

NOVEMBER, 1936



THE

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The Struggle for the Liberation of Prestes

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Marxism-Leninism



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STALIN and LENIN

Review of the Month

We Celebrate the Nineteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution—A Beacon of Light and a Fortress of Strength—Triumph of Leninism—The Revolutionary Way Proved the Shortest Way—Bolshevism Versus Reformism—Old Issues in New Forms—Shall It Be Disunity and Advance of Fascism or People's Front and Advance of Democracy—The Defeat of Trotskyism and the Victory of Socialism—Our Stalin—The Builder of Socialism and Leader of Progress—The Cahans and Lees Should Watch Their Step—Spain—The Common Cause of All Progressive Mankind—Close of Elections and Promotion of Political Realignment—To the Next Stage of Struggle Against Fascism and War—Objectives and Tactics—Mapping the Course of the Next Stage.

WE ARE celebrating the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution. We are celebrating a momentous stage in the struggle for world socialism, for the liberation of humankind from the horrors of capitalism—reaction, fascism and war.

This is a momentous stage in the world-wide struggle for progress, peace and prosperity. It is a stage at which the world forces of progress and socialism must exert themselves for great and decisive deeds. To combat reaction. To bar the road to fascism. To preserve peace.

Nineteen years ago the people of old Russia, headed by the working class and led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, achieved their liberation. They carried through the October—the socialist—Revolution. They overthrew the rule of the landlords, capitalists and monopolists and established their own rule, the rule of the working class which governs in alliance with the toiling peasantry. They established the Soviet state. In doing so they achieved not only their own liberation but they opened the road for the liberation of all oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

The October Revolution gave to the world something very precious. It gave the world a beacon of light and a fortress of strength. A beacon of light that, with every passing year, is illuminating more brilliantly the path to freedom, peace and socialism for the peoples of all countries and continents. And a fortress of strength, support and encouragement, a fortress of progress, peace and socialism that is growing mightier day by day.

The light emanates from the teachings of Lenin. The strength derives from the successes of socialism. In celebrating the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution we are therefore celebrating the triumph of Leninism which led to the triumph of socialism.

It was no easy triumph, as is well known. It was achieved in the course of sharp and merciless struggles against the enemies of the people and at the cost of great self-sacrifice. But it enabled the peoples of old Russia to escape the horrors of capitalism and fascism and to come finally to the joy and happiness of victorious socialism. There was no other way. There is no other way.

There were people who thought there was. At least, they said so. These were the leaders of Social-Democracy, especially in Germany and Austria, but in other countries as well. These people maintained that they had a better way to socialism, one less costly. It was the Kautsky way as against the Lenin way—the way of reformism and collaboration with the bourgeoisie as against the way of unity of the working class, class struggle and socialist revolution. History has already passed judgment on the relative merits of the two ways.

On the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution old and backward Russia stands as an impregnable fortress of socialism, progress, prosperity and peace. There the working class and all toilers followed the road of Lenin and Stalin, the road of Communism. In contrast to this stands Germany (and Austria)—the victims of murderous fascism, the torture chamber of the German people, the menace to the peace, liberty and prosperity of all peoples and all countries. Nuremberg is the symbol. And in Germany the majority of the working class had followed the road of Social-Democracy. They followed the “less costly” road of so-called “democratic socialism”.

We said that history has already passed judgment on the merits of the two ways. And so it has. It judged in favor of the Bolshevik way and against the reformist way. But unfortunately the issue itself has not yet passed into history. Just because Social-Democracy was “successful” in retaining the allegiance of the majority of the working class in such a country as Germany in favor of the reformist way, fascism there was able to come into power and fascist movements throughout the world received a powerful impetus. Fascism and war thus became the most acute menace confronting the workers and all toilers everywhere. And because of that, the issue of the Bolshevik versus reformist way, far from disappearing, has become even more actual, only it assumed a new practical form.

It assumed this form: shall it be further collaboration with the bourgeoisie, preservation of the split in the working class, its isolation from the toiling farmers and middle classes and, as a result, the

further advance of reaction, fascism and war? Shall it be, in short, the old Social-Democratic reformist way?

Or shall it be unification of the ranks of the working class—the united front, collaboration with the toiling farmers, middle classes and all progressive forces in the People's Front to check the advance of fascism and war and thus to build the transition to the socialist revolution and socialism? Shall it be, in short, the way proposed by the Communists or shall it be the way of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy?

Life itself has already demonstrated which is the better way to take. In France the united and People's Front have made great advances. And it is precisely there that serious successes have been achieved in stemming the advance of fascism. True, reaction and fascism in France (inspired and supported by Hitler) still present the people with great dangers. These may become very acute. The Communist Party of France is arousing the people to these dangers and offers the way of struggle against them. It is the way of strengthening the united front of the working class, of widening the People's Front, of attacking more determinedly the economic and political sources of fascism, of improving the conditions of the people at the expense of the rich.

The path in France is not smooth by any means. Reformist hangovers in the Socialist Party of France present serious difficulties in the way of strengthening and widening the People's Front. But it is *reformist* hangovers, prejudices and hesitations that stand in the way and not Communist policy, as is asserted by Abe Cahan, for example. Moreover, only by abandoning these reformist hesitations will Leon Blum and the French Socialist Party contribute best to solidifying the French people in the People's Front for effective action against fascism and war.

The same lesson has been demonstrated in Spain. As long as the old Social-Democratic attitudes prevailed in the Socialist Party of Spain, the working class remained disunited and isolated from the rest of the people while reaction and fascism were advancing. But with the growth of the united front, fought for by the Communist Party, these reformist attitudes were breaking down, the unity of the working class (Socialist, Communist, Syndicalist) was becoming a reality and a People's Front came into existence. And it is this People's Front that leads today the heroic struggle against the fascist mutineers and interventionists.

Despite the different conditions of France and Spain, the experiences of both demonstrate the following truth. Only by breaking with reformism, by departing from it and moving in the direction of Leninism does the working class acquire the possibility of unify-

ing its ranks—its *class*—of collaborating with its allies, and of building the necessary power to fight reaction and fascism and to create the conditions for the struggle for power and socialism.

It is again Leninism that shows the way. It is the policy of the Communist International built on Leninism, the policy of the united and People's Front, that gives the masses in all capitalist countries effective guidance in the fight for their liberation.

And on this, the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution, we can come to the masses and tell them truthfully, without boast or vanity:

Leninism has given us a victorious socialist country occupying one-sixth of the earth in which 170,000,000 people are creating a happy and joyful life.

Leninism has guided these people in building up a beacon light for world socialism and an impregnable fortress against fascism and war.

Leninism has enabled the Communist International to show the peoples in the capitalist countries a path of struggle against fascism and war—the united and People's Front—which alone is able to save them from these horrors of capitalism and which alone will bring them to the abolition of capitalism itself.

When you see Hitler declaring war against the People's Front, as he did in Nuremberg, you know that the People's Front is what you need.

When you see Hearst, Hitler's agent in the United States, daily slandering the People's Front in France, Spain, America and everywhere, you know that this is the thing that will enable the workers and all progressive forces in this country to save America from fascism and war and that will create the conditions for the socialist revolution—for the establishment of Soviet power and the building of socialism.

* * *

SOcialism in the Soviet Union emerged victorious because Trotskyism was defeated. Had Trotskyism won the battle with Leninism, there would have been no victorious socialist revolution, no Soviet power, no socialism.

If we celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution, the victory of socialism and genuine democracy, it is because Trotskyism was defeated, because Stalin's leadership resulted in the triumph of Leninism.

Some of the defenders of the Trotskyite terrorists (Abe Cahan, Algernon Lee, Norman Thomas) hypocritically ask the question, how it was possible for Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev "all of a

sudden" to become terrorists and to collaborate with Hitler's secret police in the assassination of working class leaders. These defenders of the murderers of Kirov and the conspirators to assassinate Stalin pretend not to know that there was nothing sudden about it. Trotskyism was always one of the worst enemies of socialism and was always combated as such by Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. And since 1927, Trotskyism confronted the working class as the advance guard of the bourgeois counter-revolution against the Soviet Union.

This may mean nothing to Cahan, Lee and Thomas but it means a whole lot to true Socialists, to those who see in the Soviet Union rightly the beacon light to world socialism and to the liberation of humankind from the menace of fascism and war.

In plain words: Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev came to fascist terrorism not from Communism but from Trotskyism and from counter-revolution. And Trotskyism in its earlier phases was never anything else but a variety of Menshevism, a blood-brother of reformist Social-Democracy.

This was how Lenin fought Trotskyism. And Stalin continued the fight until Trotskyism was defeated. It will remain the undying glory of Comrade Stalin that the Trotskyist "theory" of the impossibility of building socialism in one country was smashed, that the Trotskyist counter-revolution was exposed and isolated, and that socialism in the Soviet Union was built to victory and triumph.

The Abe Cahans and Lees, echoed from time to time by Thomas, are exerting themselves in systematic incitement against Comrade Stalin. These worthies seem to think that it is safer to attack the Soviet Union by way of slandering and attacking Stalin than by making a frontal attack against the Soviet Union itself as they used to do in the past. We must help these "clever" tacticians, guided by Cahan of the Jewish *Daily Forward*, to find out that they are in error.

We should say to them: Gentlemen, you forgot one small matter. In the eyes of the masses in this country, as everywhere, Stalin and the Soviet Union are inseparable. Stalin and the victory of Socialism are one and the same thing. Stalin and the growing people's movements against fascism and war in all countries are again one and the same thing. And another thing: the Jewish masses for whom Cahan writes especially do not separate Stalin from the national and social liberation of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union.

Watch your step, gentlemen. You are again in danger of exposing yourselves as enemies of the Soviet Union.

For, remember, when the masses hear of new victories in the building of socialism, they at once think of Stalin. They think of Stalin every time they hear of the happy and joyful life that is being

created in the Soviet Union. They think of the same Stalin when they hear of the growing military might of the Soviet Union, of its magnificent Red Army and Navy, that stand guard over the socialist fatherland and over the peace of the world. They *always* think of Stalin when they think of the Soviet Union as of the greatest source of strength and encouragement in the fight against fascism and war. And when the Jewish masses, here and elsewhere, take pride and courage in the achievements of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union (Biro Bidjan, for example), they certainly do not separate this from Stalin.

Cahan & Co. will do well to reflect upon this.

As to the true Socialists, and to all sincere friends of progress and peace, Stalin and his leadership will continue a source of deepest inspiration and guidance in those great struggles which will bar the road to fascism and war, which will make socialism triumphant everywhere.

* * *

THE liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not a private affair of the Spaniards but the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind." (Stalin to the Spanish Communists.)

A supreme effort is now being made by the people of Spain to liberate their country from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries. And in doing so, the heroic masses of Spain are battling also for the cause of the American people. It is therefore our duty to leave no stone unturned to help rally the American people in effective and quick support to the Spanish fighters.

The people of Spain have been tremendously strengthened and encouraged by the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and by the solidarity of the advanced and progressive forces everywhere. In its telegram of greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to Comrade Stalin, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain says:

"Our people, who are sacrificing their lives in the struggle against fascism, want you to know that your fraternal aid has raised their enthusiasm, given renewed courage to the fighters, and strengthened their confidence in victory."

It is our sacred duty to help make sure that victory over fascism is achieved. A victory over fascism in Spain will mean "a heavy blow at international fascism", as the Spanish Communist Party correctly says in its greetings to Stalin. It will mean a heavy blow to the reactionaries and fascists also in the United States, to the

Hearsts, du Ponts and Coughlins. It will aid tremendously in the fight of the American people for their own progress and liberty.

At this writing, one of the most urgent tasks is to stop the intervention of German and Italian fascism in Spain and to lift the blockade against the Spanish government. The Soviet government presented demands to the "Non-Intervention Committee" in London that fascist intervention be stopped at once, and that effective supervision and control—a blockade—be established around Portuguese ports through which most of the munitions and planes are now reaching the Spanish mutineers from Germany and Italy.

The British government still continues to equivocate, protract, and delay action by the "Non-Intervention Committee". The French government seems to follow the British lead. The result is delay, and delay spells continued fascist intervention. What is, therefore, necessary is such powerful action by the peoples of all countries as will compel the British and French governments to act at once to stop in deed the intervention of German and Italian fascism in Spain.

We must spread far and wide among the masses the following slogans:

Support the demands of the Soviet Union. Demand the withdrawal of German and Italian warships from Spanish waters. Blockade the Portuguese ports. Lift the blockade against the Spanish government. Enforce a working class blockade against Portugal which is today the main entry of fascist aid to the Spanish mutineers.

At the same time we must increase manifold our activities to raise material aid for the Spanish people, for food, clothing, medical supplies, munitions, gas masks, etc.

United action by Communists and Socialists is most urgently necessary for the people of Spain. Joint actions in support of Spain by the Socialist Party, the People's Party and the Communist Party will aid powerfully in rallying the trade unions and other mass organizations in this country to the support of the Spanish people, against fascist intervention and for lifting the blockade against the Spanish government.

For united action in support of the Spanish people.

* * *

THE celebration of the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution occurs at a time when the American people will have concluded one of the most crucial election struggles in the history of this country. As this is being written, the election campaign is entering its last phases. Its outcome is still being shaped by the forces

at work, and a forecast of the results in these columns is neither possible nor profitable.

Certain things, however, stand out clearly. The people have been aroused as never before to the dangers of reaction, fascism and war. As a consequence, large numbers of the American people, workers, toiling farmers, middle classes, Negroes, have come to see the central issue of the present time as a struggle between progress and reaction, democracy and fascism. And it is this fact that is molding the deep realignment of class and political forces which is now taking place.

It is this realignment of class forces that will claim the central attention of all political groupings on the morrow after the elections. All camps, the camp of progress, the camp of reaction and those that seek to stand in between, will scan the election results with the greatest attention with a view of discovering the trends, the tendencies, which indicate the direction and scope of the realignment. So will, of course, the Communist Party.

Our Party has contributed its share in the election campaign towards shaping the realignment of class forces in this country in the direction favorable to the working class and to the people generally. What was this direction? To weaken capitalist reaction, to check fascism and war, to strengthen the independent power of the working class and all toilers. This was the meaning of the Communist slogans: Defeat Landon, Build the Farmer-Labor Party, Vote and Support the Communist Party.

The *further promotion* of this realignment is the central task, the immediate task, of the period that follows the election campaign. The exact methods, tactics and policies necessary for the further promotion of the political realignment will be determined in large measure by the outcome of the elections. These policies and tactics will be shaped to a considerable extent by whether Landon is defeated or elected, whether the Labor Party and Farmer-Labor Party movements emerge from the elections strengthened, as well as by the extent of the growth of Communist influence and organized strength. That is why this election campaign is such a crucial one. But the *struggle* for the further promotion of the political realignment (aside from the methods, policies and tactics) *will go on* with redoubled energy and intensity.

The point we are seeking to make is that, with the conclusion of the election campaign, we are entering a *new stage* in the struggle against capitalist reaction, fascism and war. In this new stage we will confront the same fundamental tasks as during the election struggle only in different form. But *the form is of tremendous importance*. That is why the defeat of reaction in the elections is of such tremendous importance. Yet, decisive as is the outcome of the elections,

this is only one stage in the bigger and longer fight of the present period. The fight for the People's Front, for the Farmer-Labor Party, as the only barrier to reaction and fascism, as the transition to the struggle for socialism and the socialist revolution.

We will enter a new stage in the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party. A Landon victory will no doubt place new difficulties in the way of the further growth of the Farmer-Labor Party. But regardless of the outcome of the elections, the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party will be in the very center of the political life of this country. Larger masses than ever before will be moving in the direction of the People's Front. The Farmer-Labor Party will become the affair of the American people. It will become a truly people's fight.

Similarly the struggle for the organization of the unorganized will enter a new stage—the organization of the workers in the steel industry which is fundamental in the situation but also of the other basic, mass production industries. Again a Landon victory will bring new and serious difficulties for this crucial struggle. That is why we all work for the defeat of Landon. Yet regardless of the outcome of the elections, the struggle for the organization of the unorganized will become more of a central task of the American labor movement than ever before. In the coming period, labor will need and want all the power it can command on the economic as well as on the political field. It will need and want *all the unity* it can command, the unity of the American Federation of Labor as well as the united front of the workers generally and the People's Front in the Farmer-Labor Party. Hence, this will be a central and most decisive task: For a united and powerful American Federation of Labor built upon industrial unionism and democracy.

We will also enter a new stage in the struggle for peace. The mass movement for peace has been making great strides in recent months. Not only are ever wider masses entering the fight for peace but they are also moving closer in the direction of a correct peace policy. True, isolation illusions are still very strong and reaction and fascism (Hearst, Coughlin & Co.) are exploiting these illusions for war purposes. But the significant development is this. While the isolation and "neutrality" illusions still seem to prevail among wide masses *in form and appearance*, yet they undergo continually serious changes *in substance*. In other words: people still seem to be saying that no foreign entanglements and neutrality are the way to keep America out of war, yet what they really mean is no longer the same old and impossible thing but something new and more correct. They mean no help from America to such countries as violate peace treaties and agreements, no resort to war in settlement of international

disputes, ostracism of war-provoking governments, etc. They are beginning to mean support by the United States of peace measures taken by the peace powers abroad.

The outcome of the elections will no doubt determine many of the slogans and tactics of the peace movement. Yet in any event this will be a central task of greater importance than before: the creation of a united and genuine people's peace movement in this country in which labor will have to play a leading part.

And finally the building of the Communist Party as the mass party of the American working class, as the revolutionary vanguard of the American people, the development of the Communist Party into a true Bolshevik party. This task also will confront us in a somewhat different form resulting from the outcome of the elections. Yet, more favorable or less favorable, the conditions of the new stage of struggle will demand a *bigger* Communist Party, more deeply rooted in the shops and mass organizations, more politically active among the masses and more politically alive. The conditions will demand a Communist Party which embraces in its ranks the most conscious and active elements of the working class and other exploited groups. Conditions will demand a Communist membership well educated and trained in the principles of Leninism and able to apply them in practice. In short, conditions will demand a Communist Party big enough and Bolshevik enough to help the American people proceed on its next stage in the fight against fascism and war, a party that will be able to build the united and People's Front and *always* be in the front ranks of defending *daily* the interests of the workers and all exploited.

The offensive of capitalist reaction will not stop with the conclusion of the election campaign. On the contrary, it will continue with even greater intensity. The crucial questions of fighting against the mounting cost of living, for higher wages, shorter hours, more adequate relief to the unemployed and to the farmers, against Negro discrimination and for equal rights, for genuine unemployed, old age and social insurance, for civil liberties, for peace—in short for all those burning demands of the masses which our Party has incorporated into its election platform—this struggle against the offensive of capitalist reaction will enter a new stage.

Capitalist reaction will determine its exact methods, tactics and policies in accord with the outcome of the elections. But the offensive of capitalist reaction will continue in the new stage with redoubled intensity. Likewise with the working class and toiling masses generally. They too will have to determine the methods and tactics of struggle in accord with the outcome of the elections. But the main objectives of the struggle are clear: against capitalist reaction, fascism

and war. *To the new stage of struggle for the People's Front in America.*

One more point should be made here. A vital feature of this new stage of struggle against fascism and war will have to be a *daily fight for the economic and political demands of the masses*. In this there is nothing new as far as Communist policy is concerned. The Communist Party has consistently maintained that the fight against fascism and war can be successful *only* when it is carried on as a *daily fight* for the demands of the masses on all fronts. Eternal vigilance and systematic struggle in defense of the everyday interests and needs of the workers, toiling farmers, Negroes, middle classes—this is the road of struggle against fascism and war.

During the election campaign we had to combat certain tendencies in the labor movement which militated against a full realization of this policy by the masses. We had to combat tendencies which sought to keep down the self-activity of the masses in the mistaken belief that the elections will take care of everything. This was wrong and harmful during the elections. It will be doubly harmful after the elections regardless of their result. The organized strength and independent struggles of the masses themselves is the first condition for their advance. This was always true. It will have to become principle No. 1 in the new stage of struggle following the close of the election campaign.

* * *

THE celebration of the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution in this country will be an event of double significance. We will celebrate the socialist victories and achievements of the Soviet Union and will prepare to meet the next stage of struggle against fascism and war. This is as it should be, for there is an inner connection between the two. It is our task to make this connection stand out clearly to all progressive forces in this country.

Never before has it been clearer than it is today that the Soviet Union, the child of the October Revolution, is an immense source of strength to the anti-fascist and anti-war forces all over the world. It is a veritable fortress of progress, peace and socialism. In this lies today the world significance of the October Revolution.

Today it is also clearer than ever before that the camps of reaction and progress, fascism and democracy, are *world camps*, not alone national groupings. This has become especially evident as a result of the developments in and around Spain. And in the camp of progress and democracy stands as an impregnable fortress, the socialist fatherland of all exploited, the Soviet Union.

As the Soviet Union grows stronger, due to its victories in the building of socialism, this is good news to the opponents of reaction everywhere. It means more strength to the camp of progress and peace in all countries. This is what the masses in the United States will celebrate in November this year. They will say: the Soviet Union comes to the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution with a brilliant record of achievement in the building of socialism and genuine democracy. Note the new Soviet Constitution—the Stalin Constitution. Because of these achievements socialism is demonstrating in life its superiority over capitalism—the system that gives birth to reaction, fascism and war. This spells strength and encouragement to the camp of progress everywhere, also in the United States.

They will say further: the Soviet Union is strong economically. It is becoming the first power in Europe in the production of steel. The Soviet Union is strong politically. The peoples in the socialist country are united as never before around their government, around the Communist Party and Comrade Stalin. This is power. This is strength. Power and strength for what? For progress, for peace. That means strength and power for the camp of progress and peace everywhere, also in this country

They will say, Hearst notwithstanding: the Soviet Union has grown powerful in a military way. Its Red Army is a wonder in organization, technical and military competence and in up-to-date equipment. This is the judgment also of authoritative specialists in other countries. Its Red navy is growing even though the Hearsts of all countries do not like it. This surely is power, power of a sort that even Hitler cannot mistake. Again, power for what? Only Hearst and those like him will say that it is power for conquest. The working masses, and all decent people, know that it is power for progress, for peace. It is added power to everyone in the United States that fights for progress and peace.

And when the American people will come to evaluate results of the election campaign and *to map the course* of the next stage of struggle for progress, peace, prosperity and freedom, they will survey the field at home and abroad and they will find that the camp of progress and peace is strong indeed if only it will unite its forces and fight together. At home there is labor, the farmers, the middle classes, the Negroes, the youth and women—the nation—with the exception of the reactionary monopolies and finance capitalists. Abroad there are the same people who in France and Spain are welding themselves into powerful People's Fronts. And then there is the Soviet Union, the bright star of socialism, the great power of 170,000,000 people dedicated to the cause of peace and progress,

to the happiness of humanity. These are the forces in the camp of progress and peace. Are they small? No. They are great and strong. Only they have to pull together and then no Hitler and no Hearst will be cause for serious anxiety.

Comrade Stalin told the Spanish Communists that

“ . . . the liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not a private affair of the Spaniards but the common cause of all advanced and progressive humanity.”

True and golden words. Let us make it the common cause. Let us show to the American people, and to its working class—its hope and future—the encouragement and inspiration to be derived from the socialist victories of the Soviet Union for the struggle against reaction at home. Let us make the November celebrations ring with the slogans: Hail the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution which gave us the Soviet Union, the beacon light of socialism, the fortress of progress and peace.

Forward to the next stage of struggle against reaction, fascism and war.

A. B.



GEORGI DIMITROFF

General Secretary of the Communist International

The Soviets on the Threshold of the Twentieth Year

By M. J. OLGIN

IN August, 1917, the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party characterized the economic situation of Russia as follows:

“After three years of war, the economic situation of Russia appears in the following way:

“A complete exhaustion in the sphere of productive labor and a disorganization of production; an all-round disruption and collapse of the network of transportation; a situation of the state finances which is close to a final crash; and as a result of all this, a further crisis reaching the stage of famine, an absolute shortage of fuel and means of production generally, a progressing unemployment, a tremendous impoverishment of the masses.”

Two months later the Bolsheviks seized power. The country was to return to peaceful productive labor. The country was to be organized to produce for the use of those who produce and not for the profits of the exploiters. But the latter did not allow the workers to enjoy the fruit of their victory. They did not allow the peasants to benefit by the seizure of the land which took place right after the seizure of power. The exploiters, aided and abetted by the imperialist powers, started their civil war against the young Soviet Republic. The war was conducted for about three years more—practically until the spring of 1921.

Civil war meant concentration on the requirements of the front rather than on the requirements of the broad masses of the population. By a stupendous superhuman effort the enemies were crushed. The country became free again. When the Soviet government took stock of the situation in the summer of 1921, it found that industrial production had fallen to 17 per cent of the pre-war level. The production of coal which, in 1913 was 28,900,000 tons, fell in 1921 to 8,500,000 tons. The production of oil decreased from 9,300,000 to 4,000,000 million tons. The production of cast iron, from 4,200,000 tons to 116,000 tons. Out of 136 large and small blast furnaces operating in 1913, only 17 operated in 1921. Out of 204 open-hearth furnaces only 22 remained in operation in 1921. Agricultural production was only 55 per cent of that of 1913. The industrial section of agriculture suffered particularly heavy losses. The Volga district was stricken with famine in 1921. The railroads were in bad

shape. Total freight carried on the Russian railroads in 1913, 132,400,000 tons; total freight in 1921, 39,400,000 tons.

A vast country sprawling over one-sixth of the surface of the earth, with a comparatively small working class, with a huge peasantry, with very bad roads even in "good times", with a low literacy which in certain regions was no more than 5 to 10 per cent, with a population impoverished and physically undermined by seven years of war and civil war, with a new government not experienced in the ways of managing economic affairs, with a new class in power that had never managed industrial production, with the old-time technicians, engineers, and scientists mostly hostile, with few schools and fewer teachers to train new technical personnel, with the class enemy lurking within the country, and the imperialist powers waiting for a chance to destroy the only state where the dictatorship of the proletariat ruled—such was the country in which Lenin's party under the leadership first of Lenin, then of Stalin and his closest associates, began the building of socialism.

The enemies rejoiced. The critics scoffed. Friends shrugged their shoulders. Can it be done? Socialism in a peasant country, with nearly twenty million individual peasant households? Socialism in the most backward country of Europe? What can Soviets do? They are no magicians. They are *committees of workers*. What can a committee do against the "inexorable economic laws"?

Counting in terms of the 1926-27 ruble, the distribution of the total assets of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. for 1923-24 appeared as follows:

State industry	4,367,000,000 rubles
Private industry	661,000,000 rubles
Cooperative industry	172,000,000 rubles
<i>Percentage of private industry to the total of industry: 11.6</i>	

State agriculture	1,197,000,000 rubles
Cooperative agriculture	175,000,000 rubles
Private agriculture	19,340,000,000 rubles
<i>Percentage of private agriculture to the total: 93.4</i>	

Transportation and communication..... 10,740,000,000 rubles
(all in the hands of the state)

Trade: State and cooperative... 42.3 per cent of the total turnover
Private trade..... 58.7 per cent of the total

Such was the relationship of the economic forces about the time when Lenin died. The country had not moved very fast in the three years after the introduction of the New Economic Policy (1921). But the Nepman thought he had. He accumulated huge profits; he rented factories from the government. He was heavily taxed, but he managed to "carry on". He hoped to outdo state in-

dustry and become as powerful in production as he was powerful in retail trade. The kulak did his damned best. It is here, in these conditions, that one has to look for the sources of Trotskyism-Zinovievism and for the other "theories" of the renegades. They lost faith in the revolution. They did not believe in the constructive forces of the proletariat. They did not believe in the ability of the Bolshevik (Communist) Party to swing the country in the direction of socialism. They were mouthing phrases while their heart had reconciled itself to the return of capitalism. They never regained that conviction which was the foundation of Leninism—the conviction *that the Soviet proletariat, led by the Communist Party, and working hand in hand with the poor and middle peasants, would be able to organize not only industrial production on a socialist basis, but also introduce socialism into the realm of agriculture and raise the production capacity of the country to levels compatible with the idea of socialism*, which is the economy not of want, but of growing, expanding abundance, an economy that is vastly superior to that of capitalism.

This task was formulated in the most lucid manner by Lenin in the spring of 1918 in a tract entitled, *The International Situation of the Russian Soviet Republic and Basic Tasks of the Socialist Revolution*.

"In every socialist revolution, after the task of conquering power by the proletariat has been solved, and in a measure as the task of expropriating the expropriators is being solved in the main, there moves necessarily to the fore the fundamental task of creating a socialist system which is higher than capitalism, namely, increasing the productivity of labor and in connection with this (and for this purpose) organizing it on a higher plane. Our Soviet power finds itself in just such a position when, thanks to the victories of the exploiters, from Kerensky to Kornilov, it has obtained the possibility of approaching this task directly, of tackling it practically. And here it becomes obvious from the beginning that if it is possible to take hold of the central state machinery in several days, if it is possible to crush the military and saboteur resistance of the exploiters even in the various corners of a great country in several weeks, the sound solution of the task of raising the productivity of labor demands at any rate (particularly after the most painful and most ruinous war) several years. The protracted character of the work is predicated here by absolute objective conditions." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXII, p. 453.)

None better than Lenin knew the difficulties confronting the Soviet Republic. None knew better how much *more* difficult the task had become after three years of civil war. But Lenin knew also what the enemies did not wish to know and what the friends often overlooked—the great social and economic assets of the revolution.

The Soviet country possessed tremendous undeveloped resources. "The development of these natural riches by the methods of the most modern technique will lay the basis for an unprecedented progress of the productive forces". (Lenin.) The Soviet country possessed a liberated proletariat and liberated masses generally. The Soviet country possessed the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Bolshevik (Communist) Party.

"Our revolution differed from all the preceding revolutions just by this that it has aroused the hunger for upbuilding and for creativeness in the masses at a time when the toiling masses in the most out-of-the-way villages, degraded, beaten down, oppressed by their tsars, the landlords, the bourgeoisie, are rising, and this period of the revolution is being completed only now, when a village revolution is taking place which builds life in new forms". (Lenin, March, 1918.)

Lenin and Stalin knew what the enemies still refused to see and what the renegades dread—that the new class, the proletariat, having seized power, and marching shoulder to shoulder with the other exploited classes, is capable of conquering such difficulties, climbing such heights and achieving such marvels that could not be possible under any other social system.

Only twelve years ago there were many things the bulk of the Russian population considered to be the special domain of "Europe", meaning the most developed industrial countries of the West. The Russians knew how to produce wheat and rye and oats in the old-fashioned primitive manner, but they did not know how to produce a good steel scythe, let alone a good harvesting machine. The Russians had an abundance of timber but sawmill machinery was ordinarily imported. The Russian land was famous for its coal and iron ore, but who would have ever dreamed of producing in Russia the basic machinery for the production of iron and steel. The Russians had had marvelous factories with the good modern equipment even before the war, but those were almost totally imported from abroad, and even the engineers and the mechanics who installed them were, in most cases, Belgians, Germans, Englishmen, or Swedes. The Russians never knew how to produce a decent sewing machine, most sewing machines in Russia being Singer-made. When you went to buy a pocket knife you insisted on one made of English steel. It was somewhat of an accepted truth, an axiom almost undisputed, that the Russians were not the people able to produce the finest machinery, the best and most advanced engineers, let alone to make industrial inventions and to go ahead trying to outdo the most industrial countries in the world.

When, therefore, in 1928-29, after the country had, painfully,

haltingly and with a tremendous clatter and strain, reached, by and large, the level of industrial production of 1913, when a new slogan reached the outside world, the slogan of the First Five-Year Plan with its tasks "to catch up with and overtake the most advanced capitalist countries", the news was met with a smile of incredulity. It was an unwarranted assumption to say the least. It was an ambitious venture meant mostly for home consumption. It could never succeed. It carried with it all elements of defeat.

Those "critics" failed to realize the tremendous molecular transformations that had taken place in the Soviet Union since the beginning of reconstruction. The proletariat had grown both in numbers and in the cultural level of its development. The Communist Party had become a greater leading force than ever before. The Soviet system had aroused millions upon millions of toilers to new activity, to participation in solving the economic and social problems, large and small. The general level of education had been raised; new schools had been established; illiteracy had been fought successfully among the adults. A great craving for education had seized the entire population. New habits of work had developed. A new discipline growing out of common tasks for the common good had become rooted in the masses. The Soviet masses were learning rapidly not only how to work but also how to manage and how to trade. The Nepman was being systematically driven out of his happy hunting grounds by the successful competition of state industry, state trade, and cooperative trade. The ground was being made hot under the feet of the rich peasant by strengthening the economic position of the village poor and by putting ever new life into the local Soviets, which meant putting them more and more into the hands of the poor and middle peasants to the detriment of the kulak and his henchmen.

All this progress guaranteed the success of the First and Second Five-Year Plans.

Figures are not always very absorbing reading—except the figures of economic progress in the U.S.S.R., which have something of the charm of magic in them. They may not tell the whole story, but they tell basic things about the growth of socialist economy in the U.S.S.R. Here are a few.

Total value of large-scale production in 1913: 10,251,000,000 rubles. Total value of large-scale production in 1935: 58,800,000,000 rubles (all in 1926-27 rubles).

Increase for 1936 approximately 33 per cent over 1935, which will mean that, figured on the same 1926-27 basis, the total output of heavy industry for 1936 will have reached 80,000,000,000 rubles.

Production of electric energy: 1913—1,945,000,000 kilowatt hours; 1935—25,900,000,000 kilowatt hours.

Coal production for the corresponding periods: 29,117,000,000 tons and 109,000,000,000 tons, respectively. Oil production—9,234,000,000 tons and 26,795,000,000 tons. Pig iron—4,216,000,000 tons and 12,489,000,000 tons. Steel—4,231,000,000 ton and 12,600,000,000 tons.

Agriculture machinery (valued): 1913—1,131,000,000 rubles; 1935—17,595,000,000 rubles.

In every branch of heavy industry we must add an increase of approximately 30 to 40 per cent for 1936.

Production of tractors. The first tractor was born in Russia with the First Five-Year Plan. The number of tractors produced in 1935 was 127,700. In 1936 the output is scheduled to be 154,300. By 1937 the agricultural machine-building industry will be advanced from a total production valued at 980,000,000 rubles (in 1936) to 1,480,000,000 rubles.

These figures could be multiplied. They show that all the hopes placed by Lenin and Stalin in the creative forces of the liberated Soviet masses, of the Soviet proletariat, of the Soviet state, of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. have been abundantly fulfilled. One more figure should be cited. There have always been "narrows" in the economy of the U.S.S.R. These were points of difficulty, strategic points which often hampered the development of the entire system. Such a "narrows" was, for years, the railroad transport. Not so long ago daily carloadings amounting to 50,000 were considered a great achievement and the entire country had to be mobilized to overcome the difficulties connected with it. Today, under the leadership of Comrade Lazar Kaganovich, daily carloadings exceed 90,000 and there were days in September when they exceeded 100,000. Total trade turnover in 1928—15,156,600,000 rubles; in 1933—43,402,600,000 rubles; in 1935—73,722,700,000 rubles. The increase for 1936 is about 32-33 per cent, which will bring the total up to nearly 100,000,000,000 rubles.

The figures are eloquent but they do not tell the whole story. The Soviet Union is now one of the foremost industrial countries. Gone are the days when Europe was the producer of machinery while Russia, decrying through her intellectuals her "Asiatic backwardness", was supposed to be the producer of raw materials only. Gone are the days when Russians looked with awe upon industrial progress. The Soviet Union has mastered that progress. There is no intricate machine in the world which the Soviet Union cannot produce—sometimes better than other advanced countries. The Soviet Union has an advantage in that its plant is modern and its equipment up-to-date. Its socialist organization permits it to discard old plant and equipment and introduce the best there is. The Russian workers have shown

a tremendous capability for mastering modern technique. Natural resources of the Soviet Union have been developed enormously. New gigantic deposits of every kind of mineral are discovered. New power dams, colossal in proportion, are in the process of construction. New industrial areas have been developed (Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk, Karaganda, etc.). New industrial areas are in the process of development. New canals, new water projects are in the process of construction. The waterway between the Baltic and the White Sea (Arctic Ocean) which was opened not so long ago is only one of many such developments.

All this is the granite foundation of the socialist economy. The Nepman who so worried the Trotskyites not long ago has vanished. Socialist industry is triumphant. Socialist industry, which during the First Five-Year Plan of necessity had to pay major attention to the production of plant and equipment, has, during the life of the Second Five-Year Plan, been able to turn more and more attention to the light industry, *i.e.*, to the production of means of consumption. During the first eight months of 1936 the output of light industry increased by 37.6 per cent over that of the same period in 1935. As time passes, more and more attention is paid not only to the quantity but also to the quality of consumers' goods. All essentials for the abundant life are here. Industrial production in the U.S.S.R. is socialist production.

"Can we maintain that our small-peasant farms are developing on the principle of expanded reproduction? No, we cannot maintain this. Our small-peasant agriculture, in the main, is not only not developing on the principle of expanded reproduction yearly, but is not even always able to realize simple reproduction. Is it possible for our socialist industry to continue to accelerate its speed of development, when it relies for support on an agricultural basis like the system of small-peasant farms, which are incapable of increasing reproduction, but which at the same time represent the preponderant force in our national economy? No, by no means. Can the Soviet government and the work of socialist reconstruction depend for support for a more or less lengthy period on two different bases: on the basis of the greatest and most concentrated socialized industry, and on the basis of the most backward and scattered peasant farming with its small marketable output? No, this is impossible. This would be bound to end sooner or later in the complete collapse of the whole national economy. What is the solution? The solution lies in enlarging the agricultural units, in rendering agriculture capable of accumulation, of expanded reproduction, and in thus reorganizing the agricultural basis of national economy.

"There are two ways: the *capitalist* way, in which the agricultural units are enlarged by grafting capitalism upon them, and which leads to the impoverishment of the peasantry and to the development of capitalist enterprises in agriculture. We have rejected this way, for it is incompatible with Soviet economics.

“There is a second way: the *socialist* way, which is to set up collective and Soviet farms. This way leads to the combination of the small-peasant farms in large collective ones, technically and scientifically equipped, and results in the squeezing out of capitalist elements from agriculture. We are taking this second way.

“We therefore have to choose between the one way and the other: Either *back* to capitalism or *forward* to socialism. There is no third way, and there cannot be one.”*

For decades the critics of Marxism were asking how it would be possible to introduce socialism in the field of agriculture. The revisionism of Eduard Bernstein had as one of its foundations the prevalence of the small owner in agriculture. The revisionist David wrote an ingenious volume to prove that the concentration of capital, essential for the possibility of socialism, did not take place in agriculture. The Narodniks of Russia had created a whole literature to prove that capitalist relationships had not taken root in the Russian village. They reached different conclusions than the revisionists but they agreed that capitalism was not “cooking up the peasant in the capitalist kettle”. The Socialist-Revolutionists, followers of the Narodniks in the twentieth century, continued the same line of argumentation.

Lenin, the most powerful thinker of Russian Marxists, devoted the major part of his early writings to proving that capitalism did seize hold of the village, that the relationships peculiar to capitalism were rapidly developing in Russian rural economy, that the rich peasant was developing traits of capitalist exploitation, that the class of rural proletarians had made its appearance in Russia—landless peasants living on their labor only, that the poorest peasants even in possession of certain patches of land were also exploited as laborers by the rich peasants, that all this exploitation was aggravated by the existence of semi-feudal conditions where the noble landlord was the main exploiter of the entire village and where the poor and middle peasants, devoid of the most elementary human rights, could not offer any resistance either to the landlord or to the rich peasants. What was needed, said Lenin, was the abolition in the village of the remnants of the feudal system, the introduction of democratic reforms, the most drastic of which would be the nationalization of the land and the distribution of it among the peasantry. It could be accomplished only by the alliance of the workers as the leading factor in the revolution with the peasantry as a whole. Once this revolution is accomplished, there would immediately begin the transition to the next stage of the revolution, the socialist revolution, which would be accomplished by an alliance of the proletariat with the poor peasantry

* Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. II, pp. 255-256. December, 1929.

against the bourgeoisie in the cities and the rich peasants in the villages, with the middle peasants neutralized.

Lenin, more than any other Marxist, helped to clarify the attitude of the workers towards the peasantry. He more than anybody else realized that, after the October Revolution, the way to socialism led not only through industrialization of the whole country, but also through the introduction of large-scale enterprises in the villages. Those large-scale enterprises under the Soviet system could be only state farms and collective farms.

Both kinds of agricultural enterprises were introduced after the revolution, especially after 1922. But the progress was very slow. It was not very easy to overcome centuries-old habits. It was not easy to raise the peasants to a higher level of education. Above all other things it was not easy to provide the peasants with the equipment necessary for collectivization. By 1928, only 1.7 per cent of the total number of peasants were collectivized. In 1929, this number increased to 3.9 per cent. It was a great advance compared with 1928, but the collective farms and the state farms were still tiny islands in the sea of individual peasant households.

As the Five-Year Plan gathered momentum, as more and more agricultural machinery, improved seeds and other technical aid were poured into the village, as the successes of the first collective farms began to make themselves apparent to those peasants who had doubted their practicability, more and more peasants joined the collective farms. The years 1930 and 1931 are the turning point. By the end of 1931, 52.7 per cent of all the peasantry, some nine million households, were embraced by collective farms.

The collectivization of the individual households meant the elimination of the kulak. He had to join, if he was at all admitted, and that meant to be shorn of all privileges. If he was a pernicious element his property was confiscated and he was sent to a distant collective farm. There remained no room for an exploiter in a collectivized village.

Here is where the old property-owning classes made their last stubborn stand. The enemy was resourceful, cunning, ruthless. He employed all methods of deception, of intimidation, of working on the prejudices of the backward, of outright damaging activities, of terroristic attacks. A civil war on a new scale flared up in the villages. One of the expressions of this civil war was the slaughtering of the cattle by the more well-to-do peasants. In consequence of this attempt at depriving the village of traction power and the country as a whole of essential foodstuffs, the number of heads of large-horned cattle decreased between 1928 and 1931 from 70,500,000 to 47,900,000, the number of horses, from 33,500,000 to 26,200,-

000, the number of pigs from 26,000,000 millions to 14,400,000, the number of sheep and goats from 146,700,000 to 77,700,000.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government, the leading cadres in the village and in town replied by mobilizing their forces for the last determined battle of organization. It was not only a battle of eliminating the kulak. It was the battle of introducing order in the chaos of the collectives. It was the battle of making the collectives work, produce, prosper. If, before, the Machine and Tractor Stations were the force that made collectivization possible—the Machine and Tractor Stations, being a center of industrial organization and equipment placed in the midst of rural districts—now the Political Divisions of the Machine and Tractor Stations were organized. If, before, the best sons of the proletariat were sent to the village to work with the collectives and help them straighten out their affairs, now more experienced and better equipped comrades were delegated. The industrial proletariat was giving its best sons to the villagers engaged in the process of building socialist agriculture.

The crisis was overcome. Harvests, one more abundant than the other, became assured. Obstacles were conquered. The organization of the collective farm began to work more smoothly. Accounting was placed on a business-like basis. Pay in shares according to the quantity and quality of work became the rule. Together with this progress, collectivization was making rapid strides. By 1935, 16,982,000 households had been organized in 244,314 collective farms. In the spring of this year 18,322,000 peasant households were counted as members of 245,734 collective farms. There remained outside of the collective farms only 11 per cent of the peasants as compared with 19 per cent a year before. This negligible quantity will soon be absorbed, too. Many areas of the vast land are already areas of 100 per cent collectivization.

How was that possible? The answer was given by Stalin.

“The peasantry did not turn toward collectivization all at once. It could not begin all at once. True, the watchword of collectivization was proclaimed by the Party even at the Fifteenth Congress. But it is not enough to issue a slogan to get the peasantry to turn toward socialism. To secure such a change at least one more circumstance is needed, namely, that the masses of the peasantry themselves become convinced of the correctness of the slogan proclaimed, and should adopt it as their own. Hence this change was prepared gradually. It was prepared by the whole course of our development, the whole course of development of our industry, and particularly the development of those branches of industry which supply machines and tractors for agriculture. It was prepared by our policy of decisive struggle against the rich peasantry (kulaks) and the course of our grain-collecting campaign in its new forms in 1928 and 1929, which

placed the kulak farms under the control of the poor and middle-peasant masses. It was prepared by the development of agricultural cooperation, which accustomed the individual peasant to the collective management of affairs. It was prepared by a network of collective farms, where the peasant tested out the advantage of collective forms of economy as compared with individual forms. It was prepared, finally, by the network of Soviet farms scattered throughout the whole of the U.S.S.R., and equipped with the new technique, where the peasant had the opportunity to become convinced of the strength and advantage of the new technique.”*

One recalls with a smile how frantic the Trotsky-Zinoviev traitors pretended to be some ten years ago over the growth of the kulak and the slow growth of the Soviet farms and collective farms. They suggested a “short-cut” to socialism in the village—forcible collectivization. How that would have alienated the peasants! How it would have wrecked the alliance between the workers and the peasants which alone made the success of socialist construction possible.

Large-scale agriculture on a collectivized basis goes hand in hand with increased mechanization of production, which means greater yield and security against bad crops. The Soviet Union on October 1, 1924, possessed in all its vast provinces a total of 2,500 tractors. October 1, 1928, it possessed 26,700 tractors. January 1, 1936, the number of tractors ready for work in the U.S.S.R. was 355,000. All tractors used in the U.S.S.R. are now Soviet-made. So is the rest of the agricultural machinery.

In 1931 the Soviet Union did not produce any harvesting combines. Whatever it had it imported from abroad. January 1, 1932, it possessed 6,400 harvesting combines, mostly American-made. January 1, 1936, it possessed 52,300, the overwhelming majority of them made in the U.S.S.R.

October 1, 1928, there were no motor trucks functioning in agriculture; January 1, 1932, there were 4,700 of them; January 1, 1936—40,000.

As a result, traction power became the predominantly mechanical power in Soviet agriculture. In 1928, mechanical power formed only 4 per cent of the total traction power in Soviet agriculture. In 1936, mechanical power forms 60 per cent of the traction power. The role of animal power of every description correspondingly decreased from 96 per cent to approximately 40 per cent of the total traction power.

Not only a social revolution of the greatest magnitude and deep-going significance took place with the transformation of over 18,000,-

* Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. II, pp. 338-39.

000 individual peasant households into members of collective farms, but alongside with it a gigantic technical revolution took place. Agricultural labor ceases to be different from industrial labor. In the most advanced agricultural enterprises, agricultural labor differs but slightly from industrial labor. Thus the difference between city and village, between concentrated industrial production and scattered individual agricultural production, an inheritance of capitalism, is being overcome. New men and women are growing up in the villages, the distinguished citizens of the socialist countryside. These people are mastering technique, they develop the discipline and the culture of the industrial worker.

The collective farm, having overcome the initial difficulties and having learned to master technique, has done away with that affliction which plagued the Russian countryside for decades—insecurity of harvests, famine and near-famine. The collective farm is secure against bad crops. It has all the technical means of so improving the land and the work as to avert a bad crop. It has a surplus to tide it over a bad year even were such to happen once in a while.

The abundant life is here. In October the collective farms of the leading territories and regions began to distribute the harvest in kind. The writer remembers a time when three pounds of grain per day for every peasant "soul" was considered abundance. That was in tsarist times. Now we learn that in the Azov-Black Sea territory there are many collectives where each member will receive from ten to fifteen kilograms (25 to 37.5 Russian pounds) of grain for each work day. We learn about farmers in the Ukraine where a family of three able-bodied persons received 24,000 pounds of grain and 10,000 rubles in cash, not counting vegetables and fruit from the collective gardens and orchards and not counting income from the individual vegetable garden left for every member of the collective.

One sign of abundance is that the collective farms deposit increasing amounts of undivided cash surpluses in the banks. In 1933 the total deposits of the collective farms in the Agricultural Bank of the U.S.S.R. (as funds for future capital investments) were 96,000,000 rubles, the total in 1934 was 218,000,000, in 1935, 653,000,000 and the total for 1936 will reach the sum of 1,200,000,000 rubles.

The peasants are learning to consume better goods, to live in better houses. They want automobiles, motorcycles, pianos. They want the best clothes. The women want silk stockings and fine dresses.

The draft of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.—the Stalin Constitution which will soon be ratified—proclaims only what has taken place in the great land of the social revolution—exploitation of man

by man has disappeared. The historic difference between industrial and agricultural labor is fast disappearing, the age-old seemingly unbridgable gulf between intellectual and physical labor is also slated to go. A new man, the Soviet toiler, equipped with the most modern knowledge and in possession of an unusual degree of culture, is coming to the fore. The road is open to the next stage of social progress—from socialism to communism.

* * *

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality."

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to rest and leisure."

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work."

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education."

"Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life."

"The equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of the nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life, is an immutable law. Any direct or indirect restriction of these rights, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

These fundamental rights of the citizens of the U.S.S.R., supplemented by broad democratic rights of the freedom of speech, press, assembly, processions and demonstrations, etc., forming as they do the Magna Charta of the citizens of the first socialist country, give the full measure of the road traversed by the Soviet land in the nineteen years since the Revolution.

The first Soviets, in 1905, were organized as Soviets of Workers' Deputies. There were no peasant Soviets as that time. The Soviets of March, 1917, were Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Soon they were joined by Soviets of Peasants' Deputies. After the October Revolution, when they became the government of the country, they were renamed Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and Red-Army Deputies. The new Constitution introduces the *Soviets of Toilers' Deputies*. The Constitution makes no more distinction between workers and peasants. It recognizes that the population has become more homogeneous, that the Constitution is to operate in a classless society.

Socialism is here. The Constitution formulates this in the following way:

"The socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the implements and means of production firmly establish as a

result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the annulment of private property in the implements and means of production, and the abolition of exploitation of man by man, constitute the economic foundation of the U.S.S.R.”

The country, whose system of education was the most backward among the great states of Europe, has now a system of education equal to none. The country whose masses were mostly illiterate has now a force of cultured workers and collective farmers the like of which is to be found nowhere in the world. Rapid progress in the field of education goes hand in hand with progress in the field of industry and agriculture. The number of pupils in primary and secondary schools in 1914 was 7,800,600. A great majority of the “schools” of that time could hardly be called educational institutions. The number of pupils in the primary and secondary schools of the U.S.S.R. in 1935—25,515,100. The prevailing type of school is rapidly becoming the ten-year school which is a primary and secondary school combined. The number of students in the higher institutions of learning in 1914, 124,700, in 1935, 515,900. The number of students in technical schools in 1914, 48,000; in 1935, 698,100. The number of students in workers’ faculties in 1914, none; in 1935, 276,000. The number of stationary libraries in 1914, 12,627; in 1934, 50,569. The number of books in the above libraries in 1914, 8,900,000; in 1934, 92,573,000. The number of club houses for workers and collective farmers in 1914, none; in 1934, 58,782. The number of books sold during 1914, 113,400,000; in 1935, 456,031,000. The number of papers published in 1914, 859; in 1934, 11,873.

One could go on citing figures which are in themselves instructive. But figures do not show the quantitative difference between the cultural production of the past and the present. Neither do they show the change in the consuming public. The consumers of good books, of advanced theater, of the operas, of high class music in old Russia were a limited number of educated people representing an oasis in a desert of uncultured, often unlettered masses for whom a special brand of diluted “popular” culture was concocted to be administered in microscopic doses. The consumers of the highest fruits of culture in the U.S.S.R. are the masses, scores of millions of workers and collective farmers. The highest type of culture has become mass culture in the U.S.S.R.

The highest type of culture is not only assimilated by scores of millions but these millions have begun to advance creative talent in large numbers in every realm of artistic and scientific work. Gone are the days when writing or acting or painting or scientific research was reserved for intellectuals only. The worker-painter, worker-

sculptor, worker-poet, worker-dramatist, worker-singer, etc., has become a mass phenomenon in the country of socialism.

Education, recreation, physical culture in a country where there are no unemployment, no fear of losing the job, no private employers, no insecurity, but a steady improvement in every realm of life—all this gives life a new aspect. There is strength, there is readiness to tackle the most difficult problems, there is the will to rise. Soviet culture has blossomed up in a manner that could not have been foreseen ten years ago. On this rich soil, the personality of the individual worker and collective farmer develops. Initiative from below is no mere slogan. It was the initiative from below in the form of socialist competition that made possible the carrying through of the First Five-Year Plan. It was the higher level of mass development, mass culture, coupled with a higher level of technique that made the Stakhanov movement possible during the Second Five-Year Plan. The movement was a mass challenge to routine in the field of production, to conservatism in using industrial technique, to following "precedents" established by old-line engineers. The Stakhanovites showed, not in words, but in deeds, what mass enthusiasm coupled with knowledge can achieve on the basis of a developed industrial technique. The Stakhanovites said in effect that, with the present equipment, the country could "force the machines to yield more production with less effort for the workers, provided work is organized on a new basis. The Stakhanovites revolutionized conceptions of what a worker can do with a machine. In certain ways it influenced the entire course of Soviet economy. It has raised socialist competition to a higher level. It has pointed the way which leads to the abolition of the difference between physical and intellectual labor. In the words of Stalin, it is preparing conditions for passing from socialism to communism.

Where there is no exploitation of man by man, there can be no exploitation or oppression of one nationality by another. Russia, the "prison of nations", has been transformed into a brotherhood of nations living peacefully side by side, cooperating, making the prosperity of one the conditions for the prosperity of all. The Soviet Union is as strong as the smallest of its several dozen nationalities, says the U.S.S.R. To make equality of all nationalities not only a principle on paper but a reality, a living force, it was necessary, side by side with assuring to every nationality the freedom of using its native tongue and developing its culture which is national in form and socialist in content, to secure for it the material means for the prosperity of the people and for the maintenance of national culture.

In a world where each capitalist country is torn by economic crises, periodic collapse of the entire economic system, destruction of

productive forces, waste of human energies and stunting of human growth, here is one country in which economic progress is proceeding uninterrupted, in which the best achievements of human knowledge are applied to human labor for the best advantage of all, in which creativeness in the sphere of economic progress is given full sway. In a world in which every country is filled to overflow with people on the brink of starvation, where insecurity is the lot of hundreds of millions, where hunger stalks the length and breadth of countries reputed to be cultured and advanced, where death from the most primitive lack of food in front of warehouses bulging with foodstuffs is the most common occurrence, here is one country where there is no unemployment, where a job is secured to every man, woman and youth, where a job pays a living wage, where rest and recreation are guaranteed by law, where ever greater wealth is spent on the care of the sick, the convalescent, the man and woman in need of illness-preventing rest, where human lives, human health, human well-being are increasingly regarded with that loving care which they deserve as the most precious in human society. In a world where woman is still considered inferior to man, where, whether in factory or in the family, the woman worker bears a double burden, where, in unemployment and insecurity, the woman is the first victim, in a world where motherhood is often considered a curse, where the care of mother and babe is most often unknown as a state duty, and where every additional child is considered a new and heavy burden in the families of nine-tenths of the people, here is one country where the woman has been made fully the equal of man, where all realms of life, from the simplest work to the highest, are open to the woman, where the economic independence of the woman from her husband is the guaranty of her freedom, where motherhood is sacred, where the state takes care of the mother before and after the birth of her child, where illegitimacy in relation to children is unknown, where the care of the child is one of the greatest tasks of society as represented by the state, where pre-school education has been developed to a degree unknown in the other countries that boast an older culture. In a world where nations are arming with feverish haste, where the whole international situation is likened to a powder magazine, where the imperialist states declare openly that it is their aim to conquer whole or parts of other nations' territories, where race hatred, national hatred is fanned to madness, here is one country where a great multiplicity of nationalities are living side by side, crossing and re-crossing each other territories, helping each other, loving each other, and respecting each other's rights, thus giving a concrete living proof of the peacefulness of the U.S.S.R. in relation to other peoples.

In a world where every country is torn by class conflicts, where

the gulf dividing the classes is becoming an ever deeper abyss, where the rich wax richer on the blood and sweat of millions, while the millions are plunged into ever greater misery and want, here is one country which is developing a real internal unity—unity based on the absence of exploiting classes, unity based on common work for the benefit of all, unity cemented by the struggle against the enemies of yesterday and today and against the forces of nature which are made to serve society as a whole, unity based on the constant improvement of life, through the cooperation of all, unity made real by the leadership of one and only one vanguard, the Bolshevik (Communist) Party and by one and only one common ideal—socialism. In a world where the growth of science is stunted by incessant catastrophe, where culture is trampled under the heavy boot of the militarist, where human genius is thwarted and creativeness dwarfed by the rule of claw and fang, here is one country where science reigns supreme, where knowledge is cultivated by the masses, where culture is the great banner of the whole country, where good manners and good taste are acquired by the entire toiling population, where the stream of creativeness is rich and colorful, where the genius of many nationalities is fused to create a newer and more fascinating cultural life. In a world where the individual worker, be he an industrial worker or an intellectual, is so often hounded by fear, lashed by want, crushed by economic adversity and degraded by the brute force of the ruling powers, here is a country where the individual man and woman has every chance to grow, to develop all the faculties, all the capabilities, all the genius, and where a new type of humanity is making its appearance.

Hail the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution! Defend the Soviet Union!

The Nuremberg Circus

By ERNST BRAUN

THE Nuremberg Congress of the Nazis, held in September, demonstrated beyond question the open aggression of Hitler fascism and its plans for a new imperialist war against the democratic nations of Europe and the fortress of socialism, the Soviet Union. An analysis of the Nuremberg circus illuminates the pressing war danger which faces the world as a result of the offensive of fascism. The fascists are growing ever bolder as the European powers close their eyes to one aggression after the other.

After tearing up the Locarno Pact, after doubling his army, after intervening on the side of the fascist insurrectionists in Spain, Hitler thought that the time had come when he could openly raise the cry for a crusade of international fascism and all world reactionary forces against the Soviet Union and against the democratic powers. Directly responsible for the new acts of provocation committed at Nuremberg is the failure of France and England to challenge the aggression of Hitler and Mussolini, and to forge a real system of collective security in Europe which would check the war-mongers.

Consequently the Nuremberg Congress was turned into a demonstration against the peace forces of the world, into a call for a fascist and reactionary crusade against the Soviet Union, and Hitler fascism was presented to the capitalist world as the protector of capitalism from the menace of Bolshevism. Behind the hysterics of Nuremberg were a number of important developments in Germany as well as in Europe. The growth of the People's Front movement throughout the world, the achievements of the People's Front in France, the splendid fight which the People's Front in Spain is putting up, and the growth in sympathy for the People's Front in England, moved Hitler to try and demonstrate to the reactionary capitalists that he can save capitalism by waging war against the Soviet Union and those countries which are collaborating with the U.S.S.R. for peace.

In addition, Hitler was using the Congress as a means of bringing pressure which he hoped would break the Franco-Soviet Pact and compel Czechoslovakia to accept Nazi domination, Hitler appealed directly to the French fascists and reactionaries to join him in a "holy war" against Bolshevism. To discredit democracy, he declared war against all democratic rights and said that "in its last excesses democracy inevitably leads to anarchy".

Finally, Hitler was bringing pressure on the pro-German circle of the British bourgeoisie to make them join him in common action against all democratic and progressive forces and especially the Soviet Union. The Nuremberg circus was a demonstration for war, an instigation against the Soviet Union and the People's Front movement. In practice, Hitler is already combining his provocative talk with the open backing of fascist civil war in Spain, and preparations for civil war in France. The Junker bombing planes, which General Franco uses to murder the Spanish people, are the first example of what the Nuremberg line of action means to the world. Just as Hitler brought "peace" to Germany by murdering tens of thousands and placing additional hundreds of thousands in concentration camps, so now, by threats and intrigues, by armed intervention on the side of fascism everywhere, he prepares to bring fascist "peace" to the world.

The inner political situation in Germany also shaped the tone and character of the Nuremberg demonstration. German capitalism is in a desperate crisis; the masses cannot live on the bullets of the armament program, and the planning for famine and war which is fascism. Hence, the Nazis declared that it is nonsense to try and raise wages and shorten the working day as was done in France by the Popular Front. Instead, Hitler justified his war program by holding it forth as the only way of putting an end to the hunger and privation of the German people. Their poverty, he said, was due to "lack of living space in Germany" and that what was needed were the Urals, the Ukraine, Siberia. This conquest of the Soviet Union "would then lead to unlimited production". This was an attempt to justify the continuous lowering of the German population's standard of living, and the fact that the costs of the armament program are borne by the workers, the peasants, and the city middle classes. They are to go without food, without butter, with substitute materials, so that the fascist war machine can obtain raw materials for its conquest of "territory in the East". To allay the dissatisfaction of the German masses, Hitler raised the banner of the swastika against "Bolshevism" and falsely promised plenty to the German masses when they would conquer the Ukraine.

Hitler was completely unmasked at Nuremberg before the whole world. It was demonstrated to everyone that Hitler was determined to wage a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union in the interests of German imperialism. Another important aspect of Nuremberg is the determination of Hitler to split or break up the People's Front movement throughout the world. This is one of the most important implications of the Nuremberg Congress. Under cover of struggle against "world Bolshevism", Hitler laid down a program

of intervention and war against the democratic governments of Europe, especially where the People's Front is strong, as in Spain and France. This came out strongly in the speech where Hitler said that he would not tolerate "ruined countries" around Germany. Hypocritically he declared that "just as I have established peace within the country, *I shall stop at nothing* which would give the nation, not only the feeling of safety, but which would convince us that the independence of the Reich is guaranteed in all circumstances" (our italics—*E.B.*). Here we see Hitler declaring that he will "stop at nothing" to establish the hegemony of Nazi Germany. He has already done this in his armed intervention in Spain and in his veiled threats to intervene on the side of the French fascists.

To Hitler, Spain and France are already "ruined countries" which must be saved for fascism. Wherever there is a big movement defending democracy and fighting fascism in organizations of the People's Front, there Hitler has announced his intention of waging war on the side of the reactionaries and the fascists.

That is why the Soviet Union was absolutely correct when it pointed out that fascist intervention in Spain was the predecessor of fascist intervention in France and elsewhere. Hitler considers the fight for democracy an obstacle to his war plans and Nuremberg must be considered as a proclamation that he will do his best to crush it everywhere.

What was the reaction to the war show put on by the Nazis for the capitalist world? In England, the pro-fascist groups in the ruling class were strengthened in their determination to help Hitler and give him a free hand in Eastern Europe. These pro-fascist groups are hindered in their course by the resistance of labor and other progressive forces. But they make great headway in sabotaging collective security, because the reactionaries in the trade unions and the leaders of the Labor Party in England are fighting the united front instead of fighting the fascists. The reactionary leaders of the Labor Party, by becoming the tail to the policy of Baldwin, have objectively helped Hitler in his acts of aggression. No one can forget that the official organ of the Labor Party—the *Daily Herald*—played a large role in creating favorable public opinion for Hitler when he moved into the Rhineland in violation of treaties. Hitler has been consistently strengthened by the failure of the British Labor Party to listen to the appeal of the Communist Party of England for united action and for a People's Front to defeat reaction and the danger of war.

In France, Nuremberg was picked up by the French reactionaries and fascists and used as a weapon against the People's Front. Hitler was pictured as the savior of Europe from Bolshevism which the reactionaries claim is threatening France. Hitler, who is engineering

a crisis in France with a view to overthrowing the Blum government, furnished the reactionaries with fuel for their campaign against the People's Front and the Franco-Soviet Pact. Nuremberg showed that the reactionaries and fascists of all countries are collaborating to destroy democracy, the People's Front movements, and the U.S.S.R.

In the United States, the reaction to Nuremberg was shaped by the special interests of particular sections of the capitalist press. The reactionary New York *Herald Tribune* posed the issue exactly as Hitler wants it on a world scale and as Hearst presents it in the United States, namely, as a world struggle between Bolshevism and fascism. The *Herald Tribune* tried to tell the American people that, since both are "dictatorships", we should not mix in European affairs. At the same time it drew the obvious election moral that the American voters must defeat the "Bolshevist-tainted" New Deal. The position of the *Herald Tribune* inevitably leads to the position of Hearst. By raising a false issue the *Herald Tribune* covers up the need for fighting against fascism, and hence, leads to the position of Hearst which is open support of Hitler and Mussolini against France and the Soviet Union.

The Roosevelt government had its own way of reacting to the Nuremberg Congress. Secretary of State Hull made a speech before the Good Neighbor League which was clearly related to the present European situation. Without specifically saying so, the speech took note of Nuremberg, and like Roosevelt at Chatauqua was a step in the direction of peace pacts, the maintenance of treaties, and adherence to peace. Hull's statement, coming as it did after Hitler had announced that he would honor no treaties with the Soviet Union, was clearly an effort, although a weak one, in the direction of preserving peace and honoring treaties. Although Hull reiterated that the American government would not commit itself to any alliance, especially one which would involve the use of force, yet he emphasized that the American government was eager to support efforts to maintain peace.

Nuremberg served notice on the whole world that fascism means war. More than ever the world needs a front of peace against the war-makers if a second imperialist slaughter is to be averted. Nuremberg brought out into the open the threat of Hitler that "the National-Socialist sword must obtain lands for the German plow". The circus was designed to drum up hatred, not only against the Soviet Union, but against the People's Front in Spain and France, and even against Czechoslovakia, which was falsely accused of being a Soviet military and aerial base. The reactionaries and fascists of England and France picked up the war-cry of Hitler. The Pope and the

Catholic hierarchy took Nuremberg as a cue to launch their greatest anti-Communist campaign. The Italian fascists hailed the Nazis as the "strongest anti-Bolshevist organization".

The Nuremberg war-drums are being beaten by world fascism and reaction. Peace was never in greater danger, and it is no accident that Japan increased her provocations against the U.S.S.R. and China. More than ever, the forces of peace must unite their strength against fascism and war. They must expose the menace of Nuremberg to the widest masses of people who do not want war. They must carry on such a campaign for peace that the broadest sections of the people will understand that Hitler is determined to impose fascism through armed force on the rest of Europe. As against the menace of Hitler, the peace forces of the world must press forward for the defense of peace. The program worked out by the World Peace Congress at Brussels will help realize this goal. Independent action by the workers must as always be the main line of defense against the warmongers.

In this serious situation the leaders of the Second International refuse to see the necessity of a united front against fascism and war. In England and in other countries the Socialist leaders, instead of campaigning for peace, try to whitewash the Trotsky-Zinoviev assassins. Their attacks against the Soviet Union help Hitler to camouflage his plans for a war of conquest against France and Czechoslovakia and against the Soviet Union.

In the United States the Socialist Party has steadfastly refused to admit the imminence of the war danger. In fact, its thesis of socialism or capitalism as the main issue now dovetails with the bugaboo of fascism or Bolshevism raised by Hitler. The sectarian and opportunist policies of the Socialist Party have kept it from participating with Communists in building the peace movement here in the United States and from cooperating with the world peace movement generally.

Following the World Peace Congress, following the Youth Congress in Geneva, the time is ripe for the building of a mighty movement which will unify the peace forces of this country. The decisions of the World Peace Congress furnish a basis around which a national peace congress can be organized in the United States. This must be of the broadest possible character, involving everyone sincerely opposed to war and fascism. Through such a movement important organizational and educational steps can be taken which will dramatize the people's desire and struggle for peace.

With the war danger more acute than ever, it is necessary for the peace forces of the world to answer the insolent and barbaric excesses of the Nuremberg circus. Hitler has just put his chief butcher,

General Goering, in charge of a new so-called four-year plan. The people must not be duped by this into believing that Hitler will therefore refrain from war for at least four years. The so-called plan is intended to accelerate the development of a self-sufficient war economy. At the same time, the war preparations of the fascists have reached such a high level, the difficulties of financing them are so great, and the inner tensions in Germany are so acute, that Hitler must seek a way out through war. Besides, his policy consists of provocation, blackmail and murder, ranging from the Reichstag fire frame-up to intervention against the democratic government in Spain. Nuremberg shows that Hitler's policy of violence and threats has entered into a new phase and may erupt at any time against France, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. The chief danger to the peace of the world lies in the imperialist plans of conquest of the German Nazis, who are prepared to unleash the catastrophe of war to save themselves at home and win the mastery of Europe for German capitalism.

The spectacle of Nuremberg, with its demonstration that fascism means hunger and war, contrasts with the peace and prosperity brought by socialism to the Soviet Union. In Germany the people are told to starve, so that the generals can have cannon. In the Soviet Union the workers and peasants march from one triumph to the other of socialist construction.

The examples of fascist Germany and the Soviet Union show that the only ultimate way out for the entire world is the path of socialism. In the meantime, the best way for all those who believe in peace and progress, who wish to save the world from fascist barbarism, is to build a mighty peace movement throughout the world which will check the war offensive of the fascists. The Soviet Union, precisely because of its socialist economy, because of its unparalleled development of democracy is the stronghold of peace around which all anti-fascists and all peace lovers can rally.

Nuremberg sounded a call for a return to the slime and pain of barbarism. The workers of the world and all progressives must answer the insolent challenge of Hitler for world domination with a ringing cry for unity and practical steps for the unification of the peace movement everywhere. In the United States, the Communist Party has the important task of helping to develop a great mass movement for peace and against fascism, and one which will throw the weight of America on the side of the peace forces and against the war-makers. Every Party member, in his trade union, mass organization, has the immediate job of teaching the lessons of Nuremberg, drawing his friends and shopmates into the developing movement for peace.

The Crisis in the Socialist Party*

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

III. A GENERATION OF REFORMISM AND ITS DISASTROUS EFFECTS (*Continued*)

PART II. THE WAR AGAINST THE LEFT WING

IN ANALYZING the basic reason for the historical failure of the Socialist Party—which was its lack of a Marxian policy of class struggle—let us now consider briefly the Socialist Party's experience with the second element going to make up such a policy of class struggle, *i.e.*, the necessity of laying a firm foundation for the Socialist Party by the cultivation of a strong body of revolutionary Marxian understanding in the Party membership and among its mass following. In doing this we will see that the opportunist Socialist Party leaders have violated this fundamental no less deeply and consistently than they did the other imperative essential of a class struggle policy (which we have previously discussed), that of giving effective leadership to the masses in their daily struggles, and with equally disastrous results.

It was obviously an indispensable first condition for the success of the Socialist Party that it systematically educate the broadest possible ranks of Marxian revolutionists. Such revolutionists furnish the necessary understanding of the capitalist system, they are the tireless organizers of the masses, the bravest fighters in every crisis, the indefatigable builders of the Party, the heart and brain of the class struggle. To try to build a revolutionary Socialist Party without developing the Marxian understanding of its membership is to attempt the classically impossible task of making bricks without straw.

This would seem to be a pretty self-evident fact, but the Socialist Party has grossly ignored it throughout its existence. The Right-wing petty-bourgeois intellectuals controlling the Socialist Party, instead of carefully cultivating the life-giving revolutionary tendency, looked upon it as a hostile force, and they spared no efforts to check it, to repress it, to extinguish it, indeed to burn it out of the Party. This action on their part was logical enough as they had no intention whatever of making the Socialist Party a revolutionary party. In this ruthless war against the Left wing, continued for a generation, is to be found the fundamental reason for the failure of the Socialist Party and for its present critical condition.

* Continued from last month's issue of *The Communist*.

THE TWO WINGS OF THE PARTY

Before describing this war against the Left wing it will be well briefly to analyze the Socialist Party group. The Right wing, which dominated the Socialist Party from its organization down to the present year, was, during the heyday of the Party, made up of several groups. Chiefly these were:

A. The extreme Right, roughly, the Bernstein revisionist tendency, was composed of a miscellaneous group of lawyers, doctors, preachers, etc., such as Harriman, Berger, Cahan, Stokes, Wilson, Mills, Hoan, Laidler, *et al.* Previously, I have indicated the general reformist tendency of this group—government ownership, municipal socialism, parliamentary reform, anti class struggle, etc.

B. The agrarian group, also of extreme Right tendency, was strong in the Middle West and West: in Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas, Washington, etc. It was a remnant from the breakup of the old Populist movement and it generally supported the line of the Right-wing intellectuals, with the addition of its cheap-money vagaries and a particularly utopian slant to its "Socialism". This tendency crystallized chiefly around such papers as Wayland's *Coming Nation*, *Appeal to Reason* and *Arkansas Rip-saw*.

C. The trade union group was composed of labor officials, like Van Lear and Johnston (Machinists), Walker, Germer and Hayes (Miners), Hayes (Printers), Barnes (Cigarmakers), Maurer (Plumbers), Skemp (Painters), Schlessinger (I.L.G.W.U.), etc. In general this opportunist group also followed the lead of the Right-wing intellectuals, except that they placed more stress upon trade union questions.

D. The so-called center or Kautsky tendency was composed mainly of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. It included Hillquit, Simons, Oneal, Lee, etc. These people were sticklers for Marxian phrases if not for Marxian deeds. This group gave the Socialist Party its dominant leader for 34 years, Morris Hillquit.

Historically these four reformist groups functioned unitedly as the Right wing of the Socialist Party, especially in the war against the Left wing, and they had the backing chiefly of the non-proletarians and the skilled worker members of the Party. It is true that the Hillquit center group kept up a running quarrel for years with the raw opportunism of the extreme Right "postoffice socialism" elements. But this fight was superficial and did not conflict with the basically reformist line of the Party. The only serious differences that developed within the broad Right wing were during the war when the pro-war Spargo, Stokes, Walling, *et al.*, quit the Party. After the national split of 1919 the four Right groups, or what was still left

of them, gradually coalesced and became practically indistinguishable from each other in one crassly opportunist old guard leadership.

The Left wing of the Socialist Party was more homogeneous than the Right wing. It was made up almost entirely of proletarians, chiefly unskilled and immigrant workers, with an occasional revolutionary intellectual. Through its twenty years of history within the Socialist Party it was led by such figures as Hagerty, Trautmann, Titus, Marcy, Haywood and Ruthenberg. Debs was usually a militant spokesman of the Left-wing program, but he took no active part in shaping Party policy in conventions, etc. He never identified himself with the Left in its organized struggles against the Right, nor did he become involved in any of the various Party splits.

The Left wing took flat issue with the whole reformist line of the dominant Right-wing intellectual leadership. Basing itself upon the fundamentals of Marx and Engels, it fought to give the Socialist Party a program and policy of revolutionary class struggle. It opposed the current opportunist theories of the peaceful taking over of the government and the plan of buying up the industries, and it placed in opposition to them the Marxian perspective of the overthrow of capitalism by open struggle and the expropriation of the expropriators without compensation. It condemned the Socialist Party leaders' passivity in the daily class struggle and their class collaboration policies and compromises with Gompersism. It demanded a program of active struggle against the employers and war to the knife against the capitalist-minded leaders of the trade unions.

Although the Left wing was the revolutionary element within the Party, it nevertheless suffered from many and serious theoretical and practical weaknesses, arising mainly out of its inexperience and ideological unripeness. These errors in general tended in the direction of "Left" sectarianism. They were largely a heritage from De Leonism, and were usually semi-Syndicalist in character. Among the more important of these Left-wing errors were (1) Confusion regarding the nature of the revolutionary role of the Party, with tendencies to make the industrial unions the leading fighting force of the proletariat; (2) Wrong theories of the composition of the future dictatorship of the proletariat, with tendencies towards the Syndicalist trade union state; (3) Underestimation of the resistance power of capitalism and theories of accomplishing the revolution by the folded-arms general strike; (4) Underestimation of the struggle for immediate political demands and tendencies towards anti-parliamentarism; (5) Neglect of work within the mass trade unions and a utopian belief in dual industrial unionism; (6) Underestimation of the importance of the farming, Negro and lower petty-bourgeois masses as united front allies of the proletariat. Further sectarian ten

dencies were: against the Labor Party in principle; overstress upon the religious question, and anti-Americanism—the ignoring and flouting of American traditions and culture.

These various theoretical and practical errors of the Left wing worked greatly to hold back the progress of the Party. They tended to break its contacts with the masses and to push the Party into sectarian isolation. And, added to this, they handicapped the fight against the Right wing, for Right opportunism cannot be defeated with “Left” sectarianism. But the overwhelming responsibility for the failure of the Socialist Party is to be found in the rank opportunism of the dominant petty-bourgeois leadership, and not in the weakness of the Left. Despite its many errors the Left wing was basically correct in its striving for a class struggle policy. It was the healthy Party core, and only through the correction of its shortcomings and the development of its general program of class struggle was it possible to build the Socialist Party into a revolutionary party. It must be added, however, that the argumentation of this Right wing in one sense tended to correct the errors of the Left wing. Its tendency was to drag the Party off in another direction, to the swamp of Right opportunism.

The long-continued struggle between the Right and Left wings, the highlights of which I shall now proceed to relate, placed the issue squarely: shall the Socialist Party be a party of petty-bourgeois reform or of proletarian class struggle? The cleavage was fundamental and the protracted fight took on the character of class struggle within the Party. So that during the various splits in many local branches the line of division passed almost exactly between the proletarians and non-proletarians, the working class elements going with the Left wing out of the Party. That the Socialist Party failed to become a revolutionary party is primarily an expression of the fact that the Left wing was defeated in its struggle for control of the Party and was compelled to build a new, revolutionary organization, the Communist Party.

EARLY PHASES OF THE INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

Hardly had the Socialist Party come into existence in 1901 as a result of the historically justified split away from the deadly sectarianism of the Socialist Labor Party than the fatal control of the reformist lawyers, doctors, preachers, journalists, etc., asserted itself. And, likewise, as the corrective to these baneful elements and tendencies, the revolutionary Left wing of the Party slowly began to take shape and to voice its program. With the passage of the years the cleavage between the Right and Left wings of the Party became

more and more pronounced, until finally the inevitable complete break came.

The first sharp division in the Party on a major scale occurred in 1905 over the question of industrial unionism which, then as now, was bound up with the whole question of militant trade union policies. The Left wing, repelled by the reactionary leadership and program of the A. F. of L., was for establishing new and independent revolutionary industrial unions, and the Right wing, opposed to fighting policies generally, was against it. Under the leadership of Debs, Haywood and De Leon (Socialist Labor Party) the Industrial Workers of the World was formed in Chicago in 1905. In his autobiography Haywood notes the division between Right and Left over the I.W.W. convention, stating that "None of the politicians of the Socialist Party, such as Berger, Hillquit, Spargo or Hayes, took part".*

The factional struggle soon spread from the question of industrial unionism to many phases of the Party's theory and practice. The period in question was one of growing working class organization and class consciousness under the fierce pressure of expanding American capitalism. It was a time of many bitter strikes, of which the bloody Chicago teamsters' strike of 1905, with 21 killed and 451 wounded, was an example. Since 1898 the A. F. of L. had increased its membership from 270,000 to 1,550,000. The Socialist Party also reflected this rising tide of working class militancy, its membership increasing from some 12,000 in 1901 to 41,479 in 1909 and its influence rapidly growing in the trade unions.

The Left wing demand for a class struggle policy by the Party became stronger and stronger and new Left leaders developed. Increasingly the clash grew between the revolutionary elements and the petty-bourgeois leadership. The former wanted to make the Party into a real fighting instrument of the working class, the latter wanted to follow a policy of reformism and compromise. The tension was acute, especially in several states in the Far West, where the best organized and most revolutionary sections of the Party were located. It finally came to a split in the Pacific Northwest early in 1909.

The split took place in Everett, Washington. The leader of the Lefts was Dr. H. T. Titus, editor of the *Seattle Socialist*, and the head of the Right wing was Dr. E. J. Brown, in later years Mayor of Seattle on a fusion ticket. The struggle centered around the question of reformist petty-bourgeois domination of the Party, and against the suppression of the revolutionary elements and their pro-

* *Bill Haywood's Book*, p. 182.

gram of struggle. The Left wing was supported mostly by lumber workers, city laborers and "stump" farmers; whereas the Right wing drew its support chiefly from the petty businessmen, intellectuals, skilled workers and farmers.

The Left wing had behind it a majority of the Party members, but when the convention assembled, the Right wing, which controlled the Party machinery, had managed to scare up a majority of the delegates. A split ensued and in consequence there were two Socialist Parties in the state. Whereupon, the opportunist-controlled National Executive Committee recognized the Right wing claims, excluding the Lefts, including myself, from the Party.

This blow of the Right wing Socialist Party leadership was characteristic of their growing war against the revolutionary element in the Party. Its consequence was, of course, seriously to injure the Party. Hundreds of the best members, not only in Washington, but also to a lesser extent in Oregon, Idaho, and California, were driven out of the Party and never returned to it. Most of them (like myself) joined the I.W.W. and became Syndicalists. The whole affair was a criminal waste of good proletarian fighters, the real builders of the Party, by the reformist leadership. But this rupture was soon to be followed by another—also forced by the opportunist Socialist Party policies and leaders and far more disastrous to the Party—the big national split of 1912.

THE 1912 SPLIT

In this period the working class was in a state of great foment. The trade unions were growing rapidly and conducting many bitterly-fought strikes. The I.W.W. was achieving a spectacular advance with the Lawrence textile strike and several other big struggles. The Socialist Party was growing rapidly and making fast headway in gaining leadership in the trade unions. It was also the time of the Roosevelt Bull Moose movement. All this militancy and struggle of the toiling masses emphasized the futility of the reformist policies of the Socialist Party leadership and stressed the need for a program of class struggle. But the opportunist leadership clung firmly to their reformist line. The struggle between the Right and Left wings of the Party quickly spread and sharpened.

The Left wing, grown strong in this period of mass awakening, had built a national movement around the *International Socialist Review*, published by the Kerr Co., and the chief figures of which were Bill Haywood and Mary Marcy. This center circulated the works of Marx and Engels, routed revolutionary speakers, printed revolutionary pamphlets and developed the Left wing theory and practice on current events. Inevitably this Left center came into

direct conflict with the National Office of the Socialist Party, which systematically played down revolutionary theory and agitation of every sort and poured out a flood of reformist propaganda.* In consequence a struggle for organizational control of the Party developed, and the whole situation came to a climax in the May, 1912, Socialist Party convention.

The immediate program of the Left wing in this crucial fight centered around three major issues: against the opportunist petty-bourgeois control of the Party; for a policy of militant industrial unionism; and against the parliamentary opportunism and vote-catching policies of the leadership. The Left-wing program at this stage was stated in Haywood's and Bohn's pamphlet, *Industrial Socialism*. This program contained many characteristic semi-syndicalist errors, such as underestimation of the role of the Party and of the importance of partial political demands, illusions about dual industrial unionism, etc., but the essence of it was the traditional and correct aim of the Left wing to give the Socialist Party a policy of class struggle.

The outcome of the convention was a major defeat for the Left wing, which was beaten on all its main questions. Firstly, it lost in the matter of displacing the opportunist leadership, because during the pre-convention elections so many petty-bourgeois elements got themselves elected as delegates that the convention was infested with and completely dominated by all sorts of careerist lawyers, journalists, doctors, etc. Secondly, it lost also on the question of industrial unionism; for although the convention indorsed industrial unionism in principle, it took no steps to put it into effect through correcting the opportunist practices of the Party leaders in the A. F. of L. and by liquidating the dual unionism of the Left wing.

But the Left wing suffered its decisive defeat on the general question of parliamentary opportunism. The Left wing's essential position was against the Party's being merely a vote-catching body, and wanted it to become a revolutionary propaganda organization and lead in developing broad mass struggles, especially on the economic field. But the Right wing was skillful enough to evade the main issue. It shifted the attack away from its own political oppor-

* The flock of Socialist Party Right wing intellectuals produced lots of books and pamphlets, but not one important Marxian work. The books of Myers, Russell and Sinclair, although full of valuable factual material, were but Socialist muckraking. Hillquit's books were only academic Marxism, and those of Simons and Oneal presented an opportunist conception of American history. Ghent and London, in their books, *Benevolent Feudalism* and *The Iron Heel*, produced notable works, but they also were saturated with opportunist conceptions.

tunism and narrowed the fight down to an assault upon the Left wing's advocacy of sabotage. Sabotage at the time was very popular in the French Syndicalist movement and it had been taken up by the I.W.W. and the Left wing of the Socialist Party. It was the poorest possible issue for the Left wing to defend and the convention voted 190 to 91 against it, adopting the notorious Article II, Section 6, amendment to the Party constitution, which ran:

"Any member of the Party who opposes political action or advocates crime, sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the Party."

The basic meaning of all this ran far beyond the suppression of the advocacy of sabotage; it meant that the Party leadership had rejected the policy of class struggle and had turned still deeper into the reformism that was killing the Party. Its lawyer-doctor-preacher heads were determined to wipe out the revolutionary tendency in the Party and they followed up this convention victory by having Haywood recalled by referendum from the National Executive Council. Thus, Bill Haywood, the revolutionary fighter who was worth several carloads of the opportunist intellectuals who were running and ruining the Socialist Party, was not deemed worthy of sitting upon the Party's executive. The elimination of Haywood was a logical climax to the leadership's long and fatal war against the Left wing and its program of class struggle, the war that brought about the historic failure of the Socialist Party.

The outcome of the 1912 convention was a real disaster to the Socialist Party, one from which it never fully recovered. The deadly grip of the petty-bourgeois leadership was strengthened and their opportunist policies more deeply entrenched. A sort of silent split developed, thousands of the best proletarian members, Haywood among them, quitting the Party in disgust, never to return; many of them going to Syndicalism and the I.W.W. Thus the Party was drained of its best blood, and the loss of all these workers and basic Party builders soon showed itself in a real decline of the organization. The Party dropped in membership from 118,045 in 1912 (the highest points it ever reached in all its history) to 79,374 in 1915. Its national election vote fell from 897,011 in 1912 to 585,113 in 1916. And, of decisive importance, its previous rapid advance in the trade unions was stopped and the Socialist Party lost its opportunity to win the leadership of the A. F. of L. Reformism had dealt a mortal blow to the Socialist Party.

The 1912 split, however, could not be the decisive fight between the reformist and revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party. The Second International, which was not yet discredited by its failure in

the World War and in the accompanying revolutionary struggles, still had great prestige as the revolutionary organization of the working class, as the Party of Marx and Engels. Hence its ultra-opportunist American section also retained the power to attract revolutionary workers. Moreover, the Socialist Party Left wing, still saturated with sectarian and syndicalist tendencies, was as yet insufficiently developed ideologically to build a separate revolutionary party. So, with the great vitality and persistence which bespeaks the correctness of its revolutionary line, the Left wing, recovering from the disastrous 1912 defeat, began once more to build the Socialist Party and to organize its forces and program within it. But the opportunism of the Socialist Party leadership was soon to cause a complete break between the reformist Right and the revolutionary Left and to call into being the Communist Party.

THE 1919 SPLIT

The 1919 split in the American Socialist Party was part of the world-wide break between the reformist and revolutionary elements in the Second International, the split that gave birth to the Communist International. It was the inevitable culmination of the growing antagonism for years past between the revolutionists and the opportunists in the world Socialist movement. It was directly caused by the Second International's support of the World War, by its antagonism to the Russian revolution, and by its betrayal of the revolutionary struggles of the workers in Germany, Hungary and other European countries at the close of the war.

These great world events, of course, had profound repercussions in the American Socialist Party. They brought to the breaking point the long-developing tension between the Right and Left wings of the Party and made it impossible for the mutually antagonistic reformist and revolutionary elements to live within the one political organization.

In the vital question of the war, as we have seen, the Left wing of the American Socialist Party had energetically opposed the whole war-time course of the Second International, condemned the action of its parties which supported the war, and strongly resisted America's entry into and prosecution of the war. But the Right-wing leaders of the Party, under cover of radical phrases, compromised with the war situation in a typical reformist manner. This brought to an acute stage the struggle between the two groups.

The controversy within the Party over the Russian revolution also added fuel to the spreading conflagration. The rapidly growing Left wing heartily supported the revolution and accepted its great revolutionary lessons, including the fundamental principles laid down

by Lenin. But the Right wing hated the Russian revolution as the very victory symbol of the revolutionary spirit which they had fought against for so many years in the American Socialist Party. They rejected Lenin's teachings and placed the works of this greatest revolutionist since Marx upon the banned books list, where they still remain until this day. All of which deeply embittered the Left wing.

The growing struggle between the Right and Left wings of the Party was further spread and intensified by Social-Democracy's betrayal of the German revolution at the end of the war through the liquidation of the Soviets set up by the workers, soldiers and sailors. This treacherous action, which saved capitalism throughout central Europe and to which the present-day Hitler can trace his power, met with the approval of the American Right wing and the bitter hostility of the Left.

Thus, in this series of great events the Socialist Party, in the United States as well as abroad, was hopelessly split ideologically by the reactionary course of its opportunist leaders. The long years of struggle within the American Socialist Party, as in other countries, had come to a climax. The two wings of the Party were at open war with each other. It was the parting of the ways between the two conflicting tendencies within the Party; between the policies of class struggle and class collaboration; between the revolutionists who were determined to overthrow capitalism and the opportunists who wanted to reform it.

Inevitably the deep ideological split also took on organizational form. And logically it was the Right wing, in line with its long struggle to kill the revolutionary tendency, that took the actual initiative in splitting the Party. Briefly, the break developed thus: The revolutionists, led by C. E. Ruthenberg and organized first in the Socialist Propaganda League (Boston, 1915) and later in the Left wing of the Socialist Party (New York, June, 1919), had the support of the majority of the Party membership and in 1919 they elected 12 out of 15 members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. But the Right wing, which controlled the Party apparatus, repudiated this election and, in order to dominate the approaching Emergency Convention, suspended several language federations and the whole Michigan State Party organization (much as the A. F. of L. Executive Council has just ousted the C.I.O.). At the convention itself in Chicago, August 30, 1919, the Rights, with the help of the police, expelled all known Left-wing delegates.

The split was thus completed. At last the Right wing had succeeded in its historic aim of getting rid of the revolutionary element from the Socialist Party. But the ruinous consequences to the Socialist

Party of this criminal expulsion of the Party's best forces, its very life blood, were not long in showing themselves. The 1919 split turned out to be even more disastrous to the Socialist Party than that of 1912. Within a year the Party's membership dropped from 104,822 to 26,766* and by 1927 it had fallen to but 7,425. The influence of the Party in the trade unions declined swiftly, and its vote in the Presidential elections of 1928 (262,805) was hardly more than 25 per cent of its vote in 1920. Socialist representation in state and local legislative bodies fell to but a small fraction of its former strength. The Party went generally into decay, and its once extensive press was almost wiped out. Its opportunist leaders, with the Left wing no longer on hand to restrain them, completely abandoned all fight against the A. F. of L. reactionaries and joined with them in their whole program of B. & O. plan speed-up, labor banking, expulsion of Communists, anti-Soviet slander, etc. Thus, reduced almost to zero in numbers, influence and revolutionary principle, the bankrupt Socialist Party drank to the dregs the bitter cup of its opportunist petty-bourgeois leadership, with their fatal reformist policies and relentless war against the Left wing.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In consequence of the 1919 split the flag of socialism passed from the hands of the Socialist Party. By twenty years of opportunism and failure the Socialist Party petty-bourgeois leaders had shown that they would make no fight for revolutionary socialism. A new Socialist standard bearer, a revolutionary party, was necessary and it was formed, the Communist Party.

In previous splits—1909, 1912—the expelled Left wing because of its ideological undevelopment had either liquidated itself into I.W.W. Syndicalism or dribbled back individually to the Socialist Party. But not so in 1919. The revolutionaries, acquainted now with the principles of Leninism and educated by the great events of the war and the post-war revolutions, had matured theoretically. By 1919 the Left wing had cleared up, or was rapidly doing so, its traditional semi-Syndicalist errors on such questions as the role of the state, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the seizure of power, the role of the Party and the trade unions, etc. In short, as Alex Bittelman says, it had advanced "from vague Left Socialism and general proletarian militancy to the definite and solid foundations of Leninism".** Hence, on August 31 and September 1, 1919,

* In the summer of 1921, the last detachment of the Left wing, the Workers Council group (Engdahl, Trachtenberg, Finnish Federation, etc.) also quit the Socialist Party.

** Alex Bittelman, *Fifteen Years of the Communist Party*.

in Chicago, the split-off Left wing of the Socialist Party organized itself into two Communist Parties. Between these, however, there was little difference in principle; so, finally, two years later, they fused into one united Communist Party.

Here is not the place for a history of the Communist Party. The student can find this in Bittelman's *15 Years of the Communist Party*, Browder's *Communism in the United States* and *What Is Communism?*, Bimba's *History of the American Working Class* and my forthcoming book *From Bryan to Stalin*. In this study of the Socialist Party I cannot give even an outline of the Communist Party's development and policy.

Suffice it to say that the Communist Party has based itself firmly upon the class struggle policy which the Socialist Party throughout its history rejected. It has come forward energetically in the measure of its strength as the leader of the masses in their daily fights against the capitalist exploiters, and it has systematically cultivated revolutionary Marxism-Leninism among its own membership and mass following. And the general result of this correct policy of class struggle is the present unity, growth and expanding influence of the Communist Party.

As was to be expected, the development of the revolutionary Party in the greatest stronghold of capitalism was no bed of roses. On the one hand, there had to be overcome, with the help of the Communist International, the harmful semi-Syndicalist sectarian conceptions inherited by the Left wing from the past, and this was not accomplished and a revolutionary program developed without sharp internal struggles and many serious errors in the practical work of the Party. And, on the other hand, there had to be withstood the fierce attacks of the capitalists and their agents, including severe governmental persecution, widespread expulsion from the trade unions and industry by reactionary union officials working with the bosses, etc.

But the Communist Party has prospered in spite of all these difficulties. It is now unified and healthy, and its membership and influence are constantly increasing. The Party's recent membership figures show: 1930—7,500; 1931—9,000; 1932—14,000; 1933—18,000; 1934—26,000; 1935—30,000; 1936—41,000, plus 11,000 members in the Young Communist League or 52,000 in all.

Wherever the fight is hottest there the Communist Party is to be found organizing the toilers for a united front stand against the exploiters. Not to mention its many big struggles of past years, including the long fight for amalgamation and the Labor Party; the fight against the B. & O. plan; the long struggle against corruption and gangsterism in the unions; the big 1930-33 fights of the unem-

ployed; the many strike struggles of 1933-35, notably the San Francisco strike, etc. The Communist Party, with its broad united front policy, is playing an active role on every front in the class struggle.

Here I can mention only a few of the Communist Party's chief current activities: At the present time it has mobilized the support of at least 5,000,000 workers and others in support of the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill (H.R. 2827). It is playing an important part in the American Youth Congress, which at its convention in Cleveland, July 3, 1936, had 1,400 delegates representing a membership of 1,700,000. The Communist Party is likewise a vital factor in the American League Against War and Fascism, a movement which held its Third Congress in Cleveland in January, 1936, with an attendance of 2,070 delegates from 1,840 organizations of 3,291,906 members. The Party's role was also one of significant importance in the organization of the great united front National Negro Congress in Chicago, February, 1936, of 1,817 delegates representing 1,200,000 members organized in trade unions, churches, youth clubs, etc. In all these united front movements the Communist Party is an official participant. It is also taking an active part in the present big drive of the C.I.O. to organize the steel, auto, rubber, and other mass production industries. In addition, the Party is active in developing the Farmer-Labor Party movement. This was acknowledged when, at the May 30, 1936, Farmer-Labor conference in Chicago, attended by prominent leaders of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, many local labor parties, etc., the Communist Party delegates were officially seated.

A most important present activity of the Communist Party and an evidence of its growing mass influence is its militant fight against the suspension of the C.I.O. unions by the A. F. of L. Executive Council. Up to the present writing 20 state federations, 60 central bodies, several international unions and hundreds of locals have protested the suspension. The masses of trade unionists are enraged at the attempt of Green, Hutcheson and Co. to split the labor movement, and the Communist Party has been very active in crystallizing this mass resentment into concrete action. The C.I.O. to date has bestirred itself very little in organizing this protest, and as for the Socialist Party, prostrated by its hesitant attitude and internal chaos, it has made virtually no fight whatsoever to preserve the unity of the trade union movement.

The growth and accomplishments of the Communist Party are, of course, very modest in comparison with the great revolutionary tasks ahead. The Party also still has many weaknesses and insufficiencies that have to be corrected. But the important thing is that the

Party is on the right track, its fundamental program of class struggle is correct, its policies of the broad united front are successful, and it is learning to apply them effectively. This is amply proven by the revolutionary Communist Party's record of growth and progress, in comparison with the historical failure of the reformist Socialist Party. The Communist Party is becoming a major political factor in the country, while the Socialist Party flounders along in crisis and decline. All of which goes to show that in the many long years' fight between Rights and Lefts in the American revolutionary movement, the Lefts were profoundly correct. Not along the road of reformism, but of class struggle is the way the workers have to go to achieve socialism.

NOTE: In the December issue of THE COMMUNIST Comrade Foster will deal with the present situation in the Socialist Party.—Ed.

Problems Before the 56th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.

By JACK STACHEL

THE coming convention of the American Federation of Labor in Tampa, Florida, has it in its power to determine the course of the trade union movement for the next period of years. Will there be a united trade union movement? Will the reactionaries in the American Federation of Labor succeed in splitting the American Federation of Labor? If a compromise is arrived at and unity is established, on what basis will it be re-established? Will it be a compromise on the basis of the continuation of the old and bankrupt policies that have failed to organize the great millions of unorganized in the basic industries on the basis of industrial unionism? Will the only kind of unity that is demanded by the rank and file and by the needs of the moment be established, namely, a unity on the basis of an energetic campaign in the entire trade union movement to organize the unorganized, and in the first place the steel workers?

These vital questions, all of which are now symbolized in the division that has arisen in the American Federation of Labor, and are expressed, on the one hand, in the policies of the most reactionary elements within the A. F. of L. Council, and, on the other hand, in the unions that have formed the Committee for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.), were already the very center of the discussion at the last, the Fifty-Fifth, Convention of the American Federation of Labor. At that convention the reactionary elements, through their bloc vote which did not express the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor, did not settle the issue, as can now be seen, when through their so-called majority of 18,000 to 11,000 votes they defeated those proposals and measures which aimed at making possible the bringing of millions of unorganized in the mass production industries into the American Federation of Labor.

It is to the credit of Lewis, Hillman and their supporters that immediately following the 55th Convention they were not satisfied with the fight around the resolutions, but took steps to initiate the campaign to organize the unorganized. It was this step, even more than the stand which they took at the convention, that earned for the C.I.O. unions the progressive position that they now occupy in the labor movement, which gave them the authority that they

now enjoy among the rank and file both of their own unions as well as in the trade union movement as a whole, including the majority of the workers organized in the craft unions.

But it was just when the C.I.O. unions actually began to organize the unorganized, build and strengthen the American Federation of Labor, a step greeted by the vast majority of the rank and file, that the A. F. of L. Council found excuses for suspending the ten unions affiliated to the C.I.O. with a total membership of over a million. It was suspected from the beginning, and it is now clear, that one of the major factors contributing to this treacherous act of the Council was the Liberty League-Hutcheson conspiracy to split the labor movement, to prevent the development of the American Federation of Labor into a powerful and progressive organization in the struggle against reaction and the growing tendencies towards fascism. The full intent of this conspiracy can be seen when it is remembered that this same notorious Hutcheson is the head of the so-called "labor" division of the Landon-Knox Campaign Committee.

The treachery of the Council suspension as a whole can be seen most glaringly in the light of the fact that it came immediately after the beginning of the campaign to organize the steel industry. This treachery is further emphasized by the fact that the campaign to organize the steel workers aimed at enrolling the workers in the steel industry into the Amalgamated Association of Steel, Tin and Iron Workers (A.A.), one of the oldest organizations of the A. F. of L., and holding a charter entitling it to bring the steel workers into its fold. Following the decisions of the last convention of the A.A., the Steel Workers Organizing Committee was formed, consisting of a number of unions who pledged their support to the A.A. There was nothing to prevent any union in the A. F. of L., any official, from giving similar support and becoming associated with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

The fact is that the Council not only objected to the form of the campaign and its leadership, but what the reactionaries in the A. F. of L. Council really objected to was the campaign to organize the steel workers as such. They feared the influx of new millions of workers in the basic industries as a challenge to their whole policy and leadership. The A. F. of L. Council had plenty of opportunities to undertake such a campaign. It did nothing to help in the historic 1919 campaign or in the years of 1933 and 1934 when some one hundred thousand steel workers joined the A.A. On the contrary, the Council, together with the Mike Tighe (who is now no longer President of the A.A.) leadership of the A.A. at that time, did everything possible to disrupt the campaign of organization, through

strike-breaking and preaching reliance upon government boards instead of on the organized power of the steel workers. At the San Francisco Convention of the A. F. of L., another decision was made to organize the steel industry, but again nothing was done.

The suspension of the C.I.O. affiliated unions was, as was to be expected, met by a storm of resistance and protest from the rank and file. It was expressed in thousands of resolutions from local unions, including some of the most important locals of the big craft unions whose leaders voted for the suspension, such as the carpenters, machinists, etc. Almost all of the Central Labor bodies that acted on the question voted to condemn the suspension and demanded reinstatement. The same was true of the conventions of the State Federations of Labor, and numerous conventions of International unions. In very few cases was the Executive Council able to win endorsement of its splitting policy. Even those organizations that did not go as far as giving endorsement to the C.I.O. or even condemning the suspensions could not be secured by the Council for the endorsement of the suspensions.

The A. F. of L. Council did not expect such overwhelming opposition. This resulted in the decision of the A. F. of L. Council not to try to oust the locals of the suspended unions from the Central bodies and State Federations of Labor. It was a big preliminary victory for the progressive forces. Through this step the rank and file expressed its desire for unity, it blocked for the moment the carrying through and deepening of the split. This victory is all the more significant because the leadership of the C.I.O., for reasons which are, to say the least, debatable, followed a policy of doing little to mobilize support from below against the suspensions. In many instances, it is established that had the local unions of the International unions affiliated to the C.I.O. taken up an active campaign in their localities, the Central bodies and State Federations of Labor that did not come out against the suspensions could have been won for this position. At this point it may be worthwhile mentioning that because of this position of the C.I.O., especially its failure to popularize sufficiently the demand for unity, the Council was able to confuse many workers in the craft unions. Had the C.I.O. unions made it clear that their policies, far from destroying the craft unions as, for example, in the building trades, would actually help them to raise and maintain their wage standards and working conditions, it could have maintained a greater initiative in the fight for unity of the American Federation of Labor, and it would have been much easier for all to see that the responsibility for the threatened split in the A. F. of L. rests upon the shoulders of the Hutchesons and Freys.

Already in 1935, the 55th Convention of the A. F. of L., as we pointed out in our estimate of the convention, reflected much more than the surface issues would indicate. The reason that the issues of industrial unionism and the organization of the unorganized took the form of the sharp struggle that prevailed through the convention, was because already there was a beginning of the recognition on the part of some of the leaders of the growing menace of reaction. Numerous speakers touched on this question. Many of the resolutions introduced, debated, and some even accepted, as, for example, the resolution on the National Civic Federation, had this menace in mind. This growing realization of the forces at work was expressed at the 55th Convention by John L. Lewis in the following words:

“There are great influences abroad in the land, and the minds of men in all walks of life are disturbed. We are all disturbed by reason of the changes and the hazards in our economic situation and as regards our own political security. There are forces at work in this country that would wipe out, if they could, the labor movement of America, just as it was wiped out in Germany or just as it was wiped out in Italy.

“There are those of us who believe that the best security against that menace and against that trend and against that tendency is a more comprehensive and more powerful labor movement. We believe that the way should be paved so that the millions of workers who are clamoring for admission into our councils might be made welcome upon a basis that they understand and that they believe suited to their requirements.”

This growing consciousness of the menace of growing reaction, the danger of fascism, was expressed on an unprecedented scale in the labor movement in the past year. An expression of this was to be seen not only in the support to the C.I.O., the mounting resentment against the suspensions that was expressed at the various conventions of the international unions, State Federations of Labor, in Central Labor bodies, and in local unions, but in the taking up by these bodies of the fight against fascism, against Hearst, in support of the struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist rebellion, and in the mounting support to independent labor political action. An outstanding feature has been the almost complete absence of Red baiting and Red scares at these conventions. More than that, there is a beginning of the realization of the progressive role of the Communists in the labor movement. This was openly expressed, especially in the resolution adopted by the International Rubber Workers Convention. Even the formation of Labor's Non-Partisan League in support of Roosevelt can be seen as an expression of an honest desire to defeat the Liberty League-Hearst-picked Republican

candidate, Landon, although it still reflects a reliance on Roosevelt that is certainly not borne out by the facts.

The activities of the C.I.O., the campaign to organize the steel industry, have made labor more conscious of its role and its tasks in the face of the present situation. And the general growing political consciousness of labor has contributed to the mass support of the progressive elements as against the reactionaries within the American Federation of Labor.

It is this general development in the labor movement that has made it impossible even for the majority of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. openly to countenance the activities of the Liberty League Hutcheson, with the result that he handed in his "resignation". This unquestionably represents a serious blow to the most reactionary groupings in the A. F. of L. Council.

It is in this setting that the Tampa convention meets. It is with this situation in mind that the prospects for unity in the labor movement must be measured, the tasks in the fight for unity approached. There can be no question that the rank and file desire the reestablishment of unity in the American Federation of Labor. Already the open shoppers are doing everything possible to maintain and deepen the division. For only they would profit by a split in the labor movement. One only has to see how they are trying to disrupt any effort toward unity. The reactionary *New York Herald Tribune* greets the latest talk of unity with the editorial headline of "Window Dressing". They want to create the impression that unity cannot be reestablished.

Of course, unity is not something abstract. Unity is for the purpose of organizing the forces of the working class to resist the attacks of the capitalists, which they are planning to unloose no matter what the outcome of the elections. And by the same token the labor movement needs unity to defend and extend its positions no matter who is the next President. There are, however, some who would put the question "unity at any price". At any price might mean at the expense of organizing the steel workers, the continuance of the paralyzing and reactionary policies of the Executive Council. Such unity is, for example, advocated by the "Old Guard" Socialists now organized in the so-called "People's Party" led by Louis Waldman, and generally by Abe Cahan and the circles around the *Jewish Daily Forward*. This is not really unity. This is an attempt to defeat the fight to organize the unorganized, the giving up of the fight for industrial unionism in the mass production industries—the only organizational form that can organize the millions in the basic industries.

There are also some who wish to rationalize the present division

in the labor movement into a theory that the only progressive step that can and must be taken by the labor movement is one of complete separation from the A. F. of L. and the building of a new labor federation. There are among the militant Socialists some who hold this opinion. It is not yet possible to ascertain to what extent the official policy of the present leadership of the Socialist Party leans in this direction; for one reason, because nobody knows nowadays what the policies of the Socialist Party are on most questions. But it is well known that particularly among some of the Socialists in a number of independent unions this policy prevails. The Lovestone group, which in the past, in principle, carried on the most bitter struggle against any efforts to organize unorganized workers outside the A. F. of L., even when this was the only road open, has now come out with a resolution in which it lays down the thesis that just as the birth of the A. F. of L. replacing the Knights of Labor was a necessary progressive step in the growth of the labor movement, a new federation to replace the American Federation of Labor is now necessary for the labor movement to make further progress. This estimate which, by the way, is not altogether correct, as far as the role of the A. F. of L. as that time is concerned, is particularly dangerous in the present situation. It means the abandonment of the fight for the unity of the trade union movement. It assumes that the progressives cannot win the A. F. of L. for their policies.

Both of these wrong policies, the policy of "unity at any cost" and the policy of the inevitability of a new federation, have as their common origin a lack of faith in the rank and file. Both look upon the question of unity from the point of view of merely coming to an agreement among groups of leaders. Those who advocate "unity at any cost" would give up the fight and remain in the A. F. of L. on the basis of its old policies. Those who speak about the inevitability of a new federation of labor would also leave the A. F. of L. in its present form, while they organize the progressives outside the A. F. of L.

The Communist Party rejects both of these wrong positions. It fights for the unity of the American Federation of Labor. It fights for this unity on the basis of the establishment of guarantees that the campaign for the organization of the unorganized will be carried through, that the principle of industrial unionism will be established in the organization of the mass production industries. It fights for unity by rallying the rank and file for these policies and in this manner to bring about the necessary changes within the American Federation of Labor.

With the convention date only a few weeks off (November 16),

it is necessary to do everything possible to try to reach an agreement before the convention so that the suspended unions can be seated with full rights at the Tampa convention. In this respect we believe that if the Executive Council wishes that its talk of unity be taken seriously it should show its good faith by immediately reinstating the C.I.O. unions. Failure to do this cannot but cast great doubts as to whether all this talk is not just a maneuver, to weaken the fight for unity, and to divide the forces gathered in and around the Committee for Industrial Organization. For one thing is clear. Division within the C.I.O. would not be a genuine step towards unity. Those who consciously or unconsciously allow themselves to become instruments to create such a division would not further the cause for unity. On the contrary, now with the blow delivered at Hutcheson, when the prospects for unity appear better, they would only strengthen the weakened hand of the Executive Council to maintain the present division.

If all the forces of the C.I.O. stand united and intensify their work in the entire labor movement, making clear their readiness and willingness to come to an agreement on an honorable and practical basis that would not defeat their major objective—the organization of the unorganized—it might even be possible that at the time of the scheduled meeting of the C.I.O. forces in Pittsburgh on November 9 sufficient progress will have been made so that the conference can become a landmark on the road to the reestablishment of unity and furthermore for the strengthening of the steel campaign with the support of a united trade union movement. Nothing would better answer the steel trust's campaign of terror and intimidation of the steel workers, nothing would give more impetus to the campaign to organize the hundreds of thousands of steel workers than such a step.

The Communist Party, which has throughout the past few months done all in its power to mobilize support for the reestablishment of unity on the basis of the major objectives of the C.I.O., will continue and intensify its efforts in this direction. We do this because the Communists are always the champions of the unity of labor. We do it because today more than ever the unity of labor is essential to the defeat of reaction, for the building of the People's Front against reaction, in which a united labor movement can and must play a leading role.

We believe that even should the Council remain stubborn in its policy of refusing to reinstate the C.I.O. unions before the Tampa convention, a new wave of protest and action on the part of the trade unions directed to their officials and delegates to the 56th Convention can result in the majority of the convention voting to

seat the C.I.O. unions with full rights over the heads of the Executive Council. We believe that the forces for industrial unionism within the A. F. of L., if organized, are strong enough to administer defeat to the extreme reactionaries. But even at worst, should the Council succeed through the bloc votes of delegates from the craft unions (delegates from unions which did not hold a convention for eight years as in the case of the carpenters, etc.) in maintaining their position, the cause of the C.I.O. will become so strengthened, the organization of the steel workers and of other industries will receive so much additional strength, that it will not be long before the reactionaries will be defeated and the unity of the A. F. of L. re-established on the basis of a new relation of forces resulting from the organization of large sections of workers.

While the question of unity will occupy the major attention at the convention, the progressives must not fail to bring forward a number of other vital issues. Among these the most important are the Labor Party, the fight against fascism and war, the organization of the Negro workers, and the question of international affiliation.

LABOR PARTY

At the last convention the many resolutions for a Labor Party received but little discussion. While no roll call vote was taken it is generally agreed that about 5,000 votes out of the total of 30,000 votes were cast for the Labor Party. Even this action of the A. F. of L. convention stimulated the local Labor Party movements in the past year. The idea of a Labor Party not only in localities and states but for the 1938 Congressional and 1940 Presidential elections is making headway. While labor has campaigned for Roosevelt, many of those who supported him and who helped organize Labor's Non-Partisan League are thinking in terms of a national Labor or Farmer-Labor Party. The 56th Convention if it is to contribute towards this movement cannot limit itself to general declarations for a Labor Party. Drawing conclusions from its recent experiences and the expressed wishes of the masses, the situation dictates that the convention shall make a definite declaration and take actual steps to stimulate the building up and the support of all genuine local and state Labor and Farmer-Labor Parties. Labor's Non-Partisan Leagues nationally and in the localities are instruments for the building of such Labor Parties. Steps should be taken for the calling of a nation-wide conference in time to place a national Farmer-Labor Party in the field for the 1938 elections, as the first big rehearsal in preparation for the 1940 elections.

With labor united and entering fully into the movement to build such a party, there need be no fear of a bold approach towards

the unification of the forces of labor with those of the organizations of the farmers, genuine progressives from the old parties, in the creation of strong party of the people, embracing the workers, the farmers, the professionals, the middle classes, upon a minimum program in the struggle for the economic needs of the masses, for civil liberties, against fascism and war—such a party to unite all forces ready to accept this program irrespective of their indifference on ultimate aims.

THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR

Already at the last convention, the issues of struggle against fascism and war found expression. At the 56th Convention it is necessary to face squarely the growing menace of fascism on a world scale and at home. The labor movement must stand in the forefront in defense of the hard-won liberties of the people and for their extension. The expression of hatred towards the fascist Hearst shows that the workers are ready to face and defeat this menace which has destroyed the labor movement in Germany, Italy and which aims at the destruction of the labor movement here. Similarly, labor has to come forth with its own independent policy in the struggle against another imperialist world slaughter being engineered in the first place by Hitler-Mussolini and fascist-militarist Japan. It can do this by joining in support of the peace movements now in effect in this country and throughout the world, while at the same time carrying through independent action against war. Such a policy demands that the labor movement at least recognize that which genuine liberal opinion everywhere has long realized, namely, that it is the fascist states that are the driving forces for war, while it is the land where the workers rule—the Soviet Union—that today stands forth as the strongest and most reliable force for peace.

The convention should take all measures to mobilize the workers of the country in support of the legal and constitutional government of Spain against the fascist rebels and demand of the United States government that it lift the embargo against all shipments including munitions to the democratic constitutional republic of Spain. It should urge labor throughout the world to join in this demand upon their governments. The struggle of Spanish democracy is a struggle against fascism and war. A victory there will be an important setback to the fascist war-makers. The A. F. of L. should widely popularize the truth as to the issues of the struggle in Spain and thus defeat the Hearst and other fascist-minded gentlemen who under cover of false issues are mobilizing support in this country for the fascist rebels against the Spanish Republic.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEGRO WORKERS

The A. F. of L. cannot become a progressive organization so long as it tolerates in its ranks discrimination against Negro members, so long as it does not take up the campaign of the organization of the Negro workers into the A. F. of L. on the basis of a fight for equal opportunity of employment in all occupations, on the basis of equal pay for equal work. The convention to take a step forward should adopt the Randolph Resolution and set up the necessary machinery for its execution. Likewise it is necessary to dramatize the aim of organizing the millions of young and women workers, devising such auxiliary forms as may be necessary to facilitate their organization.

INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION

At the last convention quite a number of resolutions were introduced calling for affiliation of the A. F. of L. to the International Federation of Trade Unions. No final action was taken. But the Executive Council was directed to make a full investigation and was authorized to carry through affiliation if any pending questions could be adjusted. But thus far there has been no action. Recently the officers of the I.F.T.U. were in this country and discussed the matter with representatives of the Executive Council. It is possible that there will be a recommendation for affiliation. But in any event the progressives should take up the question and see that the convention votes for affiliation. At the last Congress of the I.F.T.U. it was decided to approach the Soviet trade unions on the question of their affiliation to the I.F.T.U. In the present world situation with the menace of fascism and war growing it is necessary to join the I.F.T.U. in order to fight for world trade union unity, as a fundamental factor in the fight for democracy and peace.

Six Months of Unity of the Unemployed

By HERBERT BENJAMIN

I. THE PRE-ELECTION AND FORTHCOMING ATTACK UPON THE UNEMPLOYED

EVEN the mad scramble of the Democratic and Republican politicians for votes, of which the unemployed possess millions, did not halt the reactionary drive against unemployment relief. Political considerations postponed the attack in some states and compelled the politicians to exercise some restraint and employ a great deal of camouflage. But even during the period of greatest vote consciousness, the reactionaries did not lose sight of their main objective—economy at the expense of the unemployed.

In pursuing this objective, the reactionaries by no means limited themselves to efforts to elect Landon. While leaving no doubt as to their preference based upon a realization that Landon could launch a general attack on relief, the reactionaries, who are determined to reduce and if possible liquidate relief, pressed for immediate curtailment of relief. In the meantime, they also systematically laid the basis for further and more drastic relief cuts after election day.

As a result, election day serves to usher in a winter which threatens the unemployed with greater misery and privation than they have experienced since the winter of 1932-33. With the restraining influence of the election removed, the unemployed can expect to feel the full force of the long-planned attack upon even the present inadequate relief program.

THE "RESTRAINED" PRE-ELECTION ATTACK UPON RELIEF

A sample of what may be expected during the eighth depression winter which is now beginning is indicated by the results which the reactionaries were able to achieve even when it was considered wise to practice some restraint and concealment.

In the absence of the national Farmer-Labor Party ticket, Roosevelt felt that he could make concessions to the reactionaries who clamored for economy. Accordingly, relief appropriations were reduced from the previous \$4,880,000,000 to one-fourth that sum—\$1,425,000,000. In the face of government figures which showed that 6,000,000 had applied and were found eligible for the 3,500,000

W.P.A. jobs which were originally promised as a substitute for direct federal relief, the administration reduced the number of W.P.A. jobs to less than 2,500,000. Instead of increasing the monthly earnings of W.P.A. workers in conformity with the admitted increase in the cost of food and other essentials, Roosevelt reduced these earnings by abolishing the "security wage." Under the infamous Administrative Order No. 44, W.P.A. workers are docked for time lost when projects are shut down because of inclement weather and other conditions beyond their control. In the very heat of the election campaign, projects were closed down in many sections, so that W.P.A. workers would be forced to take jobs at wages of as little as 40 cents a day.

THE "NEW JERSEY EXPERIMENT"

Drastic as these cuts have been, they by no means meet the high goals which the reactionaries have set for themselves. Nothing less than a return to the Hoover hunger program will satisfy the Republicans, the Hearsts, du Ponts, *et al.* To indicate by practical example how they would deal with the relief problem, New Jersey was selected as an experimental field. Liquidating the centralized state relief administration, they instituted their model relief apparatus. Relief was made a local problem. Instead of one uniform relief administration they set up 550 different administrations in as many New Jersey communities.

While the ultimate purpose of this experiment was to cut the amount of relief and leave thousands of families without any relief, thus ridding themselves of this troublesome obligation, this was not their sole or immediate purpose. Those who instituted and directed this experiment had as their immediate purpose to prove that more relief is being given to the unemployed than is necessary in order to prevent widespread discontent and possible disorder. They wanted to demonstrate that it is possible to cut relief and effect economies without creating mass resistance. This was part of the Republican campaign strategy which at the same time was aimed to disorganize the unemployed and discredit their organization.

Briefly, the strategy was to decentralize relief; let it be known that economies were achieved thereby; even permit the belief to prevail that drastic cuts were carried through. Actually, however, *relief was not reduced in the large industrial centers* of the state where substantial unemployed organization existed. In fact, the amount of relief provided to those who got it was even increased in some cases. The economies of which the directors of this experiment loudly boasted were achieved by drastic purging of relief rolls and drastic reductions in relief benefits in the small and semi-rural com-

munities where unemployed and labor organizations are non-existent.

If the experiment was therefore not successful in terms of substantial savings in relief expenditures, it was unfortunately all too successful as political strategy. We will discuss later the weaknesses and shortcomings of the Workers Alliance of New Jersey which contributed to this success. Regardless of the reasons, the fact remains that by means of this experiment which was widely publicized, the impression was created that it is possible to return relief to the communities; cut relief and effect economies without provoking serious mass resistance on the part of the unemployed. Some of the unemployed of New Jersey, at least in the principal industrial centers, were led to believe that they have nothing to fear from the demand for decentralization of relief and for economy. It goes without saying, that with election day safely past, the relief cuts will be instituted in real earnest for the workers in the industrial cities as well as those in the small communities.

DIVISION OF LABOR IN THE REACTIONARY CAMP

In addition to the "New Jersey Experiment" the basis for further attacks upon the unemployed was laid by another and more subtle reactionary tactic. This took the form of providing the "moral justification" for the demand that relief shall be abolished.

Landon himself was unable to make extensive use of this tactic. Political expediency required that he stress the failure of the "New Deal" to liquidate unemployment. The official slogan of the Republican Party was "Vote for Landon and Land a Job Instead of Relief". In his speeches Landon therefore used the conservative American Federation of Labor figure of eleven million unemployed. His job was to prove that relief expenditures are useless, since they fail to result in re-employment.

In the meantime, however, other spokesmen of the Republican Party and its reactionary backers busied themselves with efforts to prove that relief expenditures are unwarranted. Thus the *New York Sun* conducted a highly publicized survey which undertook to prove that industry has reabsorbed the unemployed. At most, the *Sun* survey claimed, only about three million workers remain jobless. It was strongly intimated that there exists, in fact, a labor shortage and that all the unemployed could be reabsorbed by private industry if they were not tempted by the opportunity to get government relief without working.

We will hear much more to this effect when the elections are over. We may even expect an official government census of unemployment which will "prove" by statistics that there is no further

need for government relief on the ground that there are no more unemployed.

Meantime, the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' agency, is compelled to point out in a report published October 9, that:

"Notwithstanding steady gains in business activity and in employment in private industry, the number of people on the relief rolls exclusive of those engaged in emergency conservation work, *increased* slightly during the past year." (My emphasis—H.B.)

The figures given in this report (as of June, 1936) show that 4,482,000 families were compelled to live on some form of public relief during the seventh crisis year, and after prosperity has been reported as having not only turned the corner but actually settled down for a long stay. This figure is especially significant in view of the ruthless purging of relief and W.P.A. rolls which has taken place during this year.

This report confirms a significant fact. The number who continue to exhaust their resources and are forced to seek public relief grow in greater proportion than the number who are reabsorbed in private industry. Despite the stringent regulations which are intended to make it difficult for unemployed to get relief, despite the almost complete liquidation of relief in many states, particularly in the South and Southwest, and in many communities of all states, despite the fact that those who are only now applying for relief include many who have struggled during all these years to maintain themselves without having to apply for public aid, the relief rolls continue to grow.

As winter sets in, the rate of growth will increase along with the increasing desperation of those who are denied relief and whose relief is cut while their needs grow. That is why we must expect and prepare for widespread, bitter and militant mass struggles to resist the post-election attacks upon the unemployed.

II. SIX MONTHS AFTER UNIFICATION OF THE UNEMPLOYED

In view of this perspective, the unification of the unemployed which was achieved in April of this year, and the success recorded since then, take on additional importance. The unemployed are now able to turn to a united organization for leadership in the forthcoming struggles.

Unification has brought about a favorable change in the character of the unemployed movement. The Workers Alliance into which all the unemployed organizations have been merged is not only a different organization than it was prior to unification but provides the unemployed with a better instrument of struggle than any of the

various organizations which previously occupied the field. The best qualities of all the various organizations that formerly maintained separate existence are now incorporated in the united Workers Alliance. Some indication of this process of change can be provided by recalling the status of the various organizations at the time of unification and analyzing the present composition of the united Workers Alliance.

At the time of unification all the unemployed organizations were in a state of decline. This was due to several factors, chiefly, the change in the relief program from indirect relief to work relief; the divisions in the ranks of the organized movement; the fact that the attention and support which were given to the unemployed organizations during the period when the rest of the labor movement was relatively passive necessarily were diverted to the trade union field when important strike struggles and internal developments took place during 1933-34. Due to the fact that the various unemployed organizations vied with each other in claiming predominance, a tendency to exaggerate their strength and overlook their weaknesses served to conceal the decline.

The most important results of unification are not reflected in the mere increase in membership figures. But such figures do serve to suggest the greater strength and the changed composition of the united organization. Since the Workers Alliance is a federation of state and local organizations, complete figures can be shown only for groups that have affiliated directly to the National Office. Those that were affiliated to state organizations and to county bodies that held Workers Alliance charters prior to unification cannot be fully listed.

During the period between the national unification convention and the first meeting of the National Executive Board of the Workers Alliance (April to September, 1936) a total of 244 groups were affiliated through the National Office. This figure is one and a half times larger than the number affiliated during the first thirteen months of the existence of the Workers Alliance as a separate national organization. For 198 of these newly affiliated groups for which vital information is available, it was found that: 46 were formerly independent groups having no previous national affiliations; 48 were formerly affiliates of the National Unemployed Leagues; 67 were formerly affiliates of the National Unemployment Councils; 37 are either new groups or groups whose previous affiliation could not be established.

The total actual membership of these groups was given as 21,245. Of these, more than 6,500 came from the previously independent organizations. More than 8,500 from the Councils; about 3,300

from the Leagues, and the remainder, about 3,000, from new or unidentified groups.

In view of the federated character of the Workers Alliance, these figures represent only a small part of the total of new groups and members which were added through unification. Several hundreds of more groups and tens of thousands of new members were added by affiliation through state and county organizations for whom no accurate and complete record is available. Others were added through collective affiliation of entire state organizations. For example, California had an independent state organization with more than 100 locals and about 20,000 members. In New York City, 57 locals of the Councils and Project Workers Union brought in upward of 5,000 dues-paying members. The many organizations of that state were merged and chartered as the Kansas Allied Workers. Other groups were brought in through the 13 previously established state and nearly 100 local organizations that made up the former Workers Alliance.

For the purpose of indicating in what manner the composition of the Workers Alliance was changed it is also necessary to point out that a much larger proportion of the groups indirectly affiliated (through state and county bodies) came from the Councils than from any of the other groups. The Leagues and independent organizations existed in the main in places where no state body of the Alliance previously existed. The Councils on the contrary existed and had their main strength in such states as Ohio, Illinois, and New York where affiliation had to be effected through a state or county body.

The change in composition is further emphasized when attention is called to the great disparity that still exists as between the registered and the dues-paying membership of unemployed organizations. Membership figures given when making application for charter are usually closer to the current actual membership than those based upon old estimates.

In view of these figures, it becomes clear that the numerical changes in the composition of the Workers Alliance have also resulted in very material qualitative changes which can be expected to influence its future course.

POLITICAL GAINS RESULTING FROM UNIFICATION

In making its estimate of the advantages resulting from unification, the leadership of the Workers Alliance correctly stressed that a complete picture could not confine itself to merely adding up membership figures. It was also recognized that:

“Unification has not only added to the numbers of groups and members in our organization, but has also spread our organization and influence into many states, into scores of counties and hundreds of towns where we were formerly unknown. . . . As a result of this and of the fact that no other national organization exists to challenge us, our every utterance commands incalculably greater weight and influence. One needs only call attention to the amount (while discounting the quality) of the publicity given to statements issued by our national organization, to appreciate the extent of our greater influence and prestige by virtue of these factors. . . . As a result of all these factors our ability to mobilize forces for action and to secure support of labor and other friendly groups has been greatly multiplied.”

Summing up the progress of unification, the report accepted by the leadership of the united unemployed organization declared:

“The process of physical unification is now practically completed. More than that, here in our National Executive Board and in many states and localities we have already entered into . . . advanced stages of assimilation. . . . It is most gratifying to find that we who formerly met only as adversaries or at best as temporary but suspicious allies, now meet as comrades who not only respect each other but are able to feel the warmth of new-found friendships. It is even more gratifying to know that this is happening not only to those who are members of the national leading committee, but also to hundreds and thousands of workers in various states and communities. . . . More important than even that, however, is the realization that as we advance towards greater unity, we become possessed of greater power, of greater capacity to meet and solve the problems with which we have undertaken to cope. That is why we are so eager to complete the process of unification which must now take the form of complete assimilation of all our groups and all our members regardless of previous affiliations.”

MISTAKES AND SHORTCOMINGS RECOGNIZED

No less encouraging than the recital of the positive results of unification is the fact that the leadership of the united unemployed organization also showed that it was ready to recognize such mistakes and shortcomings as occurred in the process of unification.

On this, the report accepted by the National Executive Board of the Workers Alliance pointed out:

First, that unity was most quickly achieved and most rapidly advanced where accomplished in the process of joint mass action. New Jersey, Pennsylvania and a number of other outstanding instances were cited. On the other hand it was also shown that where struggles were not followed up due to weakness in the leadership and policy of the local organizations, this often resulted in a setback to the process of unification.

Second, attention was called to the fact that group interests made

themselves most pronounced during the process of negotiations when our various forces meet as representatives of groups. That when negotiations are concluded and our groups merged, we begin to think and act in terms of our common interests as responsible officers and members of the same organization and that then old divisions soon disappear.

The first mistake, and main shortcoming noted in the unification process, was the failure to popularize unity. It was recognized that the potential enthusiasm which unification could have aroused and the stimulus which this could have given not only to the process of unification but to all the work of the organization were largely left unused.

TROTSKYITES SABOTAGE UNITY

Difficulties which retarded unification occurred in places where Socialist forces tried to impose mechanical control. Failure to submerge group interests to the unity program and failure to fight the disruptive activities of the sabotaging Trotskyites were obstacles which slowed up progress. This was especially the case where Trotskyites were present and exercised influence. Incidentally, while speaking of the Trotskyites it might be mentioned that the Unemployed Leagues which they claimed to control proved to be with but two important exceptions entirely indifferent to and in no way under the influence of the Trotskyites who claimed to represent them. The two exceptions are Toledo and Allentown. In all other places, as in Kentucky, West Virginia and North Carolina the membership and leadership of the Unemployed Leagues demonstrated that they had nothing in common with the Trotskyites. Where they have referred to their old national leadership, it has been to indicate their respect for their former national secretary, Arnold Johnson, who repudiated the Trotskyites and joined the Communist Party shortly prior to the unification convention.

In New York, in California, in Toledo, in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey and the few other places where serious difficulties, sharp conflict and undue delay occurred it was either because the local Socialist forces insisted on trying to force mechanical control upon the united movement in which they were an obviously small minority, or because the Trotskyites although often small in numbers were able to sow dissension and thus disrupt, confuse and sabotage.

Throughout the period of unification, the most serious shortcoming of the Socialist forces in the unemployed movement has been that like their party comrades in all fields, they fail to conduct a firm and effective fight against the Old Guard and especially the Trotskyite disrupters of unity.

The only serious casualty suffered in the process of unification

was a direct result of this failure to fight opponents of unity. Of the few groups that opposed unity up to the unification convention itself, the only group that was lost, that seceded from the Alliance rather than be part of a united organization, was the Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) Unemployed Citizens League. This group was bureaucratically controlled by a blatant Old Guard Socialist who managed by means of demagoguery and with the help of shady politicians with whom he conducted trades to fasten himself upon the unemployed organization of that city and county. At the national unification convention, this individual not only made the most vicious and irresponsible attacks against the unity proposal, but also used every possible device to sabotage the convention itself. Yet, the Socialist leaders knowing that he was an Old Guard splitter, insisted on placing him on the National Executive Board of the united organization.

Even after it became known that this splitter was circulating a referendum for disaffiliation and that he had made arrangements whereby he and his clique would count the votes, nothing was done to expose and defeat him. No attempt was made to provide a rallying center and leadership for the loyal membership. The result was the loss and disintegration of this organization.

In the same manner, the Socialists have taken under their protective wing the despicable Trotskyist splitters, disrupters and enemies of the working class. In the unemployed movement, as elsewhere, the Socialists permit them to engage in their disruptive, anti-working class activities. As a result unity is hampered and the necessary struggles and possible growth of the movement weakened and jeopardized.

This brings us to a consideration of important and some dangerous trends and shortcomings in the unified unemployed movement and of our further tasks in the struggle against unemployment and for a powerful united unemployed organization.

III. TRENDS, PROBLEMS AND FURTHER TASKS OF THE UNIFIED UNEMPLOYED ORGANIZATION

Unification has undoubtedly increased the potential fighting capacity of the organized unemployed movement. An additional important development and achievement is the increasing consideration and recognition which is accorded to the problem of unemployment by the trade union movement. This development is a further manifestation of the progressive trend in the labor movement of the United States. While the growing awareness and recognition of the problem is still confined to words, even this represents an important

and significant advance over the attitude which prevailed in the American Federation of Labor during the first years of the depression. It is a mark of distinct progress when we can find in the *American Federationist* an editorial which declares:

"There are evidences that the unemployed are developing some of the characteristics of group solidarity. If the unemployed are made to feel that they must depend wholly upon their own group for the solution of their problems the chasm between them and all employed workers and between them and society will become fixed. If we in the United States would safeguard our democratic practices, we must face this problem. . . . To exclude 12,000,000 from the opportunities and rights which are our social heritage from past generations is to place upon them an inexorable penalty that will bring dire consequences to them and to us."

The conclusion to which the *Federationist* comes is that: "*The labor movement must keep open its contacts with the unemployed to prevent division in the ranks of the workers.*"

It must be said at this point that radical and progressive workers will do well to bear in mind this very significant and encouraging statement of the most conservative section of the American labor movement. The recent tendency has been for radical and progressive workers to forget about and ignore the vital problems of unemployment.

Recently both William Green and John L. Lewis lent their endorsement to the Workers Alliance and to the campaign for a wage increase on W.P.A. Here and there, local unions and central bodies of the A. F. of L. likewise join in support of the unemployed organization and struggles. But such co-operation is still too much the exception rather than the rule. Rank-and-file progressives should not allow themselves to be outdone by the more conservative officials in this important respect.

During the recent period, the united unemployed organization has also demonstrated that it possesses not only a greater capacity to fight but also a willingness. The spectacular New Jersey seige, the three successive hunger marches to the Pennsylvania capitol, similar actions on a smaller and less effective scale in Ohio, Illinois and in the St. Louis City Council chambers, testify to the militant intent of the Workers Alliance. Seldom have so many and such dramatic actions taken place within such a short period of time. Through these actions the Workers Alliance established itself as a fighting organization and gained considerable influence and prestige. In some of these cases, notably the Pennsylvania hunger marches, very substantial gains were made in defeating the reactionaries and securing greater relief appropriation.

OPPORTUNIST AND "LEFT" SECTARIANISM

These noteworthy and important successes and advances should not however be allowed to conceal serious shortcomings and dangerous tendencies. It must be stated that some of these have already resulted in disastrous and in some cases irreparable consequences. This is particularly true of the marked tendency to convert the Workers Alliance into a pure and simple trade union for W.P.A. workers and to ignore almost completely the masses of unemployed who are denied jobs or adequate relief. It was this tendency which is mainly responsible for the defeat which we suffered in New Jersey.

There can be no doubt that the W.P.A. workers constitute a decisive force in the unemployment situation. They are the most aggressive, energetic, articulate of the millions who have been deprived of normal employment. They are most easily organized because unlike the unemployed who are scattered, W.P.A. workers are brought together on various projects where they jointly share many common problems and grievances. It was correct and necessary, especially in the early period of the program, to concentrate major attention upon the effort to organize the W.P.A. workers.

In practice, however, this correct policy of concentration upon W.P.A. has been interpreted in many places as justifying complete neglect of the unemployed who are or should be getting direct relief. This is what happened in New Jersey where the Workers Alliance is led by a number of promising but inexperienced and politically weak leaders who have come under the influence of a little group of Trotskyites who are in turn allied with some petty capitalist politicians and ward-heelers.

It is much easier to organize W.P.A. workers than unemployed. It is much more profitable in terms of the amount of dues that can be collected. It is much more "respectable" to represent a responsible union in round table discussions with W.P.A. officials than to conduct a fight and demonstration around a relief office. Also it is easier to become an expert in parliamentary law and in the details of W.P.A. regulations than it is to understand the political character of the unemployment and relief problem and to learn how to mobilize masses for action.

Under the tutelage of the Trotskyites, even the essentially sound leaders of the New Jersey organization were confused and politically demoralized. In answer to demands for action in the relief crisis, they developed theories that "the unemployed are licked and won't fight". They saw the relief clients in the larger centers who were getting as much relief as before, but they did not see the thousands of families in the small communities who were left to starve. Nor did they see and expose the fact that if in some places relief was not yet cut,

it was only due to the strategy of the reactionaries to wait till the elections were over. When this was pointed out to them they said in substance that they too must therefore wait till after the elections when the unemployed become hungry enough! Even when issues which would provide a basis for militant struggle were laid at their very feet, they chose rather to meet with poor board directors and quietly negotiate a settlement.

The claim that the "unemployed won't fight" because "they are not yet hungry enough" or are too "demoralized" is a baseless slander. It is proof that hostile propaganda of our enemies is penetrating our ranks. Those who repeat such slander and indulge in such explanations for their failure to develop necessary struggle show thereby that they have lost contact with and concern for the plight of the unemployed and along with this, that they have lost respect for and confidence in a large section of the working class. Certainly those who have such an attitude cannot rally workers for struggle and cannot be expected to build the unemployed organizations.

That such an attitude is utterly baseless is to be seen from the fact that while New York, for example, provides the highest relief standards of any city in the country, yet it has the largest organization of unemployed on direct relief. Hardly a day goes by during which there have been no unemployed struggles of the most militant character around the relief bureaus of New York.

TROTSKYIST CAPITULATION UNDER GUISE OF LEFTISM

The dangerous tendency to neglect the unemployed is by no means confined to New Jersey nor to any particular group within the Workers Alliance. In Ohio, Illinois and in other states where the relief crisis is equally acute, similar neglect has also taken place. This and other weaknesses and shortcomings are the responsibility of the entire movement and can be overcome only through the joint efforts of all militant and constructive forces in the movement.

But New Jersey which provides the crassest example of this tendency also shows that this as well as all weaknesses and shortcomings are encouraged and fostered instead of being combated when the leadership is influenced by a basically incorrect line. The serious set-back which we suffered in New Jersey is primarily due to the confusion which was created in the minds of many unemployed leaders of that state, by the present sectarian line of the Socialist Party. It was aggravated by the presence and influence within the leadership of a number of Trotskyists.

Having concluded that there is no difference as between Landon and Roosevelt, the Socialist Party set itself the task of proving this and of disproving the Communist contention that the main fire must

be directed against Landon and the Hearst-Liberty League-Republican Party reactionaries. New Jersey provides one glaring illustration of the consequences of this unrealistic and sectarian Socialist line.

While the reactionaries, through the Republican state administration, were making a major attack upon the unemployed of the entire state and country Socialist "strategy" dictated that this attack shall be ignored and that all attention be diverted to attacking the "New Deal" W.P.A. administration.

Thus, while reaction was intrenching its hunger program, the New Jersey Alliance leadership allowed itself to be diverted by a strike of W.P.A. workers in a rural county over an issue that involved no increase in monthly earnings. Instead of proceeding with the organization of the state hunger march to which they had agreed early in August, the leadership of the state organization devoted its time and energy in a fight for a nominal wage increase of five cents per hour which would in nowise really increase the monthly earnings of the few hundred W.P.A. workers involved.

Meantime the Trotskyists who had wormed their way into the Socialist Party and the Workers Alliance and who were allied with petty capitalist politicians waged a bitter unprincipled factional fight against the militants and Communists who were trying to mobilize the masses for struggle around the relief issues. Long after unification had been concluded on a state-wide scale, the Trotskyists and their ward-healer allies (none of whom are either unemployed or W.P.A. workers) refused to unify the movement in Newark. Even after they were compelled to issue charters to some locals, they changed their minds and when they found that they might lose control of the central body, they proceeded arbitrarily to revoke charters.

New Jersey is the outstanding failure in a period during which the Workers Alliance achieved many significant successes. Socialists in particular will do well to ponder on the lessons of New Jersey. They will find that the effectiveness of their mass leaders is dissipated by reason of the failure of the Socialist Party to provide these leaders with a clear and sound policy and perspective. They will find too that these mass leaders many of whom are splendid proletarian fighters and new recruits in the Socialist Party are being confused and misled by the Trotskyist disrupters whom they admitted into their party. Finally they will find that "Leftist" phrases often conceal the crassest opportunism; retreat rather than struggle; betrayal of the most elementary interests of the masses which results in serious defeats for the working class and for their organizations.

But Socialists are by no means the only ones who can learn important lessons from the recent experience of the unemployed

movement. It must be stated that the work of the Communists in the unemployed movement and struggle also suffer from serious weaknesses. Here the problem is not one of political line. Both the basic line as well as the unemployed program of the Communist Party are sound and correct. Rather it is the all-important problem of assuring the correct and vigorous application of the line for the realization of the program.

UNEMPLOYED MUST HAVE SUPPORT OF WORKING CLASS
POLITICAL PARTIES

We must re-emphasize that unemployment is the concern of the whole working class. The character of the unemployed movement, its comparative youth and instability, the fact that it is composed in the main of workers with little previous experience in labor organization and the nature of its problems, make the unemployed movement more than any other dependent upon the support and co-operation of the older labor organizations. And this applies above all to the working class political parties.

Such support does not require or involve attempts to dictate the program or basic policies of the united unemployed organizations. These have been crystallized and developed with the help and on the basis of the experience of the whole labor movement. There is therefore no danger that such support will involve any serious conflict as between the unemployed organization and the political party that assists in carrying through the program and policies of the unemployed movement. Occasionally, conflict may occur when in a given locality the unemployed organization is dominated by people who are less interested in the purpose and program of the organization than they are in their own petty, personal considerations. In such cases, however, any initiative by alert Socialists or Communists which results in a more effective fight in the interest of the unemployed will help the unemployed and therefore their organization. Such initiative should especially be encouraged in emergency situations.

But, support which is afforded only in an emergency is not sufficient. The Socialist and Communist Parties must lend active support in the day-to-day work. Through their members within the unemployed organizations they must help initiate the necessary struggles; help build the organization and assure vigorous application of all its policies. Such active work will not only be the fulfillment of the duty that Socialists and Communists have to aid in the struggles of the masses. It will also be the means of promoting the political development of the great masses who, having been deprived of the opportunity to work and lost their faith in the system which produces

unemployment, must and can be won for a conscious struggle to achieve the goal of the whole working class—socialism.

Numerous, militant struggles are in immediate prospect on the unemployment field. The unemployed have demonstrated in the recent period as they have demonstrated during previous years that they are willing to fight. A united unemployed organization—the Workers Alliance—is becoming ever more firmly established as an effective instrument of struggle. Organized labor is proving that it is coming to realize its concern and responsibility. Profiting from the experience gained from our set-backs as well as from our successes; from a consideration of our shortcomings as well as of our achievements, we may expect the organized unemployed movement to assume an increasingly important and useful role as an integral part of the American labor movement.

The Struggle for the Liberation of Luis Carlos Prestes

By A. MONTES

THE democratic public opinion of the whole world has been aroused in defense of Luis Carlos Prestes, the man who embodies the most noble national and democratic aspirations of the Brazilian people. Republican Spain, at the time of the arrest of Prestes, having just won its own great democratic victory and freed its beloved leader Largo Caballero and thousands of political prisoners, rose as one man in solidarity with their Brazilian brothers and in defense of Prestes. More than sixty deputies, headed by the President of the Cortes, Martínez Barrios, cabled to the Brazilian dictator, Vargas, demanding justice for Prestes. More than three and a half million signatures were collected demanding Prestes' freedom, and sent to the Brazilian Consulates throughout Spain.

In France the outstanding defenders of the Republic raised their voices in defense of Prestes. Romain Rolland and Pierre Cot, Malreaux, Professor Langevin and a host of other prominent intellectuals have urged Prestes' freedom; Leon Jouheaux, the secretary of the Trade Union Confederation, has cabled twice to the Brazilian dictator and personally went to the Brazilian Ambassador to express the sentiments of solidarity of four and a half million organized French workers.

In England the Earl of Listowel, Sir Stafford Cripps, D. N. Pritt, outstanding barristers; a large number of members of the House of Commons; the South Wales Miners Federation and many other important trade unions have joined in the defense of Prestes. The same is true of the United States, Argentina, Mexico and many other South American countries. Needless to say, activities were carried on by the Communist Parties throughout the world and its outstanding leaders: Pasionaria and Diaz of Spain, Cachin and Thorez of France, Pollitt and Gallacher of Great Britain, Browder and Foster of the United States, and above all Comrade Dimitroff, helmsman of the Communist International.

Great as the campaign has been, important as it has been to show the bonds of solidarity that unite all the democratic forces in the world, the campaign has not been sufficiently used to bring forward the problems of the Brazilian national liberation movement, the relation of Prestes to the whole movement, and the significance

of this great democratic movement to the whole of Latin America and the world in general.

PRESTES THE EMBODIMENT OF THE NATIONAL ASPIRATION
OF THE BRAZILIAN MASSES

Since his earliest youth, Prestes was passionately devoted to the cause of his people. Every struggle that has taken place in Brazil has found in him a trusted and inspired leader. To all the sections of the population that make up the national and democratic front in Brazil, Prestes is their chosen leader: to the workers and peasants, to the urban petty bourgeoisie, to the students and intellectual; to the army, that bulwark of reaction in other colonial countries, Luis Carlos Prestes is the "Knight of Hope".

When the post-war revolutionary wave that shook the world reached Brazil, Prestes was ready to throw himself in the struggle to liberate his country from the rule of foreign domination, liberate the enslaved peasantry from feudal servitude, establish human working conditions and decent wages, bring freedom and happiness to his beloved people, even though he had not yet found the road that would lead to the realization of his life ambition.

The first revolutionary explosion to take place was the revolt of the military school in Rio de Janeiro and the bombardment of the Ministry of War on July 5, 1922, an event that among other things, because of its great display of heroism, became a great episode in Brazilian history. Prestes who was sick did not actually participate in the revolt, but as one of the organizers he was punished and sent from Rio de Janeiro to a military post in the southern border of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. A period of black reaction followed.

By 1924 the masses had regained strength and the struggle for national liberation rose again. The City of Sao Paulo rose in arms against the rule of President Bernardes, in July. The mutiny of the Sao Paulo garrison was different from the Capcabana rebellion of 1922. Great changes had taken place in the consciousness of the people and of the working class that gave their support to the rebellion. For 20 days the second largest city of Brazil—Sao Paulo—was in the hands of the rebels.

The rebellion was temporarily defeated by overwhelming government forces and the capitulation of General Isidoro Lopez, the landlord general who headed the uprising. But it was not merely a local uprising. The conditions that gave cause to the Sao Paulo rebellion were ripe in the whole country. At the call of Prestes several garrisons in the South rose in arms. Prestes, although exiled in a far-off army outpost, had applied real revolutionary methods in the relations with the army: revolutionary groups had been created, he

carried on agitation for the aims of the democratic and national revolutionary struggles, he established democratic relations with his men, he gave elementary education to the soldiers, he had the honor of building the first revolutionary army in the history of Latin America with a conscious political understanding of its role.

With his revolutionary regiment he headed the revolt in Rio Grande do Sul as well as of the other regiments in the South. The revolutionaries after capturing several towns were ready to attack the City of Porto Alegre, the capital of the State of Rio Grande. The government mobilized all its military strength. The faint-hearted military leaders left Prestes alone surrounded by government groups. It was then that one of the great epics of military history was started. Prestes with his 1,500 iron-hearted defenders of Brazilian independence burst through the army encirclement and began his historic march. The revolutionary and military significance of the march of the "Prestes Column" can best be expressed in the following quotation from a pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers, *Luis Carlos Prestes, The Struggle for Liberation in Brazil*:

"He thus worked out a peculiar form of tactics exactly suited to the peculiarities of the Brazilian countryside, to the geographical and national conditions of the scene of war. As an army leader of anti-imperialist revolt, he bore much resemblance to the great Chapayev, the hero of the Civil War in Russia, whose fame has gone down in the history of proletarian revolution. Still more he recalls the Red Armies of the Chinese Revolution, which, on a higher level of development, under the direct leadership of the working class, are fighting the same enemy as Prestes fought twelve years ago in Latin America."

But the important thing to be stressed is the significance of the march as a symbol of the whole liberation struggle of the Brazilian people. Small in number as the Column was it was the first people's army that in Latin America had challenged the yoke of the feudal landowners and imperialist masters. It was representative of the best elements that make up the people of that great nation: workers and peasants, Negroes, Indians and mulattoes, representatives of the middle class and the liberal professions. Its program was the program of the liberation of the millions of semi-slaves on the plantations; of liberating the peasants from feudal oppression; of war without quarter to the Brazilian ruling clique, allies of imperialism, traitors to their own nation.

During two and a half years this message was delivered to the millions, through the length and breadth of Brazil. President Barnardes then, as Getulio Vargas today, set a price on Prestes' head. The whole military strength of Brazil was set in motion to capture the

glorious insurgents, but this did not prevent them from covering in the two years 15,000 miles, and breaking the chains of feudalism in the towns they took. The accumulated debts that held the peasants in bondage were cancelled; official registers that registered the misery of the people were publicly burned.

The Column that was threatening the fortresses of feudalism in Brazil had sympathy and support from cities and industrial centers. Even though there was lacking a conscious guiding force in the cities due to the immaturity of the working class, the whole population of Brazil was fervently interested in the destinies of the Column. They gave it support and supplies. The interest was such that collections of money were started by newspapers. However, the Column could not break through and link its struggle with the main urban centers on the coast.

In February of 1927 after two years of struggle without a single defeat, the Column crossed the Bolivian border and disarmed itself. Prestes went into exile not only as the Knight of Hope of the oppressed Brazilian people, but as the hope of all the oppressed of Latin America who having heard of his deeds saw in him the defender of their own cause.

THE FIRST SOUTH AMERICAN PEOPLE'S FRONT: LA ALIANZA NACIONAL LIBERTADORA

This great revolutionary event that rallied around itself in a mighty wave of revolutionary nationalist fervor all the democratic forces of Brazil was to rise again.

After organizing his fellow soldiers in woodcutters' co-operatives in the Bolivian forest, he went to Argentina. At the time of his arrival, symptoms of the forthcoming crisis had already begun to make themselves felt in Latin America. The struggle between American and British imperialism was sharpening to an unprecedented degree. The attacks of American imperialism in the stronghold of its outstanding rival were to take the form of armed struggles. War was threatening between Bolivia and Paraguay, in every country imperialist controlled native groups were plotting.

The impending crisis had exploded: coffee prices and wages began to dwindle, unemployment to increase, the imperialists tightened their grip, a new revolutionary wave swept the country. Getulio Vargas with the help of the National City Bank, basing himself on the cattle breeders of Rio Grande do Sul, with a demagogic program that included land distribution, set out to overthrow the government controlled by the Sao Paulo pro-English coffee interests. He did all he could to win the support of Prestes, but all he got was a damning denunciation: "The hour in which I once more confirm my com-

plete solidarity with the toiling masses of Brazil [he wrote thirteen days after the victory of Vargas] is the hour when these masses are experiencing the replacement of one dictatorship by another, and it need not be said, by an even crueller and more bloody dictatorship." He further unmasked the imperialist support of the Vargas coup and its financing by the newly organized Bank of Rio Grande do Sul, organized with a loan of the National City Bank.

In 1932 again we witness another fratricidal war, but this time it was British-controlled Sao Paulo that rose against the Vargas government at the cost of thousands of lives and further impoverishment of the country. All these armed clashes were outward expressions of the intention of imperialism to use the situation created by the crisis for their own gains. But besides these open butcheries, hunger and disease were taking their lot, even though in a less spectacular way. In a country whose economy is not even built on the basis of its own capitalist requirements, but merely to feed the industrial requirements of imperialist countries, an economic structure that rests in the main on agricultural products (coffee makes up about 70 per cent of Brazilian exports), the effects of the economic crisis were devastating.

The imperialists, particularly the United States, were taking advantage of the crisis to further consolidate their position. The Electric Bond and Share Co. had acquired control of practically the whole electrical industry in Brazil—from whatever little manufacturing is done of electrical implements, to transportation, phone, plants and current distribution, and 99-year concessions of the most important water power sources in the country.

As the Vargas uprising of 1930 showed, the big packers, Swift, Wilson and Armour, have established their stronghold in the State of Rio Grande which is not only a base for struggle against British interests in Brazil, but a base to carry on competitive struggles against the packing industry that is one of the main fields of British investment in Argentina and Uruguay. American imperialism being so well entrenched in the south of Brazil also became a dominant factor in the North, where Ford obtained a concession of 3,700,000 acres of land. Ford's concession is the virtual establishment of extra-territoriality in an unexplored basin of hundreds of thousands of square miles, along the shore of the Amazon River.

Another new element was brought about by the crisis and the revolutionary upsurge. Besides direct imperialist interference in the economic and social activities of the government, they established their own plantation and factory private police, foreign secret police branches that operate independently of the national police.

The further encroachment on and conquest of the economic

resources of the country, all added to the misery and suffering of the bulk of the population. All these expressions of disregard for the national dignity and sovereignty of the country had to be answered. And it was answered by the might of the working class: by a wave of strikes headed by the workers in the decisive branches of industries.

The year 1934 witnessed the greatest strike movement in the history of Brazil; workers on strike reached the million mark. It is important to emphasize the character of the strikes; not one single strike ended before winning some of the demands. The May strike of 140,000 marine workers included in its demands the establishment of social insurance. The First of May was a day of strikes and armed struggles with the police and the "integralists". In August the Communist Party called a strike in defense of the Party, for its legality, and more than 40,000 workers answered the call.

The struggles did not limit themselves to the cities. The movement extended itself amongst the agricultural workers and the peasantry. The peasant struggles intensified by the drought made thousands of peasants go to the cities. The government, to keep the discontented peasants from allying themselves with the striking workers, established in the Northeast concentration camps that imprisoned 70,000 to 90,000 peasants and agricultural workers. The struggles of the peasants were of a peculiar character. Peasants confiscated the land in many regions; partisan movements spread throughout. In Bahia alone an armed detachment reached 1,500. All these struggles were either connected with the strike movement in the cities or endeavored to unite their struggles with the urban proletariat, and discontented petty bourgeoisie.

On the crest of this mass discontent, the Communist Party of Brazil called upon the whole population to build a sacred alliance to fight the foreign invaders, to wipe out all feudal remnants responsible for the backwardness of their country and to work for a democratic, free and prosperous Brazil. The response was immense. All the trade unions that had strengthened themselves in recent class battles, that had achieved unity—the peasants whose consciousness had developed in many years of struggles, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the students and intellectuals, all joined the Alianza as one man. Even though Prestes was still in exile, because of the relations he maintained with the whole movement, because of his life work, the devotion to the cause of his people, the assurance that he would be there to lead them, was one of the decisive factors in the creating of the Alianza Nacional Libertadora. In January, 1935, the Alianza came into being in a large meeting in the midst of wild enthusiasm, and Prestes was chosen honorary president.

His letter of acceptance expressed the conscious anti-imperialist will of the Brazilian people. He joined the Liberation Alliance "in order that in its ranks, shoulder to shoulder with all who have not sold themselves to imperialism I might fight for the national liberation of Brazil, for the abolition of feudal conditions, for the defense of the democratic rights of the Brazilian people which are menaced by fascist barbarism. . . ." The Alianza was to organize all "those that fight for national liberation, who want to make fascist terror impossible and do away with feudal landownership". And so it did.

The publication of its daily, *A Manhã*, gave proofs of its growing strength. Whole editions were sold out. It was a common sight in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Porto Alegre and other big cities to see groups of workers reading the paper collectively. It was estimated that by the end of October, more than five million members were individually and collectively affiliated to the Alianza.

Vargas, reading the handwriting on the wall, declared war on the Alianza and made it illegal. The government dissolved the unified trade union movement, intensified its terroristic measures. But the powerful mass movement found other channels of expression, calling itself the Popular Alliance for Bread, Land and Freedom. This also was declared illegal. The Electoral Front for Bread, Land and Freedom was created which also was suppressed.

As a final resort and following the instructions of the Intelligence Service and his Gestapo advisers, Vargas embarked on provocation on a large scale. He selected the North to bring about an abortive uprising by weeding out the army officers, who were followers of the Alianza, replacing whole regiments with mercenaries. At the same time Vargas provided himself with all sorts of forgeries in order to paint *red* the Northern and Rio rebellion. With his forged proofs he was able to temporarily consolidate his government and embark himself in a reign of terror that has raised Brazil to the level of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy.

The Pernambuco and Natal uprising has been painted as a Communist uprising, to fit in the slanderous governmental campaign of provocation. But just a brief recollection of the events of 1931 will prove how flimsy is the evidence. In 1931 the soldiers in Pernambuco arrested all the officers. They occupied the towns and took over the big residences, the banks, post offices and telegraphs and all the state machinery. Lacking revolutionary understanding the soldiers did not know what to do and liberated some of their imprisoned officers, who had spoken of democracy in the army. They wanted them to carry on their revolutionary aims, but instead they organized the counter revolution. Vargas knowing the great revolutionary tradition of the Northeast selected Pernambuco as the basis of his scheme of provo-

cation. Vargas had no Reichstag to burn so he looked for other means.

We have brought forward the outstanding features of this growing democratic and anti-imperialist revolution in Brazil, but we cannot limit ourselves to that alone. We must bring forward the relation of the Brazilian liberation movement to the whole national liberation struggles of the Latin American people; we must bring forward its international implications, as well as its particular relations to the United States.

BRAZIL AND LATIN AMERICA

The most striking feature is that this mass revolutionary process is taking place in almost half of South America, in a country larger than continental United States, a country with 47,000,000 inhabitants, that is to say, in a country with sufficient might not only to carry on a successful fight against the inner enemies of the democratic revolution—the feudal landowners, the church hierarchy, sections of the national bourgeoisie—but against the foreign enemies of the revolution, the imperialists and their Brazilian agents.

The second important element is the fact that within the territorial vastness of Brazil there is taking place a revolutionary solution of the fundamental problems of the whole of Latin America. The most powerful enemies of the revolution are the powerful imperialists from New York and London. By smashing their £287,000,000 and \$557,000,000 stranglehold on Brazil, it will also shake their \$10,000,000,000 stranglehold on the whole of Latin America.

The third conclusion to be drawn is that the fight of the Brazilian peasants to smash the feudal remnants that hold back Brazilian progress and conquer the land, the struggle of the Indians and Negroes for their national rights, the struggle of the workers and urban petty bourgeoisie, the whole aspirations of the Brazilian people for a happy, democratic and dignified national life, are at the same time the fight and aspiration of all Latin American peoples.

The struggle of La Alianza Nacional Libertadora for the restoration of the land robbed from the Indians, which is their basic demand in the struggle for their own autonomy, will draw into the struggle the whole Indian border populations of Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Paraguay and to a lesser degree Venezuela. In fact they had already fought together. In all this territory, the Indians have been expropriated on both sides of the frontier. The borderline has nothing to do with the real boundaries of the different Indian nationalities that constitute the population of this territory. This artificial governmental territorial division can be exposed even in bordering state lines, where national characteristics are more outwardly pronounced, as is the case of Paraguay and the Southern Brazilian state of Parana, where

there are "Brazilians" that only speak Guarany, that is, the Paraguayan Indian language. The same holds true of the Argentinian territory of Misiones, which has nationally nothing in common with Buenos Aires, to say nothing of the revolutionizing effect that these Indians in revolt would have on the huge Indian inner population of Peru, Bolivia and Equador.

Peasant struggles in the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Parana are directly linked up with whole sections of the Uruguayan peasantry. This community of interest has been historically cemented by aid given by these states to the struggles of the Uruguayans, to mention the latest one. The Munoz uprising against Terra in 1935 was organized with the help of revolutionists on the other side of the Brazilian border. The dependence of Uruguay on Brazil has been shown recently by the treaties signed between these governments, and by the way Uruguay broke relations with the Soviet Union at the dictate of Dictator Vargas.

Taking another frontier, we should mention the Amazon Basin. The whole economic development of Northeastern Peru and South-eastern Colombia are completely dependent on Brazil. It suffices to remember that Peru and Colombia had to send their armies through the Panama Canal, the Caribbean Sea, and up three thousand miles of the Amazon River, to fight their war about Leticia, that small trading post in the heart of the South American jungle. The war was settled when the imperialists came to terms, but it was settled in Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil. And we are certain that revolutionary Rio de Janeiro would settle the future well-being of all this territory.

The bringing of political and social freedom to the huge Negro population of Brazil will have a tremendous revolutionizing effect in Haiti, Santo Domingo, the Antilles, Panama, the Negroes on the United Fruit Co. plantations in Central America, not to mention its significance for the United States.

We believe that these considerations will suffice to show the significance of Brazil to the whole national liberation movement of Latin America and the whole colonial world. But at this juncture when the struggle against fascism and democracy has been placed in the center of world politics, we must endeavor to find the relation between Brazil and the fundamental task of smashing fascism.

FASCIST DOINGS IN BRAZIL

We will endeavor to deal particularly with the relations of the fascist governments with the present Brazilian government rather than with the actual inner groupings of the reactionary forces, which is in itself a very serious subject.

When the battle cry of world fascism is their need for colonies, when Japan has been criminally conquering China, when Mussolini had sent his conquering horde to burn Ethiopia, and Hitler has been destroying every treaty, openly proclaiming his criminal intentions to invade the Soviet Union, we must see what their activities are in the huge and rich territory of Brazil. We see that these three incendiary governments have been very active in Brazil and every one of them has definite achievements during recent years, achievements which help strengthen the fascist governments, and weaken the cause of peace and democracy.

Fascist Japan has been extending its tentacles to Brazil in the way of huge concessions, mass immigration, as well as developing into a trading factor.

In 1917 there was created in Tokyo a company (Kaigi Kogyo, Kabushiki, Kaisha), with agencies in Brazil, Peru, Colombia, Cuba, the Philippines which had the following aims: immigration, exploration of colonies and their expansion, buying and selling of properties, agricultural, mining and fishing exploitation, buying of raw materials, organization of banks and other lucrative activities. Whether in the name of this company or not, this established policy of Japanese imperialist penetration has been carried through.

Japanese concession hunting has proceeded in a big way in Brazil. In 1927 concessions were given in unsurveyed territory to two Japanese capitalists; in 1930 another concession for two years was given to the Japanese Company of Plantations of 10,300 square kilometers in the State of Para (four times as large as Switzerland). There was brought up for cancellation in Congress another concession of 2,470,000 acres given to the Amazon Development Co. The company representatives are fighting to retain it on the ground that the 1934 Constitution says that all foreign concessions must be approved by the Federal Senate and has no retroactive effect. They also have been given a number of concessions in the Southern states and land for fruit cultivation.

These lands have been sold and are not to be exploited by Brazilians, but are to be populated with Japanese immigrants, and this immigration policy has been carried out with Japanese efficiency. In 1926 the Japanese population of Brazil was 15,000. In 1930, 100,000 were reported, and double that amount in 1935. Because of pressure from Washington, a law restricting immigration to 2,800 a year was enacted. But in April, Raul de Paulo, Commissioner of Immigration, resigned in protest against the open violations of this law. He claimed that 6,800 Japanese arrived in Sao Paulo during three months while government figures registered only 713.

These immigrants are a particular kind of immigrants. They do

not become part of the Brazilian nation, but remain a Japanese nation within Brazil. They are threatening the British banana monopoly in Southern Brazil, and they are going into the building of cotton gins in the Sao Paulo cotton centers.

As has been shown in Manchuria, Japanese immigrants have also a very distinctive military function. At the first opportunity they had in Brazil they showed "this virtue". In 1932, during the armed struggle between Sao Paulo and the Central Government, the Japanese Consul in Sao Paulo wrote to all his agents in the Kaigai Kogyo colonies authorizing them to give material help, and even soldiers to the Sao Paulo forces.

The usefulness of Brazil to fascist Italy was clearly illustrated during the Ethiopian invasion. Brazil from the very beginning carried on a policy of sabotaging the League of Nations sanctions, which if properly carried out would have made the conquest of Ethiopia impossible. Thousands of Italians were recruited in Brazil for the Italian army. Brazilian frozen beef, and cotton and many other products left Brazilian ports to feed and clothe the fascist army. When Mussolini proclaimed the Italian King Emperor of Ethiopia, among the few foreign diplomats who stood with Mussolini on his notorious Balcony was the Brazilian Ambassador.

Fascist Germany has also been carrying on very intense activities. It has established huge colonies of Germans in the State of Santa Catherine. The population of these territories constitute one of the main bases of the Integralist movement (fascist movement) in Brazil. Trading with fascist Germany increased in 1935 from 590,901 contos (about 82 dollars to the conto) to 799,732, that is, a 128 per cent increase; while the United States trade increased from 590,901 contos to 897,587, 51.9 per cent. In 1936 the trend showed a greater increase. The financial *Economic Observer* reported that "for the first quarter of this year Germany's share of Brazilian trade was 22.94 per cent; the U.S. 23.57 and Great Britain 9.25 per cent". To the known results of the first 1936 quarter, we must add that on June 8, the German Ambassador and the Foreign Minister exchanged notes sealing the one-year trade agreement between the Reich Bank and the Banco of Brazil, obliging Germany to buy a given quantity of Brazilian products, and at the same time Brazil conceding "most favored national treatment to Germany". This might place Germany at the head of the trading list with Brazil.

The Japanese armies that have been conquering China and threaten the Soviet Union are being fed and clothed with Brazilian products; the powder that blasted Ethiopian independence was produced with Brazilian cotton; Brazilian commerce is helping to make possible Hitler's war preparations.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION
MOVEMENT OF BRAZIL

We have spoken of the Latin American allies of the national liberation struggles in Brazil, and of the activities carried on by the fascist governments of Germany, Japan and Italy. Now we must deal with the relations between the United States and Brazil.

First, there is the established imperialist relation, that is, the exploitation of the workers in South America and the United States by common ruthless exploiters. This is very clearly established by the known investments of American financiers; by the doings of American corporations in Brazil which was so clearly brought forward by Comrade George's article in the April issue of *The Communist*. On this basis we must carry on our own agitation to win the American workers to support the Brazilian struggles for national liberation, to cement the bonds of solidarity between the working class of both Americas.

But there is another angle that must be added, because of the sharpening of the struggle in the United States between fascism and democracy. In the present regrouping of forces in the United States we can clearly see that most of the black reactionary forces which are grouped around Landon under the leadership of Hearst and the Liberty League are the same group of financiers that dominates Latin America's economic and political life. It is evident that part of the imperialist super-profits are filling up the treasury of the Liberty League, that part of the super-profit extorted from Latin American nations are financing reactionary activities in the United States.

It is evident that in the period when finance capital takes the road of open fascist dictatorship, colonial exploitation becomes a question of even greater importance. The Japanese war against China, the Italian war against Ethiopia, and all the war activities of Hitler are vivid examples. We have the concrete American example in the intensity of the imperialist struggle and rivalry that is being waged in Latin America.

The triumph of the reactionaries will not only be a blow to the United States but to Latin America as well. There was never a more bitter enemy of Latin America than Hearst. In every crisis in the relationship between the United States and Latin America, he has always come out openly for a ruthless military solution. A faint recollection of the stand taken by the Hearst press during the Mexican Revolution can give a clue to what will happen to the relation between the United States and the people of Latin America, if Hearst wins. All these new elements in the situation must bring forward closer relations between the people of the United States and Latin

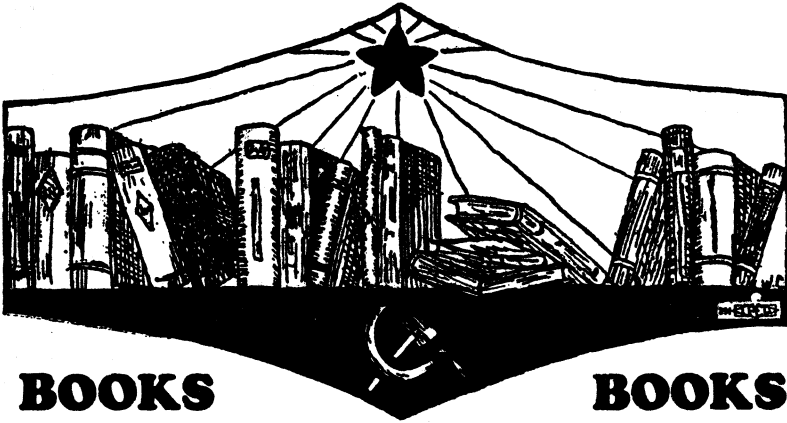
America; it is more than ever not only a question of the alliance between the American and Latin American workers, but also a question of the alliance of the true democratic forces in the United States with the national democratic forces in Latin America.

The struggle for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States, the mightiest weapon against the advance of fascism, must be linked up with the struggle of the Latin American people against their exploiters, allies of American fascism. The American Farmer-Labor Party movement must establish a close relationship with the forces that struggle in Latin America for freedom and democracy. The Leftward trend in the United States provides a great opportunity to broaden the basis of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The stand taken by the All-Peoples Party, which in its platform advocates "The Complete Independence of the Island of Puerto Rico", should be taken as an encouraging example of the principle upon which relations must be established between all countries in the Americas. It cannot be otherwise. There can be no "good neighbor" on the basis of active support to enemies of freedom and progress, on the basis of support to Batista and Vargas; there can be no good neighbor on the basis of unequal treaties and soft talking, but always carrying the "big stick". A good neighbor policy must be established on the basis of equality, mutual respect and the recognition of the sovereignty of the Latin American nations.

The campaign for the liberation of Luis Carlos Prestes in the United States must be used to further the democratic alliance between these two powerful countries. It must be brought out of its present "anti-terroristic approach" important as this is, out of its dependence on news from Brazil, and placed on the basis of the relation between the two countries, on the broader perspective that lies ahead. In no other country in Latin America are conditions so ripe to carry the national liberation struggle to a successful conclusion than in Brazil. But the work of bringing forward all these problems and the tasks arising therefrom have to be properly organized and carried through.

The American Party has made progress in its anti-imperialist work. It has made important sections of American public opinion and of the working class aware of Cuban, Mexican, Caribbean "conscious". Now it is the obligation of the American Party to bring forward the problems of the Brazilian struggle for freedom. The situation in Brazil is sharpening at a very rapid pace; the entente that made possible Vargas terror is already broken. Courageous speeches have recently been made in the Chamber attacking Vargas openly. Vargas can only rule with the help of martial law. We are on the eve of a Brazilian "16th of February" when Spanish fascism suffered its second great historical defeat.



A MANUAL FOR SCABS

THIS LABOR UNION RACKET, By Edward Dean Sullivan. Hillman-Curl, Inc., New York.

Reviewed by LOUIS F. BUDENZ

THE Hearst-Liberty League open-shop campaign against American civil liberties and our trade unions has not been confined to the newspapers of the country. It is also being poured out in an ever-increasing flood of books aimed at union-smashing.

This suddenly feverish activity on the part of anti-labor hacks is not at all surprising. It is designed to further the campaign of the Morgans, du Ponts and other big business racketeers for repressive legislation against the labor movement. As an important by-product, it is intended to offset the revelations of the scandalous tactics used by the employing interests in the industrial struggle.

The tactic used is a simple one for charlatans. It is to take the obvious cases of labor racketeering which have arisen from business unionism and class collaboration, and daub the entire labor movement as one giant racketeering outfit. Communism is then dragged in by the hair, with the inference that it is linked up with gangsterism. Employee representation is dressed up as a "democratic" antidote for "violence" and "brutality" of union labor. A halo of "benevolence" is put about the head of Henry Ford, the murderer of Dearborn, Alfred Sloan, prominent racketeer in General Motors and United States Steel, and the other large employing interests. With the stage thus set, legislation against the "Reds" and the labor unions is presented as the remedy."

Without opening the covers of *This Labor Union Racket*, it was obvious that this is one of these strikebreaking ventures. When it first appeared, it received the wild plaudits of the press owned and controlled by America's ace racketeer, William Randolph Hearst. When Hearst, who spawned racketeering in Chicago with his war on rival newspapers, praises a book on labor, that is enough to indicate its anti-union character. After reading the 311 pages of this volume, one can say that its correct title should be: *A Manual for Scabs and Scab-Herders*.

"Fifteen billion dollars are annually extorted from the American people through the medium of more than fifty major rackets," Sullivan states in his

very first words. "In scope, automatic protection and actual income to grafters, the labor union racket leads the field."

With conscious effort, this apologist for big business omits the heavy toll on the American people from the big-time racketeering of the rulers of America. Likewise, he seeks to close the eyes of his readers to the vile tribute levied by the gangsters and thugs of the Railway Audit and Inspection Bureau and the widespread labor spy racket.

Having set down his premise, Sullivan proceeds with a cheap cunning to recite examples of labor racketeering (real and implied) which have been fought by the progressive labor forces. Carefully he conceals the crooked business interests who made possible these racketeers and connived with them. The obvious fact that labor union racketeers arise from anti-labor alliances with capitalist interests is not only deliberately omitted from the record; it is offset by a constant hymn of praise for the big business racketeers of America.

Let us take the case of Theodore Brandle, which is typical of Sullivan's distortions. Brandle was the former head of the New Jersey Building Trades Council and at the same time head of the employers' Iron League of New Jersey. What was the real basis of Brandle's power? That he did the bidding of a corrupt combination of building contractors, the biggest and most "respectable" in the state. Sullivan suppresses Brandle's connection with the Iron League; he dishonestly omits Brandle's role as the servant of corrupt contracting interests, which is the very heart of labor racketeering.

One would never know from Sullivan's account that Brandle was driven out of the unions by progressive forces within the labor movement. The reader would imagine, if he knew nothing of the case, that Brandle had been ousted by Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, ally of big business racketeers and bosom friend of Brandle until the rank-and-file union revolt made it too hot for Hague to continue this friendship.

It is in this worse than inaccurate manner that the entire record of the fight against labor racketeering is perverted. That Kaplan, Cumerford, Malloy, Fay and the rest of the labor racketeers grew out of the slime of the giant racket system, capitalism, and that they got their standing through the service they did non-union capitalist interests is carefully deleted from these pages.

On the other hand, that super-racketeering outfit of strikebreakers, the Realty Advisory Board, is pictured as a champion of the American people. It is presented as the protector of the people against "monopolistic control of the vertical transportation of the world's greatest city through the establishment of the closed shop and the 'check-off'".

In more than twenty pages on the building service strike in New York, not one word is said of the importation of gunmen, dope fiends, rapists and other underworld characters by this Realty Advisory Board. Quite to the contrary, it is brazenly stated: "It may be said flatly that building service employees in New York City were not exploited."

The "honest workers", about whom Sullivan is always talking in a vague way, need read no further. This book assumes that any effort to raise the \$13 to \$20 a week wages of the service workers is racketeering. The author is doing his poor best to serve the Rockefeller-Astor interests, which have racketeered off the poor of the Greater City for years.

After which statements—of which many more could be quoted—it is no wonder that we find the author delineating the Communists, who have been the chief foes of labor racketeering in the unions, as producers of such racketeering. The depths to which Sullivan's lack of scholarship goes are indicted by this description of the Communists: "Jaw-dogglers with energy only for guff, many of whom have never honestly earned a dollar, much less provided a job for any one in Christendom."

To the three lies contained in this one sentence, he adds the hoary statement that "Communists enter any strike situation, or originate it, not to win, but to disrupt work and lead to any hatred or mass indignation reflecting upon the American order of life as they—unhampered by the truth—analyze it."

All of which, including an anti-Communist quotation from the sanctimonious William Green, is for the purpose of unleashing the Secret Service on the "Reds" and creating a reign of terror against militant workers in the United States. Sullivan would make the Department of Justice into the residence of another Nazi Gestapo.

The way is thus prepared to "demolish" the Committee for Industrial Organization and its chairman, John L. Lewis. While slyly declaring Lewis to be "liberal", Sullivan links him up with the "Reds", previously depicted as apostles of terror and violence. The entire industrial union dispute within the A. F. of L. is pictured by Sullivan, in italics, in these works: "Briefly here is a plain ordinary struggle for power and jurisdiction and the resultant upsets for industry or benefits for labor are absolutely incidental." As for the entire objective of the C.I.O., it is the "check-off", says the author, and a "universal" burn-up of all industrialists.

For Sullivan, in short, there is only one outstanding example of "honest union leadership" and that dubious honor is held by none other than that super-salesman of life insurance, Matthew Woll. The selection is not unexpected, however, since Sullivan acknowledges that some of his data on the "Reds" came from that notorious anti-labor agency, the National Civic Federation.

For one whole chapter we read encomiums on Henry Ford and Alfred M. Sloan, held up as men who give "Christmas gifts" to their employees and who deserve the stranglehold control of wealth which they enjoy.

Then, the book comes to its grand climax in the "racketeer remedy" which consists of governmental control of labor unions, through incorporation and through what amounts to the revival of the criminal conspiracy laws against all organization by the workers. This includes the outlawing of "all strikes called for unlawful purposes", which of course includes any and every strike that takes place.

This fascist program is an echo of the demands for similar legislation put forward by the Liberty League-Republican organ, the *New York Sun*, and other similar publications. It is a program which can be supported only by the lies which dot this book and which are being used increasingly by the open-shop interests.

For the rank and file of the trade unions, we can emphasize that this book shows two outstanding things:

First, that in the campaign to smear labor with dirt and thereby destroy it, the reactionary capitalist gang will stop at nothing. Second, that the assault on the unions which this book incites can be met, only by a united front of all militant and progressive labor forces. The attack on the "Reds" is merely a prelude, as this book discloses, to the smashing of all trade unions accompanied by the dictatorial rule of the Fords and the Sloans, the Morgans and the du Ponts. A Farmer-Labor Party is the instrument that can beat back their attempts to impose Hitlerite rule on the trade unions.

That a united front of the progressive union forces will at the same time wipe out the racketeering evil in the unions, as has been done in such notable cases as District 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters in New York and in other similar cases when progressives have joined hands to save the unions. To the trade unionists, we can finally point out that labor racketeering arises from the

very sliminess of the system which the Sloans and Fords and du Ponts represent. It is those who stand for the ending of that system who have ever been in the forefront in the battle against racketeering. It is the big business racketeers, on the other hand, who have upheld the system that has bred that labor racketeering, which they now seek to use as an alibi for the destruction of the entire labor movement.

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SOVIET UNION AND THE CAUSE OF PEACE, *International Publishers*, 192 pp., *thirty cents*. Articles and speeches by V. I. Lenin, J. Stalin, V. Molotov, K. Voroshilov, M. Tukhachevsky and M. Litvinov on the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and its consistent struggle to maintain peace through collective action, non-aggression pacts, sanctions, etc.

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