions. The example given of how the Party is being built among the Negro masses in Florida proves that the Negro comrades in the

South know exactly what methods to pursue for the building of the Party in spite of terror. The Negro people in the South have the experiences of hundreds of years of struggle against a powerful enemy. These splendid organizational experiences must be studied and used by our people. A successful recruiting drive in the South will be successful to the extent that every Party member draws into the Party all those persons who are sympathetic to us, to the extent that we recruit white workers, to the extent that our Party will further strengthen itself among the Negro masses in the North, will continually develop the broadest campaign for Negro rights which will have a far greater repercussion among the Negro masses in the South. Especially in the South, the building of the Party depends a great deal upon the development of local forces. We have made some headway recently through schools in the South. Yet the problem of education, of schooling, must be raised to a higher stage, must follow a definite plan; it must not be sporadic as in the past.

Today only one-third of our membership is composed of women. If we consider that our largest contingent of women comes from New York where the Party is strongest among the needle trades workers and among the workers of other light industries, it becomes evident that we are not yet consciously concentrating among the large mass of women employed in basic industries, as in the textile field, in the chemical industries, munitions industries, to mention industries where women are subject to the hardest work. Considering the increasing role that women are playing in industry, in the political life of the country, and the big efforts made by the reactionary forces in the country to reach the women, organizing them into organizations of various forms, the raising of the consciousness of the Party to the importance of recruiting women into the Party is one of our main tasks today especially considering the approaching battles against fascism, and the war danger. Concretely, during the recruiting drive special attention should be paid to working women.

The high cost of living must be met by the development of gigantic struggles that will involve masses of women. The experiences so far prove that not only are we able to develop such struggles on a broad scale (see the splendid examples of New York and Detroit), but that during these struggles we can recruit hundreds of women into our ranks.

It is by drawing new thousands of women into our ranks, by developing struggles, by linking our women comrades with organized women all over the country that we will be able to fight against the demagoguery of the Liberty League-Republican Party-Hearst combination and win masses of women for the class struggle.

In April, on the basis of statistics there were 22,000 employed

and 20,000 unemployed workers in the Party. Recently a slight change has occurred. The number of employed members is higher. Yet the figures indicate that the proportion between the employed and unemployed does not reflect the relation of the employed to the unemployed in the United States. This is due to the fact that in the last six years the Party developed and gained its prestige by the leadership given to the big unemployed movement, so that thousands of unemployed workers, active in the Unemployment Councils, were drawn into our ranks. Today we cannot neglect the unemployed. On the contrary, our task is to strengthen the united movement of the unemployed represented by the Workers Alliance of America. Yet our emphasis must be placed on the employed and especially those working in heavy industry, the young American workers, and the members of the A. F. of L. unions.

The figures prepared for the National Convention show that while there were some 10,000 members employed in what can be termed light industries, there were only from 2,500 to 3,000 employed in basic industry; there were over 1,500 in agriculture, farm workers, agricultural workers, sharecroppers; over 6,000 professionals, consisting of teachers, social workers, office workers, etc. These figures are slightly higher today. Yet the proportion is more or less the same. They show concretely a big disproportion between the Party members coming from the basic industries in comparison with those coming from light industries, and those not involved in production. The problem of anchoring the Party in the basic industries (which does not mean that we shall neglect to recruit new thousands from light industry or close the doors of our Party to professionals, students, housewives), still remains the fundamental problem to be solved for the purpose of changing the composition of the Party and strengthening the Party among the masses of the basic industries.

Today we have at our disposal forces which, if properly mobilized, can reach the basic masses. We have 600 shop units with over 5,000 members, which if correctly mobilized during the recruiting drive should be able to double their membership. There are another 7,000 Party members employed in industry. Here we have 7,000 Communists who must surround themselves with a group of their fellow workers for the purpose of building new shop units. There are approximately 15,000 Communists who are members of A. F. of L. unions. Fifteen thousand Communists connected with millions of organized workers. Here again we see that with the proper mobilization of these forces there are tremendous possibilities. Today the 15,000 Communists in the unions are no longer strangers to their fellow workers. In the past period the masses who at one time were prejudiced against us through anti-Red propaganda have come into

physical contact with Communists, have learned how to appreciate their work and have learned that the Communist Party does not divide the working class, but, on the contrary, brings about unity. With the Communists at the head of every struggle, of every action in the interests of the masses, it is not difficult to break the prejudices spread by William Green, Matthew Woll, and William L. Hutcheson. The masses see the Communists in action right in their midst. The recruiting possibilities have broadened out and this is already shown by the hundreds and hundreds of recruits coming from A. F. of L. unions.

The Red scare is not over. It is being intensified in various forms. It must be met boldly by our Party as the only way to strengthen the position of the progressive movement in the unions and get into our ranks thousands and thousands of American, militant workers who hate Wall Street and the bosses, and understand the necessity of the struggle against capitalism, but have been kept away from us by the demagoguery of reactionary leaders.

In order to improve Party activities and make our Party a more flexible organization capable of connecting itself with broader masses, leading these masses in daily struggles and making our Party a driving force for the building of the People's Front, the Ninth Party Convention on the basis of the experiences gathered in various Districts decided to solve two main problems.* First, the Party structure was readapted through certain readjustments in the lower organizations, the top apparatus on a state, county and city scale, to the need of the Party becoming a political factor in the life of the country. And second, the necessity of improving the political education in the whole Party, making every Party member a capable agitator and organizer, educating the thousands who join our ranks and making the units political bodies. In this connection the development of new personnel, of hundreds of capable, trained leaders developed from among the militant workers coming from shops, trade unions, neighborhoods, among the comrades that show initiative, practical sense in the everyday work of the Party is essential to the building of the Party. It is by solving these fundamental problems that we are taking a step forward in raising the consciousness of the Party with regard to recruiting.

How is the Party carrying out the decisions of the Ninth Convention in regard to organizational problems? Readjustments of the lower organizations are going on. Here and there we have splendid examples of how a shop unit can play an important role, what an effective organ industrial units can be.

We cannot say, however, that all the shop units, industrial units and branches are functioning properly, are already what we want

them to be. Side by side with the readjustments below, the structure of the organization has changed on a state, city and county scale. These changes have brought about an improvement in the political life and activities of the Party. The form of state, city and county organizations which pay attention to the local problems of the masses has proven its greater effectiveness in bringing forward the role of the Party to the broad masses. There is one fundamental weakness that we must overcome. It is an organizational one which up to date has hindered recruiting.

We readjusted the forms of the lower organizations, we adjusted the structure of the Party as a whole, to the new political needs. But we didn't give the necessary attention to the organizational apparatus as the guarantee for a correct and proper functioning of the lower organizations, for improving attendance and due payments. We did not attune the entire Party to the problem of recruiting. To make the recruiting drive successful, it is not enough that the state, city, county and section organizations work out their plans. We must have an apparatus that will guide and check on the activities of the units, of Party members in the trade unions and mass organizations during the recruiting drive.

We know from experience that the lowest fluctuation and the best results in recruiting are to be found in those state organizations where a membership commission is on the job. In regard to the recruiting drive, a membership commission is not enough. In the larger state organizations a special committee must be set up following the example of New York where a committee composed of leading comrades drawn in from among the leading Party members, leading comrades in the trade unions and mass organizations, is doing excellent work. We need committees that will guide week by week, day by day and check on the activities of the sections and units during the recruiting drive, reporting the results regularly to the city committees.

The Organizational Department of the Central Committee already has some of the plans of the Districts for the recruiting drive. In the main these plans follow the line of the Ninth Convention. They are concrete and based on the experiences of the last recruiting drive. They assign concrete tasks to the units in accordance with local conditions. But there are still instances which show that we are working along old lines, calling on the comrades to make the recruiting drive part of our campaign to build the mass organizations, specifically all the organizations around the Party, but neglecting concrete suggestions to the units, concrete suggestions to Party members in the trade unions, to the members of the branches, etc. We must help build the Workers Alliance, the American League Against

War and Fascism, the International Labor Defense, etc., we must take organizational steps to assign forces to these mass organizations. The main question, however, is to bring before the Party members the necessity of building the Party, and to show them how to recruit new thousands of workers by concretely deciding what has to be done by the Party members in their various fields of work.

This means that there must be a thorough discussion at functionaries meetings, at meetings of trade union comrades, of comrades working in mass organizations not only of how to mobilize the membership, but how to work out methods and tasks for the units, fractions, individual Party members in their places of work or unions. In order to have a successful recruiting drive, the main task is to make of every unit of the Party (shop units, industrial units, branches) political bodies that will act more independently and will develop their own initiative, that will connect the recruiting drive with the campaigns conducted by the units in their respective places. The leading committees must help the units react to the daily issues confronting the masses, lead the units, develop struggles around the various issues that are arising. It is by intensifying the various campaigns, by developing struggles that workers appreciate our Party and that we will be able to recruit them.

We must end one of the old habits of our units, that is, the habit of units bringing before the masses only the demands of the Party that are of a national character, the program of the Party in general. We must teach the units how to link up the general Party program, the election platform of the Party with the immediate program of action of the units. Yes, every unit must have its own program of action dealing concretely with the issues and needs confronting the people in their sphere of activity. For branches, there are, for example, housing problems, school problems, relief, rent, etc. The branches, the Party in a ward or assembly district, must present a platform of struggle counteracting the bourgeois political parties in the territory and mobilizing the masses in the struggle for their immediate demands. It is on the basis of a concrete program of action that our units will be able to build broad united fronts in the neighborhoods and in the industries. Thus our Party will enter the various neighborhood organizations, and our Party will become not only known in the various localities, but will become a real political factor.

Similar plans of action must be worked out by the comrades active in the unions which shall include the Party tasks of recruiting, the struggle for industrial unionism, the problem of building the unions, and so on. Our comrades in the unions, especially in those places where the unions are part of various united front movements,

such as the American Labor Party in New York, the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation in Wisconsin, and others, must not forget that while our forces constitute one of the most important factors in the building of these united front movements, at the same time one of the main tasks that the Party members must bring before the trade unions is the election platform of our Party. They must develop the election campaign among the workers, popularizing our presidential candidates, Comrades Browder and Ford. Concretely, this means distributing literature and leaflets, especially the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, calling special meetings of the progressive forces. It is only in the course of such a campaign, in concretizing the plan of action that we can recruit hundreds and thousands of trade unionists into our ranks. This means not only strengthening the Party forces in the A. F. of L. unions, but also the progressive movement, the movement for industrial unionism, for inner democracy against the reactionary bureaucratic leadership.

The Ninth National Convention decided to make the recruiting drive part and parcel of the election campaign. At present masses are eagerly waiting for the message of our Party. We are making our election campaign a channel through which we are reaching millions. The mass meetings at which our presidential candidates speak prove the response of the masses to our program, prove that there are thousands and thousands of workers, farmers, professionals outside of our ranks that fully agree with the Party platform. These thousands that agree with us belong to us, for them the doors of the Party must be opened. They must be convinced in the places where they work, in trade unions, in mass organizations, through our people who are in contact with them, that their place is in our ranks, that their aim, together with us, is to march toward a free, happy and prosperous America.

We must convince them that it is by making our Party a mass party, by joining with us that we will be able to check the advance of fascism, and rally the masses into a mighty people's front movement.

Concretely, no meeting, no election campaign rally, no struggle, no campaign shall be conducted without continuously appealing to the workers who support our program and our actions to join the Communist Party. In this recruiting drive, enriched by the experiences of the last drive, not only a few section organizers, but every leading comrade from unit functionaries up, must set the pace in recruiting. It is by developing socialist competition between leading comrades, state organizations, sections, units that we will swing the whole Party into a furious recruiting pace. The Party election candidates must always remember that their task in this election campaign is not only to bring to the masses the Party platform, but that

they are at the same time Party builders. Their task is to appeal for members, to build the Party in localities where there are only groups of sympathizers, in localities where we enter for the first time. Every candidate, every leading comrade and every Party member must understand that we must come out of the election campaign not only with a higher vote which will reflect the growing influence of our Party, but that we must come out with a stronger party, with a mass party.

The utmost attention must be paid to the distribution of the *Daily Worker*, of the *Sunday Worker*, of our literature, because after our message at mass meetings and over the radio, we must give the masses something to bring home with them to read, to think over. The distribution of literature must also be regarded as one of our best mediums through which to argue with the masses, and convince the best workers to join our ranks. Where we are utilizing the radio we must have an apparatus that will answer the many letters, the questions raised by workers. We must have on hand the necessary literature. Meetings, house gatherings, should be arranged for the time of the radio broadcasts to which our comrades should invite sympathizers, their friends in the factories and trade unions, their friends from the neighborhood organizations, not only to listen to the message of our comrades over the radio, but to discuss the proposals of our Party right on the spot.

The past recruiting drive ended with the Ninth National Convention. It brought into our ranks 12,000 new members. This shows that when we put our shoulder to the wheel, we are able to achieve our aim. There is no Party member in our ranks today who does not understand what we must do for the working class, who does not see the growing fascist danger, the struggle in the United States as a struggle of democracy against fascism. The triumph of the cause of democracy depends on the extent to which the American toiling masses will unite on a common platform of struggle into a People's Front expressed in the form of a Farmer-Labor Party. Our Party is playing a big role in developing such unity. Yet we are only at the beginning and it will be to the extent that our Party will become a mass party connected with the millions of organized in city and country that the People's Front movement, the Farmer-Labor Party, will become a power that will smash fascism.

Recruiting, recruiting and again recruiting means building a mass party, a Communist Party capable of performing its historic mission.

The Negro People in the Elections

By BEN DAVIS, Jr.

THE 1936 elections are of life and death importance to the 15,000,000 Negroes in America.

"Democracy or fascism"—the fundamental issue of the election campaign—expresses a thousand times the crucial question which faces the Negro people. Rapidly growing fascism and reaction would make of the Negro people the most oppressed minority group in America—the targets of a national sport of terror and murderous persecution.

One merely has to look about him for the rising atrocities against the Negro. The news broke in July that Silas Coleman, a Negro worker, was killed "just for the hell of it" to "thrill" members of the Black Legion, a super Ku-Klux-Klan connected with the Michigan Wolverine Republicans. Recently three Negroes were lynched in the space of one week in the South—a new record for the Southern ruling class. The "grass roots" convention of Governor Eugene Talmadge, Southern spokesman of the American Liberty League in the Democratic Party, held in Macon, Georgia, last January, was an orgy of lynch hysteria against the Negro people.

The octopus of national oppression reaches out to hound the Negroes wherever they are. September saw a recrudescence of the Ku Klux Klan in Peekskill, New York, with promises to "ride again" against Negroes, Catholics and Jews. In Allentown, Pa., where James W. Ford was scheduled to make a campaign speech last August, the Ku Klux Klan issued leaflets stating that the town would "ooze with nigger blood" if Ford spoke.

A sinister law was recently passed by the officials of the city of Miami, Florida. An ordinance was enacted providing that Negro residents of the city must have passes in order to enter the white section of the city after dark. This is identical with the South African "pass" system where the African natives must secure the written consent of the British imperialist agents in South Africa to walk about in their own country.

These reactionary practices against the Negro have been accompanied with the most relentless attacks against the already low standard of living of the Negro masses. In Harlem, the largest Negro

urban center in the world, job discrimination is rife and unemployment has been estimated by the *New York World Telegram*, capitalist daily newspaper, as upwards of 80 per cent. Similar situations more or less acute throughout the country reaffirm the axiom that the reactionary open-shoppers place their heaviest burdens upon the Negro wage-earners.

Pellagra is eating away the lives of the miserably paid and underfed Negro and white sharecroppers in the South, particularly in the Black Belt. All of this is carried on in the midst of the bitterest campaign of "rape frame-ups" and lynch-terror backed by the Liberty League and most reactionary sections of the Democratic Party in the South.

In the face of this incipient fascism, the coming elections bear a special significance to the Negro people and to the revolutionary movement as a whole, whose very life is inseparably linked with the struggle for Negro rights.

Tracked to its source, it will be found that the steady stream of reactionary measures against the Negro people comes from the same place as that which threatens the organized labor movement and the American people as a whole—the Hearst-Liberty League-Republican combination.

In 1936, the objective factors on the complicated American political scene lead inevitably to this conclusion: The Republican Party, long supported by the Negro people as the party of Abraham Lincoln and for its anti-slavery traditions, is today the Negro's main enemy. This apparently paradoxical fact is the key question in analyzing the election issues among the Negro people.

WHY NEGROES HAVE TRADITIONALLY SUPPORTED THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

It is not difficult to see why the overwhelming majority of Negroes have historically supported the national Republican ticket for more than 70 years. The party was born in 1854 on an anti-slavery abolitionist program. It was under its colors that Lincoln successfully fought the Southern slave-owning class. The 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution—added to safeguard the citizenship rights of the newly freed Negroes—were enacted under a Republican administration. Frederick Douglass, the great Negro Abolitionist whose memory is still a heroic inspiration to Negroes, once said: "The Republican Party is the ship and all else is the sea"—although that was when the Republican Party played a progressive role on the American political stage, and especially in the interest of Negro rights.

The success of the Republican Party among Negroes in recent

years has been due to its ability to play demagogically upon the long "lost chord" of its progressive traditions, while at the same time, in deeds, it has been crystallizing the reactionary monopolist character which it has today.

Nevertheless, as the political consciousness of the Negro masses developed, they began to question the wisdom and benefit of remaining a vest-pocket cocksure vote for the Republicans. They were restive after a seventy year trail of broken Republican promises. The beginnings of a break away from the Republican fold was noticeable in the 1934 elections, when a small part of the avalanche which swept the Democrats into power came from Negro voters in such states as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and elsewhere. The *Pittsburgh Courier*, one of the three largest Negro newspapers in the country and for more than fifteen years a rock-ribbed Republican organ, supported Roosevelt in 1934.

Despite the predominantly fascist-minded tendencies within the Republican camp, there are three factors working to its favor among the Negro people. First, there has been no decisive and substantial break among Negroes away from the Republicans. Secondly, the large protest vote which the Negro people register against the lynch-ridden solid Democratic South. Thirdly, the vacillations and retreats of Roosevelt before the reactionaries to the Right of him, especially on such issues as lynching, jim-crowism, discrimination, anti-Negro propaganda and organizations such as the Klan and others. The third factor especially tends to drive Negroes into the grasping arms of the Republicans in the 1936 elections.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY REVERSES ITS ROLE

In the 1936 elections the Grand Old Party is exactly and diametrically opposed to everything it stood for in 1860. Known as the "richest party in America"—the party of the Rockefellers, Morgans, Mellons, du Ponts, Mills—it represents the most reactionary and decisive sections of finance capital.

It is the creature of the American Liberty League, the most powerful aggregation of moneyed interests in America today. Its candidates, Landon and Knox, were handpicked by William Randolph Hearst, who nursed them both to prominence on milk from his fascist breast. Hearst, the enemy of every decent tradition of the American people, is the fond pupil and personal friend of both Hitler and Mussolini, and hopes to play their role in America.

Hearst, the Liberty League, and the Republican Party, together, form the general staff of reaction and growing fascism in this country today.

How has the Republican Party done a right-about-face on the Negro people? Let the facts speak for themselves.

The du Ponts, both Liberty Leaguers and Republicans, financed Gov. Talmadge's "grass roots" convention. At this convention copies of the notorious *Georgia Woman's World*, a rabid Negro-baiting, would-you-have-your-daughter-marry-a-Negro newspaper, were circulated, showing pictures of Negroes with jobs in the New Deal, also pictures were distributed showing Mrs. Roosevelt in the company of two Negro students who were escorting her into Howard University, a Negro institution in Washington, D. C. This material was circulated for the purpose of inciting an orgy of lynch terror against the Negro people.

The convention was addressed by the rip-roaring "hell and maria" Gerald L. K. Smith, vicious Negro-hating head of the late Huey Long's Share-the-Wealth movement and now the partner of the fascist priest Father Coughlin.

The Liberty League finances and backs the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, which in practice is a "committee to uphold 'white supremacy'". This committee is a sort of clearing-house for the handling of Ku Klux and other material calculated to inflame the white workers against the Negro masses and to prove that Roosevelt is a "Communist and Negro lover".

Like fascism and war, the twin evil to the persecution of Negroes is anti-Semitism. Two of the most notorious Jew-baiting organizations in the country are the Crusaders and the Sentinels of the Republic—both are financed by the Liberty League.

Thomas C. Dixon, ardent Ku Kluxer who got famous and rich for writing the anti-Negro *Birth of a Nation*, came out in support of the Republican Party in September.

The *St. Louis Argus*, prominent Negro weekly, sums up William Randolph Hearst neatly. In an editorial entitled "Hearst Papers and the Negro", published August 21, it said in part:

"It will be remembered that it was William Randolph Hearst who found Governor Alf M. Landon and made the latter believe that he could become President of the United States. Should Landon be elected President of the United States, he will undoubtedly be dominated by the spirit of William Randolph Hearst and his chain of newspapers in his relation to the colored people. 'May the Lord have mercy upon our souls' if Landon is elected President of the United States."

In an atmosphere redolent with hatred of Negroes, Jews and labor, and created by the Hearst-Liberty League-Republican outfit, it is no wonder that thrill murderers like the Black Legion terrorists can fester.

Liberty League money and support are the backbone of just about every revolting Negro-baiting crowd in the United States.

The Hearst-Liberty League-Republican alliance cuts across party lines. In the words of the Republican brain-trusters, their fight to "restore the American government to the American people transcends party lines".

Thus we find the most vicious and reactionary sections and groupings in the Democratic Party clustered about the Hearst-Landon ticket like hogs about filth. This analysis applies with tell-tale accuracy to that section of the Southern Democratic Party leadership, which, dissatisfied with the normal methods of oppressing Negroes, want to place that oppression on an open fascist basis.

First of all, comes Governor Talmadge of Georgia, violent anti-New-Deal Democrat, who campaigned on a platform of shameless villainy against Negroes in his recent unsuccessful race against Senator Richard B. Russell, Jr. Progressive forces throughout the country heaved a deep sigh of relief when Talmadge and a rabid anti-Negro slate (which included John H. Hudson, Assistant Solicitor General—Prosecutor of Angelo Herndon, who ran against Judge Hugh Dorsey, the Superior Court Judge who held the Georgia insurrection law unconstitutional) were swept aside. It would be a mistake however to regard Talmadge and his lynch political machine as anything more than temporarily shelved. This virulent opponent of even the mildest concessions to the masses is "on ice" for the Liberty League which will try again and again to buy up Georgia for Talmadge. The man who set up the first concentration camp on American soil (Talmadge established concentration camps for the strikers in the great textile strike of 1934) who knows how to fan the fires of race hatred a la Hitler) is of inestimable value to the Hearst-Liberty League-G.O.P. combination.

What Talmadge is to the Democratic Party in Georgia, Senator Carter Glass is to the same party in Virginia. Glass boasts that his victory in the coming elections will be a "victory for Landon". He is the mouthpiece of the Liberty League in the ranks of the Virginia Democratic Party and is backed by the "Jeffersonian Democrats", who seem to have an unlimited supply of money for the purpose of defeating the New Deal.

Upon his return from a campaign tour in the deep South, Comrade Earl Browder stated:

"I found the most powerful and reactionary forces working against Roosevelt in the South, although it appears that he has an edge on Landon. It is a mistake for Roosevelt supporters to think that the election is 'in the bag' for them."

Last but not least comes the old wheel-horse, former Governor

Alfred E. Smith, a member of the executive council of the American Liberty League. Although he has not openly announced himself for Landon, no one except the most politically naive could fail to see that this is a part of the transparent Republican tactics. Formerly considered a progressive, Al Smith has "honored" almost every "respectable" anti-Negro, Red-baiting group in the country with his membership and name—and with his speeches and activities. The "sidewalks of New York" have now become the "gutters of New York", for the brown-derbied Al is now the liaison officer between the Liberty League and Tammany.

Governor "just us" Landon's policy toward Negroes can best be illustrated by his response to a reporter of the *Baltimore Afro-American*, one of the largest Negro newspapers. Landon was asked what he would do about "lynching, the civil service system and relief if he were elected". The Governor's face turned red as a beet and he said nothing. E. Ross Bartley, Landon's personal press agent, told the reporter that such "questions should not be asked publicly; that they embarrassed the Governor".

Confronted with the charge of Dr. W. M. Blount, leading Negro Kansan, that he had requested the Republican State Convention not to send a colored delegate to the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Landon said he "did not wish to discuss it."

The Hearst candidate paid his Negro child nurse \$4 a week and when he attempted to cut her wages she quit.

The Kansas school system, the worst in the country, is honey-combed with discrimination against both Negro teachers and students, and anti-Semitism is the official policy of the state hospital in Osawatimie, of which the Governor is the leading official.

While Landon scrambles madly to dress up the Hearst-Liberty League union-smashing open shop policy in "liberal" garb, Frank Knox, his running mate, and less of a "silent Cal Coolidge" type, storms about the country with the most vicious sallies against organized labor. His recent speech in Seattle attacking the militant Newspaper Guild strikers was on all fours with a man who was formerly the \$100,000 general manager of all Hearst publications. Knox boasts that he was once a member of Theodore Roosevelt's "Rough Riders"; he is now a shock trooper for the Liberty Leaguers who would ride rough-shod over labor, the American people and the Negro masses in particular.

REPUBLICAN STRATEGY AMONG THE NEGRO PEOPLE

The fundamental strategical objective of the Hearst-Liberty League dominated Republican Party is to defeat the New Deal. Mislabeled Roosevelt alternately "Communist", "Socialist" and

"Fascist", is a part of its unscrupulous and pernicious demagogy, to stampede the American people into the Republican camp with the "Red dictatorship" bogey. It is also to identify the revolutionary movement, particularly the Communist Party, with the failures of the New Deal, and to ultimately block up the most meager New Deal concessions to the masses.

Among the Negroes the Hearst-Landon ticket has a special cut-and-dried tactic, although it has been used for more than 70 years. It can be summed up thus: "Don't forget that Lincoln freed the slaves. Where would you have been if it had not been for the Republican Party? In 1936, vote for the Party of 'Honest Abe' Lincoln!" Meantime, it will strive to cover up its backing of the most reactionary sections of the Democratic Party in the South.

In so many words this is precisely what Landon said in his first statement to Negroes issued in a telegram to the Negro National Planning Board for Colored Voters in session in Chicago, September 2 and 3.

The telegram stated in part:

"The history of the Republican Party and that of our colored fellow citizens is so interwoven that it is impossible to think of freedom and the remarkable progress of colored Americans without recalling the origin of our Party. Who can forget the labors of the Republican Party for this people in their darkest hour against forces often concealed but nevertheless tireless and industrious. The Republican Party keeps the faith with its founders who promised to remain unwearied in the cause of fully established emancipation."

Honeyed words, spoken by the figurehead of the Hearst-Liberty League lynch inciters!

The 1936 Republican platform on the Negroes with its sugar-coated patronizing of "our colored citizens" pledges "our protection of their [starvation—*B.D.*] economic status".

An idea of what the Negro people, for whom the question of bread is of the direst importance, can expect concretely from the Republican Party can be seen from its inane Negro plank:

"We favor equal opportunity for our colored citizens. We pledge our protection of their economic status and personal safety. We will do our best to further their employment in the gainfully occupied life of America, particularly in private industry, agriculture, emergency agencies and the civil service."

This innocuous plank was inserted in the Republican platform at the same time that the Republican convention was barring "black and tan" (delegations with Negro members) delegations from the South (Florida, etc.). Moreover, it was under such a smokescreen of platitudes that "chicken-in-every-pot"-Hoover started to purge the

patronage-dispensing Republican Party of the South of all Negroes in order to make it palatable to the most reactionary Southern lynch class.

Not the least of the Republican strategical plans is its buying up of a number of old-line Negro politicians, whom they palm off as *the* leaders of the Negro people. The most venal of these is Perry Howard, of Mississippi, the only Negro member of the Republican National Committee. Howard is the principal "Uncle Tom" advisor of the Republican machine and openly boasts of his lackey service to the "four billion dollar Liberty League". Another is Oscar De Priest, former Negro congressman from Illinois, and a wealthy Negro landlord on the South Side in Chicago.

At its Cleveland convention, the Republican Party used Ben Davis, Sr., former National Committeeman of Georgia who was ousted from this position under the lily-white Hoover, to keep other "black and tan" delegations from the South out of the convention. Davis served on the credentials committee for this purpose.

But these "Negro fronts" of the Republican Party are finding it increasingly difficult to "deliver" the Negro vote to their Republican masters, and are being swept from the forefront by the nationwide Leftward swing of the Negro people as evidenced in their growing support of Independent political action (Harlem, Chicago, Minneapolis) and by the rise of the militant National Negro Congress movement.

If the Hearst-Liberty League alliance is using the Republican Party as its right arm, it is using the Coughlin-Lemke-Union Party as its left arm—to carry reaction to victory in November. To those Negroes who see the danger lurking in the Republican combination and who are dissatisfied with the retreating policy of the New Deal, the fascist-minded Republicans are offering the Union Party as a real "third party" movement.

But the brand of anti-Negro is written all over the Union Party, through two of its prime leaders, the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, the Louisiana Ku Kluxer, and the fascist radio priest Father Coughlin.

Coughlin and Hearst vied with each other to see which could support the Italian fascist rape of Ethiopia the more. Coughlin in his windy radio speeches has yet to utter a word in behalf of Negro rights, against lynching or discrimination. And his Union Party one-man dictated platform contains not even the semblance of words in the interest of the Negroes.

Like the Hearst-Liberty League-Landon ticket which it was organized to foster, its main strategy is to defeat the "Moscow-controlled" New Deal.

ROOSEVELT RETREATS BEFORE REACTIONARY ATTACKS
ON NEGRO PEOPLE

The Roosevelt administration, striving to steer a middle lane between reaction and a militant people's program, has vacillated and retreated before the reactionaries, not only by repeated relief slashes, but especially on Negro rights. This vacillating, wishy-washy course drives Negroes into the Republican ranks.

Roosevelt permitted the federal anti-lynching legislation to be stabbed in the back by the Southern reactionary Democrats conniving with unscrupulous Republican congressmen. The President's statement that "it is unfortunate that lynching is no longer confined to the South" gives scant consolation to a people whose every track is dogged by lynch terror and "rape" bugaboos. Not one word or act has been performed against the real subversive agencies—the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, the Black Legions, the Ku Klux Klans—which seek to undermine the Bill of Rights and to force the Negro people to the status of a Hitler persecuted minority.

While it is true that more Negroes have been appointed to office in the New Deal than at any recent time in the federal set-up, this has not been accompanied by a rise in living standards of the Negro masses. These Negro appointees like Lawrence Oxley, Edgar Brown, the cringing Uncle Tom Congressman Arthur Mitchell, and others have been used as a buffer between the demands of the Negro people and the responsibility of the federal government.

The Roosevelt administration has taken no steps to enforce the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, but has sat supinely by while these rights are murderously assaulted by the reactionary Talmadges, and the Liberty League supported Negro-hating organizations. In New York, Governor Herbert Lehman has given way before the Tammany tiger, whose police murderously shoot down the Negro people in Harlem, whose corrupt political machine is the main danger to the Negroes in the state.

Roosevelt steadfastly refused to take up the cudgel against the Supreme Court, whose reactionary drive against all social legislation is grist in the mill of the Liberty Leaguers. It is this court which to this day legalizes the multifarious methods of the Southern states in disfranchising Negroes. Certainly on its attitude toward the Negro people, the New Deal shows that it has not one ounce of socialism or communism, that it is nothing but vacillating liberalism.

Roosevelt makes no substantial move in behalf of the Negro people—and will not actively fight the reactionary Hearst-Liberty League-Landon combination to the Right of him—unless there is a

large and powerful vote to his Left, which would include a unified Negro people's movement.

SOCIALIST PARTY POSITION PLAYS INTO HANDS
OF REPUBLICAN PARTY

The Socialist Party took a distinct step backward in adopting the sectarian position that the issue of the elections is "capitalism or socialism". It plays into the hands of the Liberty Leaguers who are appealing to the American people to support the "American Republican Party" in preference to Roosevelt's "socialism". It also removes them from the main stream of progressive and labor forces, and exposes the Negro people to the Republican threat of blackest reaction. The Socialist Party, imprisoned by Trotskyite counter-revolutionaries, is concentrating on an ultra-Left attack on the New Deal, failing altogether to see or fight the fascist-minded combination on the extreme Right.

Instead of uniting with the Communist Party on such fundamental issues as the fight against lynching, jim-crowism, and discrimination it is apparently taken up with attacking the Communist Party position on the Negro question—thus lending objective aid to reactionaries who would smash the growing unity of the united front against budding fascism. (Report of Norman Thomas' speech in St. Louis, *New York Herald Tribune*, Sept. 19.)

The Socialist Party's fundamental understanding of the question of the Negro people as an oppressed nation can be seen from the fact that it does not have a single Negro on its National Executive Committee and not one of the handful of Negroes at its last Cleveland convention was able to get the floor.

The Socialist Party is fond of placing the Negro question thus: "Negroes are like anybody else" and so always manage to elect all whites to their leading bodies, although it has an outstanding Negro Socialist, A. Phillip Randolph, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Seeing fascism as a danger only in the indefinite tomorrow, the Socialist Party and Norman Thomas abhor a national Farmer-Labor Party movement, the united front with the Communist Party, leaving the American people and the Negroes in particular at the mercy of a rapidly rising tide of reaction.

POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS AMONG THE NEGRO PEOPLE

As fundamental issues in the election campaign take shape, marked progressive tendencies can be observed among the Negro people throughout the country. First among these tendencies is the fact that important Negro leaders and organizations are not con-

tinuing a blind support of the Republican Party this year, although many have trekked into the Democratic Party ranks and have adopted an uncritical attitude toward the Roosevelt administration.

In this category is the *Pittsburgh Courier*, outstanding Negro newspaper, which in acting as the unofficial organ of the New Deal among Negroes holds Roosevelt out as the "white hope" of the Negro. Although the *Baltimore Afro-American* has not officially declared itself for Roosevelt, its telling exposures and sharp jibes against the Hearst-Liberty League candidate, Landon, indicates that it is indirectly throwing its weight to Roosevelt.

The *Amsterdam News*, progressive Negro Harlem paper, is supporting Roosevelt and its co-owners, Dr. P. M. H. Savory and C. B. Powell, are prominent leaders in the Roosevelt Eastern campaign.

The Rev. Ernest Lyon, Negro Liberian Consul General in the United States and well-known Negro leader, expressed the sentiments of a large section of Negroes when he recently said:

"The Republican Party of today is no more like that of Abraham Lincoln's time than the devil is like the angel Gabriel."

But side by side with the blank-check support of Roosevelt which many of the Negro leaders have given is a growing movement toward independent political action on the part of Negroes who desire to join with the rapidly developing Farmer Labor Party movements. Like many of the progressive labor leaders who are supporting the New Deal, and who also are in favor of a Labor Party, such papers as the *Amsterdam News*, the *Baltimore Afro-American* and others are favorable to independent political actions by the Negro people.

Both the National Negro Bar Association and the National Negro Medical Association officially endorsed the Committee for Industrial Organization at their national conventions this years. The Bar Association also endorsed the defense of Herndon and the Scottsboro boys. John P. Davis, Executive Secretary of the National Negro Congress, is actively working with the C.I.O. and was an individual participant in the Chicago Farmer-Labor Conference last May called by the late Gov. Floyd B. Olson and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party.

While adopting a non-partisan position in the election campaign, the National Negro Congress in executive council session last July did not adopt a negative position. Positively it decided that its branches and affiliates as well as the Negro people as a whole should hear from representatives of all the political parties with a view to educating the Negro politically and comparing their programs with the militant united front demands of the Congress.

The Harlem All-Peoples Party is already a disturbing factor to Tammany, which is the ally of Al Smith and the Liberty League,

and the main danger to the Negroes of New York. It is the most outstanding and promising example of independent political action among Negroes in America, and it is an inspiration to Negroes all over the country. The *Indianapolis Recorder*, widely read Negro weekly, had this to say in an editorial entitled "Harlem Fights", on July 18:

"Harlem is going to war. They have been forced by threat of economic extinction to disregard 'tip-toe' methods and lash out from their 'last stand corner'. Formation of the All-Peoples Party offers an independent political approach in obtaining relief for the pressing problems that bedevil Harlem. Harlem has gone to war in the way that counts, setting an example worthy of following by any community."

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The excellent ovations received by James W. Ford on his vice-presidential campaign tour are further evidence that the Party has growing influence among all strata of the Negro people. This is the result of years of serious correct work among the Negro people who are coming to love the Party and its leaders for its uncompromising struggles for Negro rights. It is a confirmation of the correct position of the Party in the election campaign.

In these times, when an American People's Front—a Farmer-Labor Party—is necessary to stop the drive of fascism and reaction, they see the Communist Party as the best fighter for that People's Front, as the champion of the Negro people, as fighter to extend and defend the rights of the oppressed Negro masses.

The tasks of the Communist Party among the Negro people in the election campaign are as follows:

First, to point out that whereas the Republican Party was in 1861 the champion of Negro freedom, it is now the tool of the Hearst-Liberty League crowd—the main bearers of fascism and reaction and the main enemy of the Negro people. It must clearly be explained that the worst Negro-hating activities in the South come from the reactionary Liberty League section of the Democratic Party.

Second, that while the Roosevelt administration has made concession to the masses, in which the Negro people have shared, under the discriminatory and jim-crow restrictions, it has steadily given way before the lynch-inciting reactionaries. The Democratic Party, still deriving a decisive bloc of support from the reactionary solid South, can not be depended upon as a barrier to fascism, cannot be depended upon to save the Negro people from King Lynch.

Third, the Communist Party alone is the "party of the Negro

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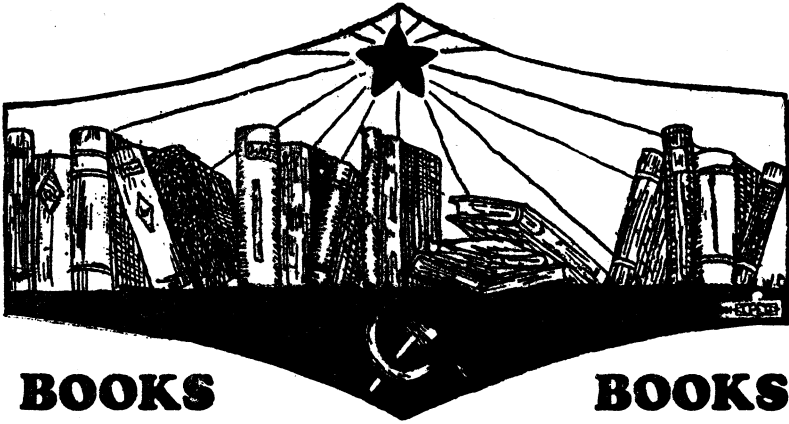
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Third, the Communist Party alone is the "party of the Negro

people" and in this situation should receive a much larger support from the Negro people this year than in its entire history. The Communist Party is the twentieth century party of Abolition—the 1936 party of the great Negro fighter for freedom, Frederick Douglass.

It should be pointed out that a large vote from the Negro people for the Communist Party is their best guarantee against fascist reaction, their best fighter for a free, prosperous and happy America in which there will be complete equality for them in every sphere of life.



A TEXTBOOK OF SECTARIANISM

AFTER THE NEW DEAL, WHAT? By Norman Thomas, Macmillan Co., \$2.00.

Reviewed by EARL BROWDER

THIS BOOK is valuable as an exposition of the political views of the man who determines what the Socialist Party stands for in the 1936 elections. In it can be traced the clear features of an opportunist sectarianism, which will be the chief explanation for the inevitable decline of that party, as will be registered on November 3. Reading it, one can understand the warm recommendation of Mark Sullivan to his Republican confreres, to "follow" closely the writings of Norman Thomas as invaluable material with which to combat the progressive labor movement's attacks on Landon.

The central political thought of Thomas is his definition of fascism as "an effort of the middle class". For him the role of monopoly capital in fascism is secondary and incidental. From this follows his naive acceptance of the superficial mask of progressivism thrown over Landon, his refusal to see any significance in the concentration of reactionary forces behind Landon, his contradictory estimate of Roosevelt and Landon as essentially identical while crediting Roosevelt with a non-existent "socialist approach to a great economic problem" in the T.V.A. It is this vulgarized conception of socialism which makes it possible for Thomas to retain the illusion that his major slogan for 1936, "socialism against capitalism", has an immediate reality.

One looks in vain through this book to find a simple recognition, not to mention explanation, of the fact that, following Hearst, the Republican Party, the Liberty League, Father Coughlin, the leading capitalist organizations of all sorts, are making the chief issue in the campaign the question of socialism or capitalism. Indeed, Thomas specifically denies there is any such development, declaring "only the Socialist Party" raises this issue. Evidently he doesn't read the daily newspapers, a large majority of which vociferously agrees with Norman Thomas that this is the central question at issue in 1936.

This year Thomas is still dabbling in theories of money and currency, a field which he entered during the 1932 campaign, when he declared in favor of a "controlled inflation". Without changing his views, he has adopted a different label this year, calling for "a managed currency". This is now the fad among inflationists; even Father Coughlin denies that he stands for inflation.

Thomas sums up his views on foreign policy in the slogan, "isolation from what makes for war, cooperation in what makes for peace". That might mean anything, however, when translated into terms of concrete policy. To know what it means for Thomas we must find out from whom is he isolated, with whom does he cooperate. He rejects as a "dangerous illusion" "any sort of cooperation with the capitalist League of Nations"; but he is even more alarmed by the idea of cooperation with the Socialist Soviet Union. Thus he isolates himself from every government without exception as being included among those things that make for war. He similarly rejects the policies of the Labor and Socialist International, of whose Executive he is a member; of the Communist International; of the French Socialist Party; of the British Labor Party; of the Brussels Congress for World Peace; of the American League Against War and Fascism. He rejects the views of a large part of the membership of his own party, as also "making for war". With whom does he cooperate, then, as the forces "making for peace"? The only current of thought with which he does not take violent exception is that of Trotskyism. And this he does not mention, not even to acknowledge his indebtedness for the color and form of his views on many questions. If he finds so little with which he can cooperate as making for peace, no wonder he is pessimistic, and even fatalist, resigned to the inevitability of watching the world sink into fascism and war!

As, internationally, Norman Thomas finds all forces making for war, and therefore adopts a policy of universal isolation, so within the country he rejects any organized cooperation with other groups except for the most limited and transitory issues. Because the Communists are campaigning in dead earnest for the Farmer-Labor Party, he says they have made it "a sort of fetish". He would "heartily endorse" the Farmer-Labor Party "under proper conditions"—but then we find that these conditions are that it should adopt the program of the Socialist Party. He is extremely dissatisfied that the Farmer-Labor Party is growing in localities and states, and ridicules the idea that a national party can grow upon such a basis, as an idea of "gradual evolution" which is distasteful to him. In domestic politics, also, Thomas is an isolationist in practice. His scorn for the "opportunism" of the Communists is equaled only by that which he showers upon Labor's Non-Partisan League for seeing the menace of fascism in the Wall Street backing of Landon, rather than the middle class backing of Roosevelt, from whence Thomas is more inclined to look for it.

This book is not the definitive textbook of sectarianism, but it is the outstanding current contribution to this field of literature.

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN FRANCE

FRANCE TODAY AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT. By Maurice Thorez, International Publishers, 255 pages, \$1.25.

FRANCE FACES THE FUTURE. By Ralph Fox, International Publishers, 134 pages, 25c paper.

Reviewed by THEODORE REPARD

BOTH of these books are short and simple statements of the situation in France since fascism became an immediate threat and since the People's Front rose as its antagonist. What they lose in bulk, they certainly retrieve in concentrated essence. In popular and dramatic style, they presuppose little knowledge of the French scene.

The book by Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, covers pretty much the same ground as does that by Ralph Fox, a British Communist journalist, but with some essential differences. Fox's book is almost wholly political, in the narrow sense that it is concerned with political events, such as the fall of cabinets, demonstrations, pacts, debates. Of course, there is a good deal of economic and social material but there is no systematic discussion of these matters. Thorez' book, on the other hand, spends about a hundred of its two hundred and fifty pages on "a general picture of the effects of the crisis on France" in which the class struggle is analyzed by reference to industry, agriculture, the economic crisis and the financial oligarchy.

In this first part of his book, Comrade Thorez tells, with great economy of detail, how economic and social France is put together, where the strong and weak points are, and the roots of imminent social changes. He then proceeds to describe fascism in France, both in terms of its organizations and leaders, as well as its "program". He has some interesting things to say about Count-Colonel de la Rocque, the aspiring French Hitler, leader of the Croix de Feu. De la Rocque, according to Comrade Thorez, is a man of mediocre intelligence with the mentality and speech of a non-commissioned officer. Recently, de la Rocque has taken to affecting the manners of "one of the boys", a poilu instead of a colonel but it does not seem to do him any good. The other fascist aspirants come in for comment also.

Having described the threat, Comrade Thorez then analyzes the movement which has been organized to overcome that threat—the People's Front. After this, there is a final part devoted to a critique of various French plans of solving the crisis of capitalism, reading from Right to Left. This part of the book is, perhaps, the most interesting and the most significant. The book concludes with a paraphrase from Marx which summarizes most of what went previously:

"If the revolution organizes the counter-revolution, the counter-revolution in its turn, by an application of the dialectic law, arms the revolution by giving it a real revolutionary party, steeled in battle against the enemy."

Comrade Thorez' book is notable, if for nothing else, in that like Comrade Browder's *What Is Communism*, it contributes to a new style of Communist books. Instead of the tortuously involved, we get the transparently clear; instead of the difficult, we get the simple and appealing. Books such as these can be read and appreciated by those who never read the great revolutionary classics. They will lead such people to them. They presuppose nothing and give everything.

There is one point which Comrade Fox makes exceptionally well, deserving of special emphasis for a clarification of certain world problems which arise in various forms from time to time but all embodying one central question. As Fox says, "the idea that a foreign aggressor might find allies and friends among the ruling classes of a country struggling to defend its frontiers was formerly incredible". It was taken for granted that the ruling class of one nation, let us say, France, could have no interests in common with the ruling class of another, say Germany, in matters affecting the national integrity of either. As a result, the task of defending the national integrity of the country in question was left to the bourgeoisie almost exclusively.

Today, that is changed, if one adopts a realistic view of the world situation. There are powerful capitalist interests in France whose chief aim is to sell *le belle Patrie* down the river to Hitler in order to crush the People's

Front and the revolutionary workers' movements. "The emergence of fascist dictatorships in certain countries", as Fox states, meaning in the first place Germany and Italy, "has made a great difference". In what sense? In that "the fascist dictatorships have the sympathy of the most reactionary sections of the capitalist class in all countries". As a result, "fearing the democracy of their own nations more than they do Mussolini or Hitler, these persons are perfectly ready to risk the independence and liberties of their native lands for the sake of intimate relations with these terrorist dictators".

From another angle, the very existence of the Soviet Union has woven questions of foreign policy and of the home policy closer together than ever before.

"When a capitalist government enters into class relationship with such a Socialist government the effect on the internal politics of the former is bound to be considerable, even when the Socialist government scrupulously refrains from any interference in the affairs of its ally," writes Fox. This applies with particular force to the situation in France today, especially since the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet Pact.

There are a good many similarly illuminating touches in the Fox book, as well as in the Thorez volume. Both cover much the same ground but Fox, if anything, is slightly more journalistic.

Developments since these books were written are remarkably well anticipated. For example, it now appears that de la Rocque may soon be shelved as the chief fascist fuehrer by Jacques Doriot, organizer of the new French Popular Party and renegade from Communism. On the very second page of his book, Fox has some illuminating things to say in answer to the question: "Why does every French politician begin his career to the extreme Left and end up on the extreme Right?" Doriot is another and latest addition to the gallery which includes Clemenceau, Laval, Briand, Frossard and many others. Those who seek a popular, concise, reliable and entertaining account will be fully rewarded in both cases.

PAMPHLETS IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

THE COMMUNIST ELECTION PLATFORM 1936. *Workers Library Publishers, 16 pp., one cent,* contains the eight vital planks which represent the immediate needs and demands of a vast majority of the American people for economic security and democratic rights.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECHES: BROWDER AND FORD. *Workers Library Publishers, 16 pp., one cent,* contains the nominating speeches of Robert Minor and Mother Bloor, and the acceptance speeches of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the Communist Party in the 1936 elections.

WHO ARE THE AMERICANS?, *By Earl Browder. Workers Library Publishers, 16 pp., one cent.* The first chapter of Browder's popular book, *What Is Communism?*, together with a short biographical sketch of the author and excerpts from his report to the Ninth Convention. A brilliant exposition of Communism as twentieth century Americanism.

DEMOCRACY OR FASCISM, *By Earl Browder. Workers Library Publishers, 48 pp., five cents,* contains the splendid report to the Ninth Convention, together with Browder's closing summary. It is a crystal-clear analysis of the issues facing America today, placing the main

emphasis on the struggle between fascism and democracy, progress and reaction.

THE NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION. *Workers Library Publishers, 32 pp., two cents,* which guarantees to the people of the Soviet Union the right to work, leisure, freedom and economic security. An historical document made possible by the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LIBERTY LEAGUE. *By Grace Hutchins. International Pamphlets, 32 pp., two cents.* A valuable, well-documented study of the Liberty League, main center of incipient fascism in the United States. In her interesting analysis, entitled "The Deadly Parallel", the author exposes the similarity and, in some cases, the exact duplication between the Program of the Liberty League and the Republican platform of 1936.

HOW TO WIN SOCIAL JUSTICE: Can Coughlin and Lemke Do It? *By Alex Bittelmann. Workers Library Publishers, 48 pp., five cents.* A keen analysis of the program of the Union Party and of Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice, his motive in launching Lemke as the candidate of their "manufactured" Union Party, their joint role in confusing the issues, and their stooging to the advantage of Landon, thus opening the door to a reactionary Republican administration in the United States.

THAT MAN BROWDER. *By M. J. Olgin. Workers Library Publishers, 24 pp., two cents.* A new autobiographical pamphlet about that "average American", Earl Russell Browder, who, born in the then small farming community of Wichita, Kansas, rose to be the outstanding leader of the Communist Party and its standard-bearer in the 1936 elections. It tells the story of his life and struggles as a boy and youth, his imprisonment in 1917 for militant anti-war activity, his rise in the Communist Party to positions of ever-greater responsibility culminating in his election as its General Secretary, and his emergence as a brilliant leader and strategist in the class struggle.

JAMES W. FORD: Who He Is and What He Stands For. *By Ben Davis, Jr. Workers Library Publishers, 32 pp., two cents.* A companion pamphlet to the Browder biography, tells the life story of an outstanding leader of the Negro people in the United States who, beginning as a railroad worker at the age of thirteen, found himself at various times a steam-fitter's helper, machinist, college student and athlete at Fisk University, World War veteran, postal clerk and militant trade unionist. His candidacy for Vice-President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket is the second in a career distinguished by long and untiring struggles in the interests of his people and his class.

TROTSKYISM IN THE SERVICE OF FASCISM AGAINST SOCIALISM AND PEACE. *By A. Y. Vyshinsky. Workers Library Publishers, 68 pp., five cents.* Contains the indictment, speech for the prosecution and verdict taken from the official court proceedings in the case of the Trotsky-Zinoviev Terrorist Center, held August 19-24, 1936. In his powerful speech for the prosecution, A. Y. Vyshinsky, State Attorney of the U.S. S.R., lays bare the depths of corruption and deception to which the desperate, frustrated terrorists resorted in their conspiracy to assassinate the outstanding leaders of the Soviet government and the Communist Party

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,
REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND
MARCH 3, 1933, OF THE COMMUNIST, published monthly at New York,
N. Y., for October 1, 1936.

State of New York }
County of New York } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared W. E. Douglas, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The Communist, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Communist Party of U.S.A., 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.
Editor, Earl Browder, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor, None
Business Manager, W. E. Douglas, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Communist Party of U.S.A., 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.
Earl Browder, General Secretary, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.
A non-profit organization—political.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is . . . (This information is required from daily publications only).

W. E. DOUGLAS, Business Manager.

(Seal)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1936.

MAX KITZES, Notary Public.

(My Commission expires March 30, 1938).

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