

*The*

# COMMUNIST

NOVEMBER



## TWENTY YEARS OF SOVIET POWER

BY EARL BROWDER

Where Is the Socialist Party Going? JACK STACHEL

Trade Unions in the Land of Socialism

New Developments in Organizing the Marine  
Industry ROY HUDSON

Southern Textile Workers Organize JOHN J. BALLAM

On the Eve of October LENIN AND STALIN

ALEX BITTELMAN on *Peace and Trade Union Unity*



TWENTY CENTS

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MARCH 3, 1933, OF THE COMMUNIST, published monthly at New York,  
N. Y., for October 1, 1937.**

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County of New York { ss

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JOSEPH FIELDS, Business Manager.

(Seal)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of October, 1937.

MAX KITZES, Notary Public.

(My Commission expires March 30, 1938).

# The COMMUNIST

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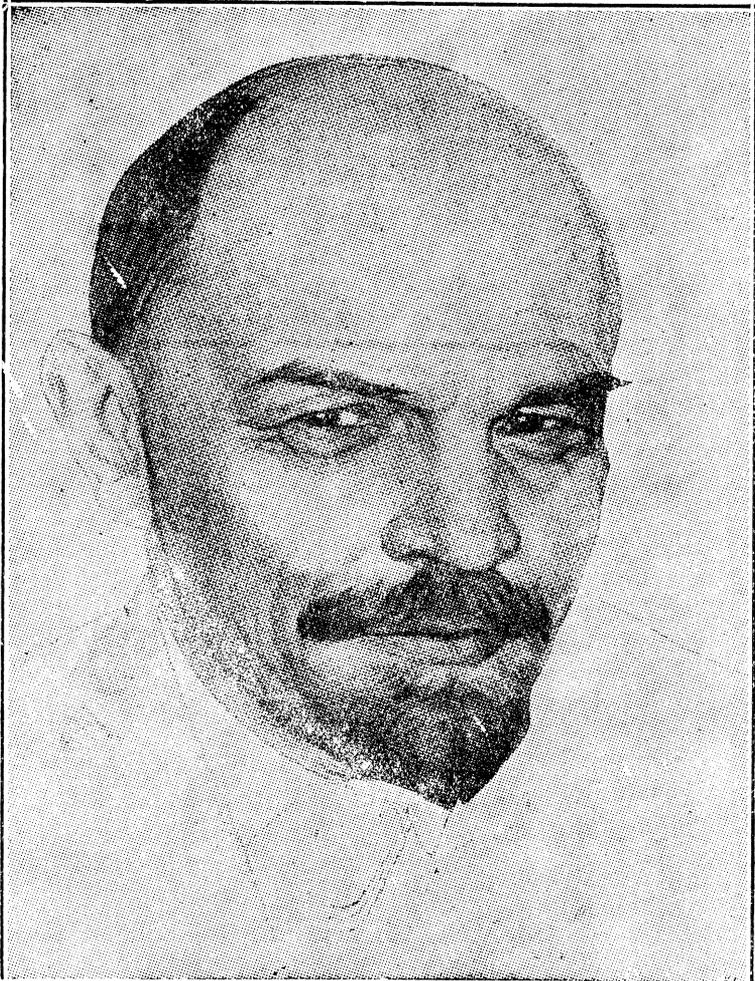
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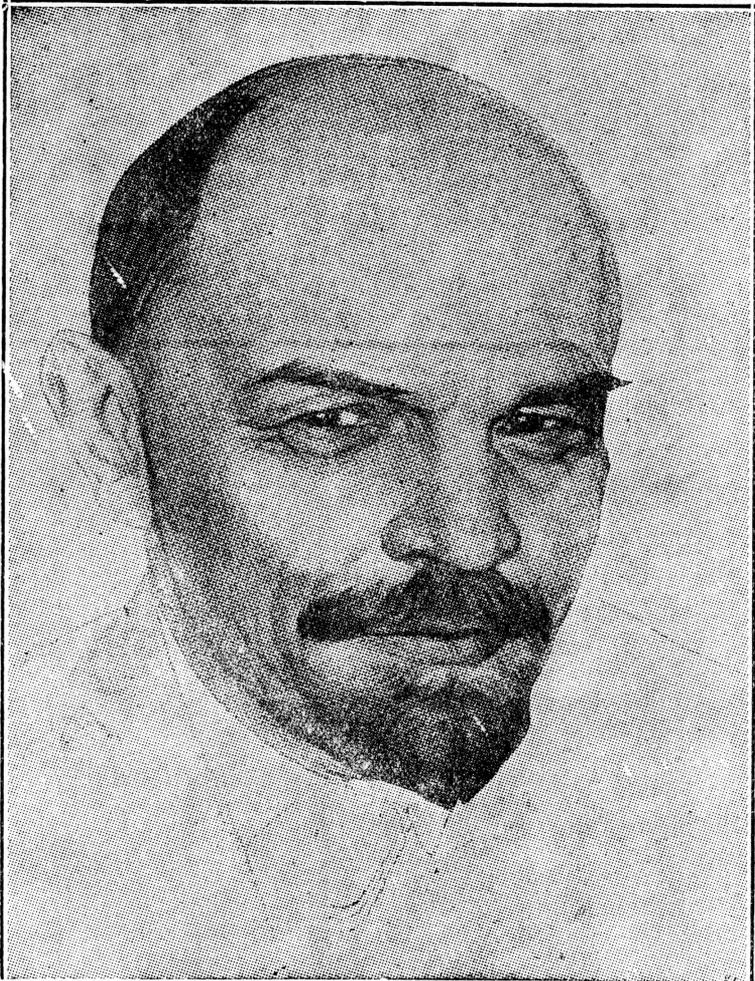
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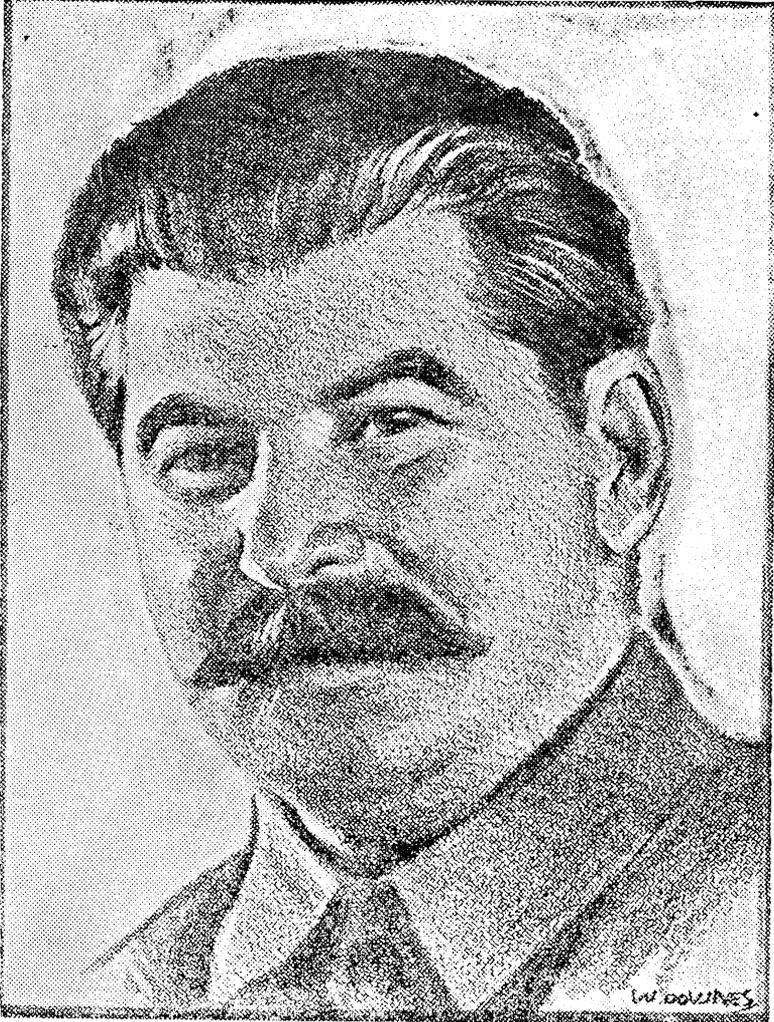
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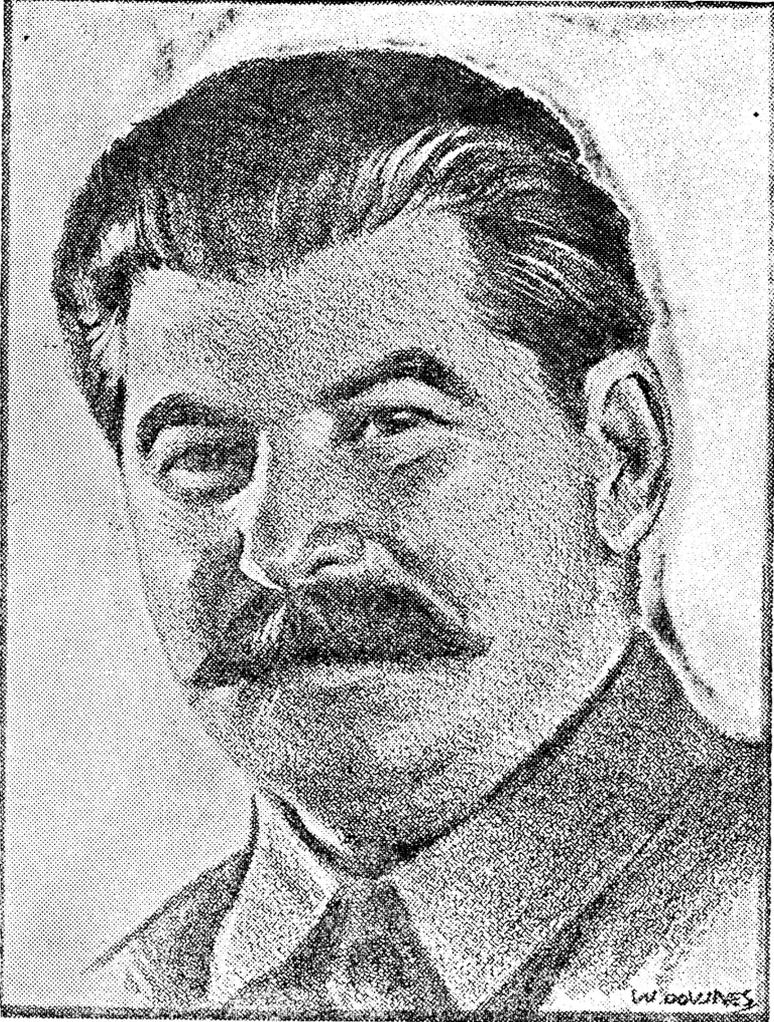
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## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

*Roosevelt's Peace Program. Collective Security Is Only Road to Peace. Who Is in Opposition? Finance Capital Is Not Isolationist. Various Tendencies in Wall Street. Is Second World War Inevitable? It Is Not Here Yet. Norman Thomas Writes Another Open Letter. Socialist Phrases Covering Reactionary Substance. Why Not Make China Safe for the Chinese? Wilson and Roosevelt and Two Different World Situations. Browder's Call to Realize President's Peace Program. Mobilize Masses in Independent People's Peace Movement. The Nine-Power Conference and What to Do. Labor Takes Position Against Fascist Aggressors. Communist Party Presents Program of Action. Denver and Atlantic City. C.I.O. Establishes Leadership in Struggle for Unity. Unity Is Possible. Next Steps. Greetings on 20th Anniversary of October Revolution. Party Recruiting Drive and Lenin Memorial Day.*

**I**T is necessary to say plainly and directly that the opponents of collective security, whatever their intentions may be, are in fact helping the fascist aggressors.

This has been true right along, and we have said so. But after the President's anti-war speech in Chicago, which necessarily aroused widespread discussion and hastened political alignments on the issue of peace or war, the enemies of collective security are making the meaning of their opposition crystal clear. *It is opposition to peace.*

Speaking for the most reactionary and most imperialist circles of monopoly capital, such organs of expression as the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Herald Tribune* and of course the unspeakable Hearst have been attacking the President's peace program from every imaginable angle.

Ironically enough, they attacked it as a "war" program, as a policy that will take this country into war. They picked up quickly the insinuating threat of the German fascist press that Roosevelt would suffer the same "shipwreck" as Wilson did. And while there is as yet very little unanimity on what exactly should be done in a positive way, the camp of reaction seems to be pretty solid in its determination to sabotage and, if possible, ruin the President's peace program.

As usual, the reactionaries are trying to play upon the isolation illusions of certain sections of the people. Not that the reactionary monopolies are themselves isolationist. This they never were and never will be. Representing the economic foundation of imperialism, monopoly or finance capital is by its very nature the main driving force of imperialist wars of

conquest and aggrandizement. Whom do the fascists represent, if not the most imperialist and most rapacious sections of finance capital? Whose bidding are the fascist war aggressors doing today in China, in Spain, in the Mediterranean, in the whole world, if not that of the most imperialist and reactionary monopolies of Japan, Germany and Italy?

No, the reactionary opponents of the President's peace program and of collective security in general are not isolationists by far. They are merely exploiting existing isolation *illusions* among the masses to obstruct the struggle for collective security, for peace, and to promote their own schemes, which are war-like, aggressive and imperialist.

But isolationism *alone* is apparently no longer sufficient to arouse large masses against collective security. The American people have learned a good deal in recent months and weeks. Under the impact of fascist aggression, which spreads war and threatens to embroil this country into a new world conflagration, isolation illusions among the masses are crumbling, gradually disappearing, giving way to a realistic and practical understanding which must lead to the acceptance of collective security. Clearly, President Roosevelt's Chicago speech is in itself a response to these changes in the attitude of the people as well as to the increased danger of a new world war resulting from unchecked fascist aggression in China and Spain.

There is still considerable isolationism among sections of the people, but it is on the way out. Hence reaction, while clutching desperately at the dis-

appearing isolation illusions, is at the same time opening up new angles of attack against the collective struggle for peace. One of these is the patent absurdity that the danger of a new world war is really not so great and not so close as it is being pictured by the adherents of collective security. That is, the war danger is not denied. Who can deny that and get away with it? In fact, the coming of a new world war is made to appear as being inevitable, but that it is still far off and that, therefore, there is no need getting too much excited about it *now*.

This is how a new angle of attack against collective security is being developed by the New York *Herald Tribune*, for example. It says:

"... certainly, the great war is inevitable, of course, but not now." (October 14.)

Unwittingly, perhaps, this spokesman of the reactionary monopolies has let the cat out of the bag. And thus everybody can see that the reactionary monopolies in this country are orienting on a new world war, that they *want* such a war. *Not now*, and this is important too. Says the *Herald Tribune*:

"... nobody can be found thinking about war today or tomorrow; next year, yes or the years after, maybe, or when this or that power is 'ready'—certainly, the great war is inevitable, of course, but not now." (*Ibid.*)

Ignore for a moment the glaring untruth that "nobody can be found thinking about war today or tomorrow"—in the face to two wars already being waged by the fascist aggressors in China and Spain. Fix your attention upon the assertion that war is *inevitable* but not *now*, because this gives the key to the orientation of

this particular group of opponents of collective security.

First, as to the "inevitability" of a new world war. This is objectively untrue. The forces of peace, those interested vitally in the preservation of world peace, are by all odds overwhelmingly stronger than the fascist forces of war. The President said that 90 per cent of the people of the world want peace, and that is no exaggeration. If these peace forces unite and pursue a policy of collective security, that will curb the fascist aggressors and prevent the outbreak of a new world war. Those who in the face of these considerations insist upon the "inevitability" of a new world war, either do not know what they are talking about or, as is the case with the monopolies behind the *Herald Tribune*, they desire a new world war.

Second, they do not desire it now but "next year or the year after." This too is understandable. The reactionary monopolies in this country would like to go into a new world war *with a federal government more to their liking than the Roosevelt administration is*—with a government that would (a) curb the American people and destroy their liberties; (b) place upon the working people the entire economic burden and sacrifices of war, and (c) respond surely and eagerly in its foreign policies to the ambitions of the reactionary monopolies for imperialist conquest and aggrandizement. And it is well known that they definitely have such ambitions in the Far East and in the world at large.

Therefore we say: the reactionary opponents of the President's peace program and of collective security are the forces that work in this country

for war, not for peace; they are the class forces of the most imperialist circles of monopoly capital. The struggle for peace, for collective security, for the realization of the President's peace program, is a struggle against these reactionary forces in American life.

Speaking of new angles of attack against collective security, it is necessary to take note of still another one. It comes, however, from a different camp, from those misguided and confused (terribly confused) pacifists who are apparently sincere in their isolationist beliefs but who, despite all their sincerity, are giving comfort to the reactionary war-makers. We again refer to the *New Republic*, to its editor, Bruce Bliven. His new angle of attack against collective security seems to be this: you are talking about the need of collective security in order to prevent the outbreak of a new world war. But the new world war is already here; and the United States is not in it yet. So, why not go on the way we have been, just keeping out, enforcing and making more strict the "neutrality" laws, and leaving the world war to its own fate? Why not, Mr. Bliven seems to be asking.

He does not, of course, say so in so many words; he is not so naive. All he says definitely is that the second world war is here. He writes:

"People ask casually whether there is danger of another world war or, showing more pessimism, when it is likely to begin. I think a good case can be made for the contention that it has begun." (Oct. 6.)

And he proceeds to make out the case. All of what follows in Mr. Bliven's article may look very far-seeing, very learned and very expert. But

what it amounts to in reality is the fatalistic acceptance of the coming of a new world war, something akin to the "inevitability" of the *Herald Tribune*, though with different intentions. It amounts, in fact, to giving up the struggle for peace. It paves the way (despite all subjective intentions) to a surrender to war, to a surrender to the fascist forces which make for war. Yes, a surrender to the new world war which is not yet here but which is made more imminent by the misguided pacifism and historic speculations such as Mr. Bliven's.

The *New Republic* once burned its fingers in giving support to America's participation in the world imperialist war of 1914-1918 and to Wilson's policies. The present editor of the *New Republic* wants to avoid the fatal error of his predecessors. This is praiseworthy and tremendously important. Our own Party, the Communist Party, arose in the struggle precisely against that imperialist war and against Wilson's policies. But the editor of the *New Republic* (we must say that in all frankness and sincerity) is today in danger of making another fatal error, the error of giving up the struggle for peace, which may lead the *New Republic* to the same consequences as its error in 1918.

\* \* \*

Norman Thomas's "open letter" to President Roosevelt is a curious document. It is full of all the existing illusions of isolationism despite its declaration to the contrary. It repeats all the arguments of the reactionaries against collective security while attempting to dissociate itself from the camp of reaction. It points uncriti-

cally and without analysis to the disaster of 1914-1918, but, by inference, is willing to acquiesce even in war (not a fight for peace) if only Roosevelt would agree to socialism as Thomas understands it. Curious, isn't it?

Aside from all its curiosities, confusion and rotten reformism, this "open letter" has very definite political objectives. In a defensive form, it launches an attack upon Roosevelt's peace program and against collective security in general. Stripped of its pacifist and reformist phraseology, this attack differs little (if at all) from the attacks of the reactionaries. It is in substance the same.

That this judgment is no exaggeration will be seen from these facts. One, the "open letter" treats Roosevelt's Chicago speech, not for what it really is, not as a program of struggle for peace, but as a policy to take this country into war. Read the *Chicago Tribune*, the Hearst papers and the *Herald Tribune* and you will find the same thing: the reactionaries seek to arouse the people against Roosevelt's policy on the false ground that it takes this country into war. Two, and more specifically, the Thomas letter makes the main attack against the principles of collective security. This again is precisely what the reactionary warmongers are doing.

Thomas writes on October 16:

"And we are profoundly concerned because of the danger that you and your State Department are about to make a false identification of world interdependence with the practice of collective security, an identification all too likely to lead the United States into war in the Far East." (*Socialist Call*.)

Thomas quibbles and indulges in sophistries. He dare not challenge the

contention that the peace of America depends upon the peace of the world. He dare not discuss frankly the fact that unchecked fascist aggression in Europe and in the Far East threatens a new world war which will embroil America. Yet he does not want Roosevelt "to identify" the interdependence of world peace with collective security. In other words, he does not want this country to do anything to check the fascist aggressors and prevent the outbreak of a new world war. Wherein then does Thomas differ here from the reactionary camp?

He differs from the camp in the *form* of his attack, not in its substance. The reactionaries have launched an offensive against Roosevelt's peace program and against collective security, using *the methods of offensive*. Thomas has launched the same sort of offensive using *the methods or tactics of defensive*. He asks questions, he qualifies, he cautiously feels his way to a more open and direct attack, but the objective is already there just the same: to discredit Roosevelt's peace program by treating it falsely as a war policy in order to stem the growing movement in the country to collective security.

President Roosevelt's program seeks to stop the Japanese war against China by some form of collective action on the part of the peace forces of the world. Thomas does not dare to attack directly this aim of peace. He does not discuss it as a policy which can be made to check the aggression of the Japanese fascist-military clique, which can be made to help the Chinese people to freedom and independence, which can be made to prevent the outbreak of a

new world war. No, Thomas does not dare to do any of these things. So he goes around them and asks the President a "question":

"Do you think that your government will or should go to war and conscript our sons to make China safe for the Chinese?"

What about helping the Chinese themselves to make China safe for the Chinese? What about collective action to prevent Japan from making China safe for the Japanese fascists and militarists? What about such collective action as will check fascist aggression in China and Spain and thus prevent a new world war—the war which Hearst and the *Herald Tribune* hold "inevitable," not now but later, in which, if reaction has its way, Americans will be conscripted to fight, not to make China safe for the Chinese, but to make it and the whole world safe for the most imperialist monopolies and fascism? These questions Thomas did not ask. Why?

Thomas the Socialist, mind you—the *Socialist*, the leader of a party pledged to fight for proletarian internationalism; pledged to support the fight of colonial peoples for national freedom and independence; pledged to fight against fascism and for democracy, not only in America, but to support such struggle everywhere (internationalism); mind you, this same leader of the Socialist Party for whom the Communists are not revolutionary and international enough, this same Thomas jesuitically attacks the President because perhaps his peace policy might mean that Americans will fight "to make China safe for the Chinese."

Norman Thomas is trying to play upon everything: isolation illusions,

narrow national prejudices, reformist illusions, "neutrality" illusions, and even upon the imperialist contradictions between American and British monopoly capital. All for the purpose of stemming the struggle for peace, to oppose the movement to collective security. To do so, he asks another "question":

"Do you really believe, in the face of all logic and history, that any government, especially any capitalist and nationalist government, will go to war simply as a crusader for righteousness?"

Here you have everything. Anarchism, absolute pacifism, sectarian reformism, and the Trotsky-like version of the present-day alignment on the world arena. But, to begin with, the Thomas tactic of discussing war *instead of* the struggle to prevent war must be exposed once more. This is the tactic also of reactionaries, and we must not let them get away with it. We must force them to reformulate their questions, or do it for them. The correct question would then be: Is a struggle *for peace* possible in the present world situation? Is it possible to build up a worldwide peace front consisting, not only of the working class and its allies, the backbone of the fight for peace and against fascism, but including whole nations, most of whom live under capitalist governments? *This* is the question to be answered by Socialists, and not the one propounded to Roosevelt by Thomas. This question we have answered affirmatively as far back as the Seventh World Congress of the C.I.

We have answered that the struggle for peace is necessary for all peoples as well as for socialism. We never believed with Thomas that socialism

needs "a new crisis of war." We have answered that the struggle for peace is possible, rejecting the idea that a new world war is "inevitable." We proved that by showing:

(a) That the force driving to a new war for the redivision of the world is fascism, now in control of such three imperialist countries as Germany, Italy and Japan. And learning from history we noted that, unlike 1914-1918 when the world was divided into two imperialist coalitions, each of whom equally prepared for and waged an imperialist war of conquest and robbery, today there are *definite aggressor states*, the fascist states.

(b) That there is today a new force on earth, *a socialist state*, a tremendous power for peace. Thomas forgets about this, but the world does not.

(c) That fascism threatens the national independence, freedom, and territorial integrity of a number of states in Europe and Asia, already waging war against Spain and China, and that the heroic struggle of these two attacked peoples against fascist aggression is a powerful force for peace.

(d) That a number of capitalist countries are today vitally interested in peace, not in war, and are themselves threatened by the fascist aggressors.

Mind you, the question is not whether the governments of these capitalist states "will go to war simply as crusaders for righteousness." We do not have to consult President Roosevelt, as Thomas does, in order to find out that capitalist governments are not interested in "righteousness." But we know that these capitalist countries are now interested in the

preservation of world peace because peace now serves best the imperialist interests of their bourgeoisie.

These are objective facts. Now, what do you do with these facts? If you believe, as we do, that the most vital interests of the working class, of its allies among the toiling classes, of the Soviet Union and of the future of world socialism, and of the whole of humanity demand imperatively that world peace be preserved, then you will formulate on the basis of these objective facts a policy of collective security. And this was what we did. Life is daily confirming the correctness of our policy, although great difficulties have to be overcome in the struggle for its realization.

The weakening of the isolation illusions in the United States and, in response to this, the Chicago speech of President Roosevelt, are in themselves fresh confirmation of the correctness of our peace policy. We do not know whether the President is for the same brand of "righteousness" as Norman Thomas. Frankly, we are not interested in that. But we are interested, vitally so, in whether the President's program is a peace program. And our answer is: yes, it is; it contains the essentials of such a program. We are interested in whether this program can be made to serve the struggle for collective security, which is now the only way to preserve world peace. And we say: yes, it can be made to serve that purpose by the support of a wide people's peace movement, independent of the government, struggling unitedly for peace and collective security, struggling against the opposition of the reactionaries who attack the President's program.

That is why Comrade Browder promptly called for support and united struggle by the people to realize the President's peace program in life.

Does that mean that we overlook the fact that President Roosevelt's administration is a capitalist government? Does it mean we have forgotten that we live in a capitalist system dominated by monopoly capital, which is the economic basis of imperialism? No. We have not forgotten either of these things, just as Norman Thomas has not yet fully learned them, especially about the economic basis of imperialism which he continually confuses with what he calls "capitalist nationalism."

No, we have not overlooked these things. On the contrary, we have analyzed them deeply and thoroughly, as Marxists, proceeding from the economics of the situation *to the line-up of class forces*; rejecting all schematism and mechanical repetition of formulae, seeing the struggle for peace in its concrete objective setting of the historic fight for the People's Front, against fascism, for democracy, and for socialism. That is why our analysis is a true one. On the basis of this analysis, we are able to say:

President Roosevelt's peace program is, of course, not in conflict with the traditional policies of the United States in the Far East, the policies of the "Open Door" and the territorial integrity of China. These traditional American objectives are the class objectives of the American bourgeoisie dictated by the broad imperialist interests of American capitalism. President Roosevelt's peace program pursues these traditional objectives of

American Far-Eastern policy. *But—and this is decisive for the camp of labor and progress*—the pursuit of these traditional objectives of American Far-Eastern policy *at the present time* demands a struggle for collective security, for curbing the fascist aggressors, for the maintenance of world peace—a struggle which the camp of labor and progress must and can carry on as a struggle against fascism and war and for democracy and peace.

\* \* \*

**I**MPORTANT to emphasize at the present time is the building up of the widest people's peace movement to fight for the realization of the President's program. Only the active support of an independent peace movement of the masses fighting for the principles of collective security will bring about the carrying out of this peace program.

One reason for the need of an organized mass struggle for the realization of the President's program was indicated by Raymond Leslie Buell, president of the Foreign Policy Association. Commenting on the fact that Roosevelt's Chicago speech constitutes a challenge to the fascist dictatorships, he says:

“. . . but whether they take the warning seriously depends on whether American public opinion will not only support the principles underlying the speech, but also a policy necessary to give it effect.”

That is correct. Hence, we must help educate and organize the masses along these lines as well as work for the utmost possible *independent action* in support of the Spanish and Chinese peoples.

Reactionary opposition to the Presi-

dent's peace program will most certainly seek to sabotage it by all means at its disposal. And these means are not negligible. The most imperialist circles of finance capital, speaking through such organs as the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Herald Tribune* and Hearst, have clearly indicated what their line is. To sum up what has been discussed in the foregoing, this line is an orientation on the “inevitability” of a new world war in which America will participate for the imperialist aggrandizement of the monopolies, collaborating most likely with the fascist aggressors.

Caught in the contradiction between their class affinities for fascism and their interest in the traditional Far-Eastern objectives of American capitalism, some of these most reactionary and imperialist monopolies seem even inclined *for the moment* to subordinate the traditional objectives in the Far East, to go easy on them. And why? In order not to weaken the fascist aggressors abroad and not to impair their own chances at home for the advancement of reaction and fascism.

Remembering the resourcefulness and reserves mobilized by reaction in the struggle against Supreme Court reform, and the temporary victory which it scored, the camp of peace and progress will have to broaden and organize its forces *as never before* to succeed in the struggle for peace.

Monopoly, or finance, capital is obviously not of one mind on the issue of collective security. While its most reactionary and fascist-minded circles are in opposition to collective security and to Roosevelt's peace program, other circles of finance capital are

generally in favor of collective peace efforts, thus endorsing on the whole the President's policy (the *New York Times*, for example). But these latter circles of finance capital, those favoring the President's policy, are definitely antagonistic to the anti-fascist and democratic implications and methods of this policy. It is therefore to be expected that the pressure which will come from these circles upon the Roosevelt administration will most certainly be directed toward weakening the anti-fascist implications of its peace policy, toward compromises with the fascist aggressor at the expense of its victims, toward that kind of "peace collaboration" which the British Tories have made infamous.

Speaking on the Nine-Power Conference, Mr. Buell correctly sounds a warning that attempts may be made there to "bring pressure on China to accept another Hoare-Laval deal":

"If Japan agrees to go to the conference, it will doubtless be due to the belief that Britain and America will bring pressure on China to accept a face-saving formula which will give Japan the substance of its demands in North China and Manchukuo."

Mr. Buell believes that "the United States government will not willingly be a party to such an agreement." Perhaps. But it may become a party to such an agreement "unwillingly" if the pressure from the *New York Times* group of finance capital together with the pressure from the British government will not be counteracted by the pressure of the American people through an organized peace movement.

\* \* \*

ORGANIZED labor has already taken a position in condemnation of the Japanese fascist aggressor and in favor of a nationwide boycott of Japanese goods. The C.I.O. conference made decisions to that effect. And under the pressure of its rank and file and progressive elements, even the Denver convention of the A. F. of L. went on record in favor of a boycott of Japanese goods. This will immeasurably strengthen the peace movement and the struggle for the realization of the President's policy.

It is necessary to warn that the subsequent "broadening" of the A. F. of L. boycott decision to include "all imported goods," sponsored especially by Matthew Woll, threatens to weaken the boycott of *Japanese* goods. There is great danger that the Wolls may try to switch the movement for the boycott of Japanese goods into the channels of Hearst's pet scheme of "buy American." The peace forces of the country, for whom the boycott of Japanese goods is one of the means of struggle for curbing the fascist aggressor and for peace, must not allow the movement to be destroyed by the machinations of Hearst's agents in the labor movement.

The task of the moment is therefore clear. As called for by the Communist Party: *Rouse and mobilize the masses for the realization of the President's peace program!* Widen and consolidate the broadest people's peace movement in the struggle for the following immediate actions:

A wide boycott movement against Japanese goods. An embargo by the government upon all imports from and exports to Japan. Support for the proposal of the C.I.O. and its

maritime unions for a working class embargo against Japan. *Maximum possible aid by the American government and people to China and to Republican Spain.* Demand the lifting of the embargo upon Republican Spain. Support the demand for the immediate withdrawal of all Italian and German forces from Spain. Support the demand for the immediate withdrawal of all Japanese forces from China. Demand the revision of the "Neutrality Act" in accordance with the program of curbing the aggressor and organizing collective security. *Demonstrate support for the President's program through mass meetings and resolutions, delegations to Washington, telegrams and delegations to Congressmen urging upon them a similar course.* Support the demand for united peace action by labor in this country and for similar united action by all working class organizations internationally. Support the peace actions of the American League Against War and Fascism and its forthcoming national congress. Demand the dissolution of all fascist and Nazi agencies in this country. Support the peace policies of the Soviet Union and urge collaboration for peace between the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union.

*Realize the President's peace program!*

Since the struggle for a peace program by the United States is becoming wider, more intense, and closer to realization, and since the opposition of reaction will be bitter and vicious, it is to be expected that the activities of the Trotskyite agents of the fascist aggressors to discredit the principles of collective security will

also increase. We must put the masses on guard against that. We must be vigilant and alert to every machination of the Trotskyite agents of Hitler and Japan, expose them before the people, and help drive them out of labor and people's organizations. Only thus will the struggle for peace and collective security be successful.

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Two national gatherings of representatives of organized labor took place in the first half of October: In Denver, the American Federation of Labor; in Atlantic City, the Committee for Industrial Organization. The contrast and the results are full of instruction and enlightenment for every worker in the United States.

The contrast demonstrated is not between the membership of the two organizations. The membership of both are workers, members of the same exploited class. And of them John L. Lewis said truly:

"Out in the localities where our great industries are located, in the community assemblages, as members of the various plants, in the daily activities of community life, there is no difference between the members of the Committee for Industrial Organization and the members of the American Federation of Labor.

"They both want and desire the same thing—increased living standards, a high social status, more political freedom and greater opportunity. Their hearts and their minds are aspiring to the same objectives, and clinging with fierceness and loyalty to the same ideals regardless of whether these working men and women are affiliated with the C.I.O. or the A. F. of L."

This is from Lewis' speech on unity at the national conference of the C.I.O. in Atlantic City. And this is the basis of the unity of the working

class, of the unification of the American trade union movement.

*Unity is possible.* Because the class interests of the workers in both organizations demand it; because the workers want it; because the C.I.O. and the progressive forces in the A. F. of L. are strong enough already to defeat the opposition to unity on the part of the Hutchesons, Freys and their helpers.

Needless to say, a united trade union movement of about 8,000,000 members will at once mean tremendously augmented strength for the working class, for the People's Front movement against fascism and war, for the entire camp of progress in this country as well as in the world. And this is how, in broad outline, the C.I.O. and the progressive forces in the A. F. of L. conceive correctly the task of reuniting the American trade union movement.

*Unity is possible.* And the C.I.O., the main body of organized labor in this country, has taken the lead in the achievement of trade union unity.

The convention of the A. F. of L., dominated as it was more than ever before by the reactionaries and splitters, saturated with hostility to nearly all progressive developments in the country, showing tendencies to realign the A. F. of L. politically in opposition even to President Roosevelt, did not dare, however, to reject outright the proposal for unity negotiations by the C.I.O. The A. F. of L. Executive Council finally felt compelled to agree to a preliminary conference, insisting though upon a small committee meeting in opposition to the idea of the C.I.O., that it be a large conference composed of 100 delegates from each organization.

A little "detail" of procedure which can and should be ironed out, but significant nonetheless as a characterization of the two leaderships and their respective approaches to unity.

The C.I.O. leadership rests the case of trade union unity on the broad principles of working class unity, on the needs of the struggle for the progress and advancement of the working class on the economic and political fields. Therefore, the C.I.O. conceives the task of *making unity* in its practical aspects as a task of uniting the two organizations and creating a stronger and more effective trade union movement. A glimpse of what that could be and do, we have already received in the rise and advance of the C.I.O. itself. Naturally, such a task of unification is a serious and complicated business and requires for its solution the participation of the leading and active forces of the two trade union movements. Hence it was perfectly reasonable for the C.I.O. to suggest that the conferences for unity negotiations be participated in by 100 representatives from each side, since this did not preclude the possibility of setting up smaller committees in the course of the work of the larger conferences. This is the democratic and correct way.

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L., which split the trade union movement to begin with, and has been maneuvering right along to split the C.I.O. too, covering up this maneuver with the cry of "unity," *is still maneuvering.* It is most likely that the Executive Council is going to the unity conference with the C.I.O. in the spirit of the advice given to it by the *Herald Tribune*. This spokesman of reaction told the Executive Coun-

cil in effect: go to the conference, otherwise your maneuvers will be too much exposed. This—life will show.

However, while fully realizing that the Executive Council is still maneuvering against unity, we must also realize that its maneuvering possibilities have become *narrower*. It can no longer continue to the same extent as before to play with the issue of unity for purposes of disunity: because the demand for unity from below is growing stronger day by day and because the C.I.O. has definitely established leadership in the struggle for trade union unity.

The first conclusion that follows from this is that *the progressive elements in the A. F. of L. must immeasurably increase their activities in favor of unity, as correctly conceived by the C.I.O.* The stronger the pressure from below upon the Executive Council *the narrower will become* its maneuvering possibilities against unity and the sooner will the American trade union movement be united. A similar task confronts the progressive elements in the railroad unions.

A second conclusion is that *the unity negotiations must be accompanied by the maximum possible united actions for common aims, economically and politically, among the unions of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods.* The need for this is evident. Nothing will create a better atmosphere for the unity negotiations than such common action. It will, in fact, help make unity. Besides, there is urgent immediate need for such common action, a need that cannot wait until unity is fully consummated. In every locality and community workers of both or-

ganizations are engaged in immediate struggles for the advancement of their interests: against the rising cost of living, for the protection of their civil liberties, against vigilantism, for peace, to promote the boycott of Japanese goods and to render help to the peoples of Spain and China, to mention only some of the immediate common tasks. Local political activities and the building of Labor's Non-Partisan League—labor's political mass weapon—this is another field of action for both trade union organizations.

It should be kept in mind that complete unity will not be accomplished overnight. Unity is possible through the overcoming of a number of difficulties and serious obstructions from the opponents of unity. This will take hard work and time. Therefore we urge: unity negotiations to be assisted by the maximum possible united action day by day between the unions of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.

And a third conclusion: *build the C.I.O. unions, win the masses in support of its principles, in support of the resolutions adopted by its conference in Atlantic City.* These resolutions, and the demands incorporated in them, are of momentous importance to the working class and to the entire camp of progress. Spread them far and wide. They will be most effective in building the unity of the working class and in promoting further the People's Front movement. These resolutions will prove a most powerful weapon for mobilizing the masses for labor, farmer and progressive legislation at the special session of Congress, as well as in preparation of the People's Front forces for the

Congressional elections of 1938. *Build Labor's Non-Partisan League!*

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**G**REETINGS on the twentieth anniversary of the great Socialist Revolution, which significantly coincides with the approach to the first elections on the basis of the Stalin Constitution.

In mobilizing the masses for the celebration of this historic event, we shall further promote the advance of the American people against reaction and fascism, build the People's Front and strengthen the leading role of the working class in it, and stimulate its progress to socialist liberation.

Greetings to the peoples of the Soviet Union, to their Communist Party, and to our common leader, Comrade Stalin! We extend these greetings in the inspiring belief that socialism is the solution for all of us and that we are helping the American people to move to this solution by building the unity of the working class, the People's Front, and the Communist Party.

Greetings to our working class and people on the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution, which lights our way and strengthens our struggles for a better life. The American masses, when informed, fully appreciate the tremendous achievements of the peoples of the Soviet Union under socialism. Such facts as these speak eloquently:

In 1914, under capitalism and the Tsar, there were in Russia only 7,800,000 children in the schools. Of them, 7,000,000 were in the elementary schools, the children of workers and peasants, as a rule, having no access to higher schools.

In 1937, on the 20th anniversary of the great Socialist Revolution, there are 30,000,000 children in the Soviet schools, studying in their own native languages, and facing a free path to higher education and development.

Greetings, finally, to our own Party, to Comrades Browder and Foster, to the advanced detachment of the American working class. The celebration of twenty years of Soviet power on one-sixth of the earth will, among other things, mark a stage in our recruiting drive. Our Party is gradually setting in motion all its resources for building itself into a mass party of strong Bolshevik ideology. With increasing momentum we must carry forward the recruiting drive, which has been extended to Lenin Memorial Day by Central Committee decision. At that time the National Party Builders' Congress will be held.

Through more intense political mass work, as behooves the vanguard Party of the working class, we must energetically promote the enrollment of the best elements of our class into the Party. At the present time we are engaged in the prosecution of two central political tasks: *the struggle for trade union unity and the struggle for peace*, linked up with the economic demands of the masses—in the first place, the fight against the rising cost of living.

We say to the membership of our Party:

Carry our political line and message on these basic issues to the masses and their organizations in the current weeks. Strengthen your contacts and relationships with the best elements of the mass movements on the basis of our political line and message. And—bring them into the Party. A. B.

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# TWENTY YEARS OF SOVIET POWER\*

## THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY THROUGH SOCIALISM

BY EARL BROWDER

*“Capitalism generally and imperialism especially transform democracy into an illusion, while at the same time capitalism gives birth to democratic aspirations among the masses; it creates democratic institutions; it sharpens the antagonism between imperialism, which denies democracy, and the masses, who strive for democracy.”\*\**

NOVEMBER 7 marks the twentieth anniversary of the rise of a new type of state, Soviet power, which began the building of a new type of society, socialism.

This event marked a new turning point in the history of mankind. It has made necessary for the whole world a re-evaluation of old values, a re-examination of all problems, a re-alignment of previous social groupings, a redirection of the course of human affairs.

It is my purpose today to examine the achievements of twenty years of Soviet power in relation particularly to the problems of North American democracy, to the problems of the people of the United States and Canada.

A few preliminary observations will be of value by way of comparing the

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\* An address to the Eighth Dominion Convention of the Communist Party of Canada, at Toronto, October 10, 1937.

\*\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXX, p. 259, Russian edition.

geographical and historical influences in the two great regions under examination.

### RUSSIA AND NORTH AMERICA

The territory known until 1917 as the Empire of the Tsar of Russia closely approximates in extent, in climatic conditions and in richness of natural resources, our own North American continent. Its population is about 20 to 25 per cent greater. With such close similarity of the basic natural factors, however, these two areas have gone through sharply different historical developments. Both came under the impact of the rising capitalist system of Western Europe during approximately the same period, but with different results, due to a different inheritance from the pre-capitalist era.

Russia came into the world-community and world-market that was brought into being by capitalism, with the heavy inheritance of a feudal system of economy and society rooted in centuries of slow development, a system with a highly developed superstructure of government, of state power. In contrast, North America was only beginning to be conquered by an immigration from Europe composed, in its great majority, of people

in rebellion against the oppressions of the combined decaying-feudalist and early-capitalist influences of their homelands; the political superstructure imported with them had scanty roots on this continent, was maintained only by force from abroad, and was consequently soon shattered by the forces of democracy that grew rapidly under the influence of a capitalist economy at work on almost virgin soil.

In the years 1776 to 1787, the United States won its independence as a nation, and fashioned a stable state power, within which the only serious obstacle to unfettered capitalist development was the compromise with slavery; this bourgeois-democratic revolution was completed, in its most essential aspects, by the Civil War of 1861-65, and the consequent abolition of slavery. Canada won essentially the same level of historical development in the struggle of 1837.

In the tsarist empire, however, the enemy was much more stubborn and powerful. Although the same democratic forces were at work there, they could not break through; they were defeated again and again. The development of capitalism sapped and undermined the foundations of the old order; but at each period of crisis the feudal autocracy emerged triumphant through a combination of extreme repression, concessions and foreign alliances. The result for Russia was an extremely backward and distorted economic development, and the almost complete postponement of the democratic revolution until the twentieth century, when it merged with the socialist revolution.

Thus it was, in brief, that these

two great sections of humanity, Russia and North America, so similarly equipped in natural resources and population, came to the world crisis of 1914-1918 at the opposite poles of economic and political development. Russia was the most backward in every important respect; North America was the most advanced. Russia emerged from the World War with an economy shattered and prostrate, racked by famine; its old political superstructure broken and scattered to the four winds; its new infant system, Soviet power, fighting against a hostile world with its back to the wall, and spoken of deprecatingly even by its friends as an "experiment." North America emerged from the World War with an enormously strengthened economy, the world's banker, holding the debts of the other powers, and with, at least for a time, predominant prestige and influence in world politics.

What a contrast this was! Every philistine, every shallow thinker and vulgarian, could and did tell the world that North America was the promised land, that it had found the way to "permanent prosperity," that with the "American system" poverty was being abolished and the millennium ushered in. Henry Ford and the belt-line system of mass production were the new God. And with God in his heaven, all was right with the capitalist world. As for that curious and disreputable "experiment," Soviet Russia, everyone knew that it was prostrate and starving. Lenin was announcing the New Economic Policy and offering concessions to foreign capitalists; soon Russia would be safely back in the capitalist family, as the

poor relation, tending the kitchen and doing the dirty work. Herbert Hoover contemptuously sent over the American Relief Administration, with some superfluous war-stores of wheat, expecting the 140,000,000 Russians to follow this wisp of straw obediently back into the capitalist harness. For all sensible people, the issue was settled: North America owned and led the world! Soviet Russia was a starving beggar at the doorstep! Such was the appearance in the early 1920's.

#### WHAT HAS BEEN DONE WITH THE INHERITANCE?

Today we call for an accounting of what has been done with this inheritance by North America, which inherited half the world's wealth and its leadership, and by Soviet Russia, which inherited ruin and starvation. The day of reckoning is here. To deal with the results of this reckoning, we are tempted to turn to some of the old Hebrew prophets, who celebrated the humiliation of the mighty and exaltation of the humble. Only the passionate words of an Isaiah could celebrate worthily the emergence of that "hungry beggar" of the 1920's as the "proud builder," who not only restored completely his ruined inheritance, but multiplied it five times over in the past ten years; or find scorn bitter enough to describe how the proud and mighty have squandered their inheritance and cast their people into the desolation of unemployment, labor camps, a declining standard of living and the threat of fascist destruction of civilization.

We are not of the line of Isaiah, however, who saw only the wrath of God in the humiliation of the proud

and powerful. We find material causes for this confusion of the mighty, and turn to science for our explanations. If we cannot equal the brilliant imagery of the prophets, perhaps we can compensate the loss by a deeper understanding of the dialectical paradoxes of our history.

Until the World War, North America had stood in the vanguard of world progress, politically and economically. Politically, it was the "purest" example of bourgeois democracy, that is, it had the least carry-over of feudal and semi-feudal remnants, and the broadest distribution of democratic rights. This it was which removed the fetters from production, gave full sweep to the development of capitalism. But it was the full development of capitalism which undermined the economic basis of democracy, and at the same time set a sharp limit to economic expansion and brought on the crisis.

American democracy arose upon the basis of the widespread distribution among the population of the productive economy of the country, privately owned and individually operated, chiefly the individual farm and the craftsman's tools. This economic basis of democracy for a long time reproduced itself, through the expansion of the original sparse settlements on the Atlantic seaboard over the continent to the Pacific, on the basis of free or cheap lands. With the disappearance of the frontier, this process was halted. At the same time, approximately, North America together with the capitalist nations of Europe entered the era of modern imperialism, of the predominance of finance capital, of monopoly, in its

economic life. This was the period of rapid concentration and centralization of capital, the pyramiding of great trusts, the feverish search for new markets, fields of capital investment, and sources of raw materials; the division of the entire world among the great powers—and the consequent rivalries and antagonisms that resulted in the imperialist World War.

American democracy, based upon individual private property, had made possible this unexampled expansion, which projected the United States as the chief world power. But this expansion had simultaneously wiped out the economic foundation of the democracy which gave it birth. Individual private property in the nation's economy became more and more concentrated and centralized in the hands of a constantly smaller group of families, constituting the privileged class, the upper and decisive stratum of the ruling class. Agriculture, which felt this process least sharply in terms of production, was completely overshadowed by the growth of industry and the cities, but even the individual farm producer fell into the clutches of finance capital through mortgages, usury and market monopolies. Individual craftsmen almost disappeared, replaced by the great armies of propertyless wage-workers in mass production, in which thousands and even tens of thousands became cogs in a single big productive mechanism under a single impersonal corporate direction. Production was socialized—while ownership remained private but confined to a smaller and smaller group which, through economic power, became the decisive

rulers behind the mask of a popular democracy. Political democracy was reduced largely to what Anatole France described as "the equal right of rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges."

The World War, which brought America to full realization of this process, thus gave it the illusion of grandeur and power precisely at the time when it had prepared the general breakdown of the whole capitalist system. The tremendous productive economy could not, under the laws of capitalism, operate except under the stimulus of a constantly increasing mass of profits; these accumulated in the hands of a small class which, already exhausted in the search for new forms of wasteful consumption, could use these enormous funds only for further capital investment for further profits, or for war to conquer new fields of investment. Economic paralysis, or war, became the Hobson's choice facing a society not prepared to break the bounds of capitalism and pass over to a socialist system.

Thus it was that in 1929 and since, the old Hebrew prophet's curse against the proud and mighty was visited upon North America in the hour of her apparent triumph. America's "sin," which brought this vengeance upon her, was not, however, that of blasphemy against the ancient prophet's Yahveh; it was the "sin" of having permitted the fruits of bourgeois democracy to destroy its foundation, of allowing control of the people's economy to pass out of the hands of the people.

During this same period of the humiliation of once proud America,

the starving beggar, as our arrogant American capitalists considered Soviet Russia, emerged as the most rapidly progressing land in all fields—economically, politically, culturally—ever recorded in the history of mankind. Surrounded by a hostile world, with nothing other than its natural resources *and its superior system of social organization*, the Soviet Union restored its wrecked economy, proceeded to multiply its wealth production to thirteen times that of the early 1920's, and more than four times that of 1929, advanced from last place in Europe to first, and is now engaged in a race to catch up with and surpass the United States. The rate of growth of Soviet economy is five or six times that of the United States in its period of most rapid expansion.

In the period when the American standard of living fell on the average by 50 per cent, the standard of living in the Soviet Union was raised by 400 per cent. While America was throwing 13,000,000 workers onto the streets, unemployed, of whom seven or eight million are still dependent upon the relief dole, the Soviet Union was not only abolishing all unemployment, but doubling the size of the industrial working class by absorbing peasants into the factories. While American agriculture was saved from destruction only by gigantic subsidies, paying for the curtailment and destruction of crops and cattle, Soviet agriculture had been reorganized on a collective, socialist basis and doubled its production, with an increase of living standards in the countryside of immeasurable proportions—bringing a life of culture and security to the agrarian population for the

first time in human history.

Above all, at a moment when democracy and culture are destroyed in half of Europe by the barbarian hordes of fascism; when they fight for their life in the rest of Europe; when China, the greatest country of Asia, fights against odds for its very existence, when democracy is under fire and threatened even in North America—at this moment Russia, so recently the synonym of backwardness, steps forward with its new Constitution, shaped under the guiding hand of Stalin, a constitution which is a new high mark in the achievement of democracy, such as in the past only a few great spirits could dream of, but which now comes to life in the everyday activities of 170,000,000 people.

The Constitution of the United States was for generations the most democratic in the world. But compare it with that of the Soviet Union.

The U.S. Constitution tolerated for generations the disfranchisement of the great majority of the population; for eighty years it confirmed slavery for one-tenth of the population; its grant of suffrage to the Negroes is still largely unrealized today; for over 130 years it excluded half the population, the women, from suffrage; citizenship rights begin only at the age of twenty-one years.

The Soviet Constitution provides universal adult suffrage, the only exception being those adjudged by a court as insane or guilty of a major crime against the state; the right to vote begins at eighteen years.

The U.S. Constitution provides unproportional representation; in the Senate, without which no law can be adopted, the four or five million

voters of the twenty-four smallest states. have equal power with the 35,000,000 voters of the 24 largest states. Within the states, unproportional representation is so common that it is reduced to a system with a special name, "Gerrymandering."

The Soviet Constitution provides for absolutely proportional representation, with one representative in the highest council for each 300,000 voters, and for the lower Provincial Councils one for each smaller bloc of voters in proportion. The equal representation in the Council of Nationalities, regardless of population, guards the special interests of the different nationalities in the Union, without the possibility of a minority veto over the majority.

The U.S. Constitution establishes a judiciary which in practice has become the supreme power, which is appointed for life, which is irremovable, and which is responsible at no time to the people or to their representatives.

The Soviet Constitution provides for the direct election, by the people, of all government officials, without exception and including the judiciary, for a limited number of years and with the right of recall.

The U.S. Constitution, in the Amendments constituting the Bill of Rights, denies to the national government the power to pass any laws limiting the civil rights of the people, the most important being the rights of free speech, press and assembly. But it does not prohibit the states from making such limitations, and the struggle for civil rights is thus merely transferred to the states, where in fact they are in many cases limited; while

in general, the realization of the Bill of Rights, insofar as this involves economic factors, is left entirely at the mercy of the capitalist ownership of the economy. The livelihood of the citizens, without which no rights have any meaning whatever, does not come within the scope of the U.S. Constitution at all.

The Soviet Constitution has as its very heart the specific guarantee of work at a living wage for every citizen, vacations with pay, free education, and adequate leisure. The working day is limited to seven hours, with six hours for dangerous occupations. The rights of free speech, press and assembly are guaranteed by putting at the disposal of the Soviet citizens, through their organizations, all the meeting halls, public buildings, the radio, printing press and paper, the supply of which is constantly being increased. The foundation for all these guarantees is the possession of the entire national economy by the people, and its operation for their common benefit, which is made permanent in the Constitution.

#### THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy, the control of state power by the people, acting on the principle of majority rule and the delegation of power to representatives periodically chosen by election, can be historically developed only upon the foundation of an appropriate economic system.

That democracy which developed with capitalism, and which, in its purest forms, gave capitalism its highest development, was originally based upon the widespread distribution of

ownership in the basic economy of the country, which was an economy of individual production, chiefly agricultural.

With the growth of commodity production, exchange, the market, division of labor, the accumulation of capital, and finally the rise of machinery and mechanical power, and gigantic production units—as production took on more and more socialized forms—there took place the simultaneous process of divorcing the small owner from his property. This takes place through the normal operation of capitalist economy, accelerated always by state policy, and often by extra-legal fraud and violence. By varied and sundry means, the full development of capitalism always and necessarily means the creation of a small privileged owning class, monopoly capitalists, set over against a large wage-working class which has no ownership whatever in the means of production, and which comprises in North America the vast majority of the population.

Democracy in North America has thus been almost completely deprived of its original economic foundation. To the degree that democracy still lives under this developed capitalism, therefore, it must find for itself a new economic foundation. This is no longer possible in the form of individual ownership. All possibility of that has been destroyed beyond recall by machinery and mechanical power, making necessary large-scale mass production.

The illusion, fostered for a time by capitalist propaganda, of a democratization of capital by widespread corporate-stock ownership, was given its

final death-blow by the last crisis. The only new forms by which democracy has achieved a very fragmentary and precarious economic foundation under modern capitalism, have been socialized forms—militant trade unionism, especially in its industrial form, and governmental intervention in economy under the influence of the democratic aspirations and demands.

The struggle for these new forms brings about a realignment of forces within the democracy—with the capitalists, their agents and dupes on the one side, fighting for maintenance and increase of their profits, and the producing masses on the other side, fighting for a better life at the expense of capitalist profits. This is the process that has brought the present chaos in the traditional political life of the United States and Canada.

For a time the monopoly capitalists are able to keep this struggle of the masses under their control, within certain limits, by trickery, fraud and force, by keeping the toiling masses divided and fighting one another instead of their common enemy. But finally, when all these resources fail them, when they see the masses uniting at last against them, upon a program of social betterment at the expense of the capitalists—then the capitalists begin to destroy the democracy which in the past served them so well, but which now threatens to escape their control. They turn to fascism, the open, brutal and bloody dictatorship of finance capital, exercised by turning loose upon society the criminal underworld and declassed elements, organized and controlled by their enormous wealth, and the terrorist destruction of the organizations of the

people. They destroy democracy—always under the pretext that democracy is threatened with destruction at the hands of Communism, of Marxism, of Bolshevism. It is an infallible sign of the rise of fascism when, as in the United States today, such moderate democrats as President Roosevelt and John L. Lewis, who openly proclaim their allegiance to capitalism, are denounced by the Tories as "Communists."

Democracy today is destroyed in much of the capitalist world. It is fighting for its life in the remainder. It can survive under capitalism only to the degree to which there are successfully carried out such programs as those of John L. Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organization and the economic reforms and the peace program of President Roosevelt. It will always be in danger of destruction so long as the national economy is owned and controlled by a small plutocratic capitalist class. The only final guarantee for democracy is the transfer of ownership of the national economy from the hands of the small capitalist class into the hands of the whole people, that is, through socialism.

That is the main lesson to be drawn by us today, in the North American countries, from an examination of the achievements of twenty years of Soviet power in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has been able, in a world where elsewhere democracy is on the defensive or destroyed, to make a great new democratic advance, precisely because it has taken both economic and political power out of the hands of the enemies of the people,

precisely because it has given to democracy a full and complete economic foundation, one which will endure, which will not be undermined and disappear as did the individual private property. Every advance of science in the Soviet Union, every increase in production and productivity, strengthens Soviet democracy and strengthens its economic foundation.

The Soviet Union has shown the way to the final and complete guarantee of democracy, and for its fullest development. And such a democracy is unconquerable.

SOCIALISM AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

From all that has been said, it follows that the central political task of the day is to organize the working class, and around it the majority of the people, to fight for a better life, to obtain a measure of economic power, and to defend democracy against the attacks of the capitalists who are turning to fascism.

Such a majority of the toiling masses, organized to defend democracy and defeat fascism, will learn, through their experience and our teachings, that the full transition to socialism is the only final solution of our problems, the only final outcome of the struggle.

The struggle for realizing socialism is, however, not the beginning of this process, but rather its outcome. Especially in the United States and Canada, economically ripe for socialism, the masses are not politically prepared. To make the immediate transition to socialism the question of the day would merely serve to split off the small minority of those who stand for socialism from the masses; to leave

these masses, without our unifying and organizing influence, open to all the splitting and disruptive influences of the bourgeoisie; and thus to facilitate the coming to power of fascism and the destruction of democracy.

The People's Front against reaction, fascism and war—that is the central task of the day. That is what all sincere democrats who resist fascism must also want, whether they agree with our socialist program or not. We can completely agree with such non-socialist democrats upon the united defense of democracy under capitalism. We never had, and never will have, a program of trying to force socialism upon an unwilling majority of the people. Within the People's Front for democracy and peace, we grant the full right of the non-socialists to propagandize us on the possibility of solving our problems under capitalism; in every effort to improve conditions under capitalism we will give our fullest energies for success, thus giving them the most favorable conditions possible for their program. At the same time, we ask for ourselves the freedom of educational work to explain our understanding of the laws of social development, of why we think socialism is necessary and finally inevitable. We are sure that before long life itself will convince the majority that we are correct.

This is the true relation of the People's Front to socialism. This is quite different from the distorted view, the opportunist sectarianism, of such Socialists as Norman Thomas in the U.S., and some Commonwealth Federation leaders in Canada. These people, under the influence of Trotskyism, see in the People's Front an

obstacle to or an enemy of socialism, instead of the precondition for the least painful transition to socialism, which it really is. Their position only reflects their shallow understanding of socialism, and of the laws of social development in general. They have the illusion, on the one hand, that by placing their "socialism" *against* the people's unity to resist fascism, they will thereby *force* these people to come over to socialism as the only alternative, however unwilling they may be. On the other hand, they have so little faith in their ability to *convince* the majority, by the simple compulsion of logic and experience, that they are afraid to join in a larger mass movement with a goal short of socialism, for fear of getting lost in the movement; they have no faith in themselves. In cutting loose from their old style of opportunist Socialism, they got lost and fell into the trap of Trotskyism, which began as opportunism disguised in Left phrases and is now fully developed fascism with the same mask.

Trotskyism is treachery reduced to a science. Defeated and driven out everywhere it shows its face openly, Trotskyism now works in a hidden manner, especially making use of confused liberals and Socialists like John Dewey and Norman Thomas, who have lost their bearings in the chaos of capitalist disintegration. In the struggle against this poisonous and wrecking influence, as in every other phase of the struggle for progress, workers and other progressives can learn much from the experience of the Soviet Union.

In putting into effect the new Stalin Constitution the Soviet Union has re-

leased the full forces of its vibrant democracy to cleanse its house of all the lingering anti-democratic and anti-socialist remnants that have hung on from the past and that have developed through the degeneration of weak elements. At the same moment the forces of world fascism, preparing for their supreme effort of war to conquer the world, made a big drive through their Trotskyite allies, fully to mobilize their spies and wreckers whom they recruited from among these rotten elements. The results of the clash between these two forces within the Soviet Union have not brought much comfort to Hitler, Mussolini, or the Japanese militarists. With its house cleaned, the Soviet Union is driving ahead with its socialist construction, is completing its military defenses, and is holding out the hand of cooperation to all the democratic and peace-loving peoples of the world for organizing world peace.

The Soviet Union has defeated all its enemies, internal and external, and has successfully constructed its new socialist society, because it was guided by the genius of the greatest

teachers of history, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It will defeat all its enemies in the future.

The People's Front will be successfully formed and will defeat fascism, because its conception was in the same scientific understanding of the laws of history.

With the defeat of fascism in its warlike aggressions, the peoples of Italy, Germany and Japan, losing their fear of a terrorism that lives only by constant victories, will turn upon and destroy the nightmare monster that today disturbs the sleep of all the world.

With fascism wiped off the face of the earth, with the glorious achievements of the Soviet Union as an example, the rest of the world will find the transition to socialism relatively rapid and painless.

These are the main thoughts that arise from an examination of twenty years of Soviet power, of the triumphant emergence of the new society, which is showing the road for the entire world, which today stands as the most reliable protector of democracy and peace.

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# LENIN AND STALIN ON THE EVE OF OCTOBER

[NOTE: We are printing below the "Letter to the Members of the Central Committee" of the Bolshevik Party, by Lenin, written on November 6, 1917, on the eve of the uprising in Petrograd. Lenin had been in hiding for some time because the Provisional Government was seeking his arrest. However, he kept in constant touch with the Central Committee through correspondence. After sending this letter, he prepared to go to Petrograd, appearing that day at the Bolshevik headquarters, in disguise, and taking command of the final preparations for the uprising.

All of Lenin's writings, from the February to the October Revolution, from March 15, when he first learned of the overthrow of tsarism while in Zurich, Switzerland, to his letter of November 6, reprinted here, are to be found in the *Collected Works, Volumes 20 and 21* (The Revolution of 1917 and Toward the Seizure of Power). Selections from his works during this period are to be found in the *Little Lenin Library, Volumes 8 to 13 inclusive*.

The article by Stalin, "What Do We Need?", printed below, was also written on November 6. It deals with the preparations for the uprising and the elections to the Second Congress of Soviets. A selection of Stalin's writings in 1917, and particularly his

reports at the important Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party during August, 1917, will be found in the newly-issued pamphlet, *The Road to Power*.—The Editors.]

## LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

BY V. I. LENIN

COMRADES! I am writing these lines on the evening of the 6th. The situation is extremely critical. It is as clear as can be that delaying the uprising now really means death.

With all my power I wish to persuade the comrades that now everything hangs on a hair, that on the order of the day are questions that are not solved by conferences, by congresses (even by Congresses of Soviets), but only by the people, by the masses, by the struggle of armed masses.

The bourgeois onslaught of the Kornilovists,\* the removal of Verkhovskiy\*\* show that we must not wait.

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\* General Kornilov, head of the Russian armies at the front, organized a counter-revolutionary march on Petrograd, in September, 1917, with the connivance of the Provisional Government, aiming to defeat the growing proletarian revolution. The Bolsheviks organized the workers and soldiers of revolutionary Petrograd to resist the counter-revolutionary attempt of Kornilov, and defeated him.

\*\* Verkhovskiy, Minister of War in the Kerensky government, who declared that the Russian army could not continue to carry on the war and favored the conclusion of peace.

We must at any price, this evening, tonight, arrest the Ministers, having disarmed (defeated, if they offer resistance) the military cadets, etc.

We must not wait! We may lose everything!

The immediate gain from the seizure of power at present is: defense of *the people* (not the congress, but the people; in the first place, the army and the peasants) against the Kornilovist government which has driven out Verkhovskiy and has hatched a second Kornilov plot.

Who should seize power?

At present this is not important. Let the Military Revolutionary Committee\* seize it, or "some other institution" which declares that it will relinquish the power only to the real representatives of the interests of the people, the interests of the army (immediate offer of peace), the interests of the peasants (take the land immediately, abolish private property), the interests of the hungry.

It is necessary that all the boroughs, all regiments, all forces should be mobilized and should immediately send delegations to the Military Revolutionary Committee, to the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks, insistently demanding that under no circumstances is power to be left in the hands of Kerensky and Co. until the 7th, by no means!—but that the matter must absolutely be decided this evening or tonight.

History will not forgive delay by revolutionists who could be victorious today (and will surely be victorious

today), while they risk losing much tomorrow, they risk losing all.

If we seize power today, we seize it, not against the Soviets, but for them.

Seizure of power is the point of the uprising; its political task will be clarified after the seizure.

It would be a disaster or formalism to wait for the uncertain voting of November 7. The people have a right and a duty to decide such questions not by voting but by force; the people have a right and duty in critical moments of a revolution to give directions to their representatives, even their best representatives, and not to wait for them.

This has been proved by the history of all revolutions, and the crime of revolutionists would be limitless if they let go the proper moment, knowing that upon them depends the *saving of the revolution*, the offer of peace, the saving of Petrograd, the saving from starvation, the transfer of the land to the peasants.

The government is tottering. We must *deal it the death blow* at any cost.

To delay action is the same as death.

Written November 6, 1917.

First published in 1925.

## WHAT DO WE NEED?

BY JOSEPH STALIN

**I**N FEBRUARY\* the soldiers and workers overthrew the Tsar. But having vanquished the Tsar they did

\* Selected by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, this committee, headed by Stalin, was in charge of the preparation for the uprising. It also included Sverdlov and Dzerzhinsky.

\* The overthrow of tsarism occurred in February, old style calendar. After the Bolshevik revolution the calendar was advanced thirteen days, making it uniform with the new, Western, calendar, and therefore the date according to the new calendar is March 12.

not want to take power into their own hands. Led by the bad pastors, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, the workers and soldiers voluntarily handed over power to the placemen of the landlords and capitalists, *i.e.*, the Milyukovs and Lvovs, the Guchkovs and Konovalovs.\*

This was the fatal mistake the victors committed. And the soldiers at the front and the workers and peasants in the rear are now paying dearly for this mistake.

In overthrowing the Tsar the workers thought that they would obtain bread and work. But instead, they "got" high prices and starvation, lock-outs and unemployment. Why?

Because in the government there are the placemen of the capitalists and profiteers who want to starve the workers into submission.

In overthrowing the Tsar the peasants thought that they would obtain land. But instead of this they "got" the arrest of their deputies and punitive expeditions. Why?

Because in the government there are the placemen of the landlords who will not yield an inch to the peasants.

In overthrowing the Tsar the soldiers thought that they would obtain peace. But instead of this they "got" the prolongation of the war; and efforts are being made to prolong it still more, until the autumn. Why?

Because in the government there are the placemen of the Anglo-French bankers for whom a "speedy" cessation of the war is unprofitable, for whom the war is a source of ill-gotten riches.

In overthrowing the Tsar the people thought that a Constituent Assembly would be convened within two or three months. But the convocation of the Constituent Assembly has already been postponed once, and now it is obvious that the enemies are preparing to wreck it altogether. Why?

Because in the government there are the enemies of the people, for whom the timely convocation of the Constituent Assembly is unprofitable.

After the victory of the revolution, power remained in the hands of the landlords and capitalists; the bankers and profiteers, the forestallers and marauders—this was the fatal mistake the workers and soldiers committed, this is the cause of the present disasters in the rear and at the front.

This mistake must be rectified at once. Further delay now will be fatal for the whole cause of the revolution.

The present government of landlords and capitalists must be replaced by a new government of workers and peasants.

The present impostor government, which was never elected by the people and is not responsible to the people, must be replaced by a government recognized by the people, chosen by the representatives of the workers, soldiers and peasants, and responsible to these representatives.

The Kishkin-Konovalov government must be replaced by a government of the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

What was not done in March must be done now.

In this way, and only in this way, can peace, bread, land and liberty be won.

\* Representatives of the big bourgeoisie, who were the leading participants in the first Provisional Government formed after the overthrow of the Tsar.

Workers, soldiers, peasants, Cossacks, all toilers!

Do you want a new government of workers and peasants to come into power in place of the present government of landlords and capitalists?

Do you want the new government of Russia, in conformity with the demands of the peasants, to declare the abolition of the landlords' right to the land and to transfer all the landlords' land to the peasant committees without compensation?

Do you want the new government of Russia to publish the secret treaties of the Tsar, to declare them non-obligatory, and to propose a just peace to all the belligerent nations?

Do you want the new government of Russia to curb the lockouters and profiteers who are deliberately aggravating famine and unemployment, chaos and the high cost of living?

*If you want all this*, gather all your forces, rise all of you, as one man, organize meetings, elect delegates, and put forward your demands through them to the Congress of Soviets which is to open in the Smolny\* tomorrow.

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\* Smolny Institute, formerly a finishing school for daughters of the nobility, was

If you will act solidly and firmly no one will dare to resist the will of the people. The more strongly, the more organized, and the more powerfully you act, the more peacefully will the old government make way for the new. And then the whole country will boldly and firmly march forward to the conquest of peace for the peoples, land for the peasants, bread and work for the starving.

Power must pass into the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

A new government must come into power, a government chosen by the Soviets, recallable by the Soviets and responsible to the Soviets.

Only such a government can ensure the timely convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

*Rabochi Put*,\* November 6, 1917.

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taken over by the Bolsheviks and used as their headquarters during the revolutionary period. It is still the headquarters of the Leningrad Committee of the Bolshevik Party. The Second Congress of Soviets, which met in Smolny on November 7, ratified the establishment of Soviet power as a result of the successful proletarian revolution and the overthrow of the Provisional Government headed by Kerensky.

\* In Russian, *Workers' Road*, a Bolshevik newspaper.

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# WHERE IS THE SOCIALIST PARTY GOING?

BY JACK STACHEL

**T**O SAY that the Socialist Party is in a crisis is by now nothing new. The state of crisis has already become chronic. The cause of the crisis has also been restated on numerous occasions. In a larger sense it is part of the crisis of Social-Democracy the world over. But there are also certain historic and immediate factors which further determine the character and the depth of the crisis. All of these questions have been dealt with over a period of years in various periodicals of our movement, in many speeches and reports by Comrade Browder and others. Undoubtedly the pamphlet by Comrade Foster, *The Crisis in the Socialist Party*, gives a fundamental and thorough treatment of the Socialist Party and is indispensable to all who wish really to understand what has been happening in the Socialist Party all these years. Here we wish to limit ourselves to just a summary of the present situation in the Socialist Party following the expulsion of the officially recognized Trotskyite group.

## A BACKGROUND VIEW

But even in dealing with the situation in the Socialist Party in this limited sense it is necessary to bear certain facts in mind. First, let us remember that the Socialist Party is now more than thirty-six years old.

It was formed in the year 1901 through splits and unifications of various Socialist groups that preceded it. Already in 1912 the Socialist Party had attained a membership of more than 100,000, and a vote of nearly 1,000,000 for Debs, out of a total vote of some 15,000,000. It enjoyed a tremendous influence in the trade unions. It had dozens of daily papers, numerous weeklies and monthlies, a huge literature sales apparatus. Its speakers could be heard in the workers' halls, on the streets, on any day in almost any part of the country. It was indeed a powerful force with a tremendous influence. This was only ten years after its formation and represented a steady going forward.

Today, thirty-six years after its birth, the Socialist Party can hardly count 5,000 members, the majority of whom are to be found in the New York and Wisconsin state organizations. Certainly, its dues-paying membership does not reach this figure. Its vote in 1936 (its influence has declined further since) was less than 200,000 out of a total vote of close to 45,000,000. So that while the total vote trebled, the Socialist vote in 1936 was only one-fifteenth that of 1912 in actual strength. The Socialist press has almost completely disappeared. Aside from the *Milwaukee Leader*, which is in reality no organ of the

Socialist Party, the Socialist Party possesses only the *Socialist Call*, which has very little circulation and even less influence.

The history of the Socialist Party since 1912 can be divided into a number of periods marked by sharp clashes and changes. First, there was the crisis in 1912 which was dramatized by the expulsion of whole sections of the party who followed Bill Haywood. This split further strengthened the Right wing elements in the party and robbed the Socialist Party of some of its best proletarian elements, especially those in the basic industries and the Western states. It strengthened the hand of the petty-bourgeois and careerist leadership headed by Hillquit.

The Socialist Party experienced a new growth with the World War. Its influence rose. New sections of the workers, among them large sections of foreign-born proletarians, joined its ranks. This was due largely to the policy of opposition to the imperialist war (even though the Socialist Party official policy was more pacifist than Socialist) and above all to the stimulus given by the great Russian Revolution. With this growth came the strengthening of the Left wing under the leadership of Charles E. Ruthenberg, culminating in the expulsions and in the birth of the Communist Party in 1919 under the leadership of Ruthenberg.

The 1919 split left the S. P. only a shadow of its former self. Until 1928 it stagnated with a membership of less than 10,000, and in 1924 it did not even conduct an independent presidential campaign. In 1928, with

the nomination of Norman Thomas for President, the Socialist Party attracted to itself a substantial section of middle-class elements from among students and church elements especially, who were formerly gathered around Thomas in the League for Industrial Democracy and similar groups. These elements, whose first years in the Socialist Party coincided with the beginning of the crisis (1929) and who were not involved directly in the trade unions, where the Socialist leaders had been carrying on a struggle against the Left wing, tended toward a "liberal" criticism of the S.P. leadership of Hillquit, and were especially dissatisfied with the lack of progress of the Socialist Party and its passivity. Undoubtedly they also rallied around them the small groups of the more proletarian elements in the Socialist Party who became ever more critical of the official policy of the Hillquit leadership. Especially was this true later, when a good number of unemployed workers and unemployed generally were attracted to the Socialist Party in the course of the second, the 1932, campaign of Norman Thomas.

The exposure of the bankruptcy of Social-Democracy, which paved the way for fascism in Germany and Austria (1933), gave greater impetus to the Left forces in the Socialist Party and culminated finally in the expulsion of the Waldman Right wing in the spring of 1936. This "Left," however, which was not based on a Marxian program, but was rather a conglomeration of all the various groups and grouplets, was incapable of freeing itself of the bourgeois-

liberal radicalism best represented by Norman Thomas, and could not raise the party out of the crisis. Instead, one crisis was followed by another. In each case the healthy proletarian strivings of a section of the membership were diverted into the path of struggle against Marxism. The lowest level of this unprincipled policy which was always characteristic of the Socialist Party leadership was reached when, immediately following the expulsion of the Waldman group, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists were admitted into the Socialist Party.

But this new marriage was indeed short-lived. This was due in no small measure to the fact that, at the very moment when the Socialist Party admitted the Trotskyites into its ranks, the Moscow trials exposed the Trotskyites before the whole world as not only disrupters and saboteurs, as the counter-revolutionary renegades into which they had degenerated for some time, but exposed them before the whole world as agents of Hitler and Japanese imperialism. It was this development, on which even Norman Thomas had not counted, that made it impossible even for him to maintain them in the ranks of the Socialist Party.

Had the Socialist Party leadership heeded the warnings of our Party that the Trotskyites were not interested in entering the Socialist Party as Socialist Party, but that they were tricking their way in for their counter-revolutionary politics of blocking the united front desired by the membership of the Communist and Socialist Parties, and of spreading anti-Soviet poison—if the Socialist Party

had heeded out warnings, it would have been spared the admitted disgrace of harboring a counter-revolutionary gang.

Each one of these crises has further weakened the Socialist Party. Large sections of the party, disgusted, confused and resentful of the leadership, just dropped from its ranks.

#### WHAT LESSON IS THE S. P. DRAWING FROM ITS ERRORS?

And what now? Is the Socialist Party leadership drawing the lessons of its excursions? Are they ready to adopt a working class program and join hands with the labor movement and with the Communist Party in the fight against reaction, for the needs of the masses, and to build for socialism? Unfortunately, the signs are in the opposite direction.

Everything that has happened since the expulsion of the Trotskyites from the Socialist Party indicates that the party is not yet ready to draw the lessons of its erroneous, opportunist, sectarian and anti-Marxist position. In fact, the very basis upon which the Socialist Party carried through the expulsion of the Trotskyites shows that the party, far from moving in the direction of a Marxist position, is trying to run as fast as possible back to the policies which dominated it under the leadership of the Old Guard.

What has been the reason ascribed for the expulsion of the Trotskyites? Is it that they are anti-working class, anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary? By no means. Even with this step the Socialist Party leadership wanted to inflict an attack against the only genuine working class revolutionary

party—the Communist Party. The reason for the expulsion (believe it or not) is that the Trotsky-“communists” are no better than the Stalin Communists. Norman Thomas has once more discovered the true virtues of pure Social-Democracy. The Trotskyites were to him merely an example of what Communism is. Thomas wishes to utilize the fact the Trotskyism is exposed and hated in order to attack the Communists. But Norman Thomas will fail, as he has failed in the past. All he will succeed in doing is further to demoralize and disorganize the Socialist Party.

Immediately after the expulsion of the Waldman-Oneal group, Norman Thomas discovered the virtue of an “all-inclusive” party as against the “exclusiveness” of the Communist Party, which demands adherence to principle. What, with all the conflicting groups, could he do but praise the virtues of “all-inclusiveness”? Here was the Wisconsin organization with its own brand of Socialism and its own discipline. The Thomas-Devere Allen group represented a more or less pacifist position rather than Socialist. The so-called militant caucus, as was shown later on, was itself divided into a number of grouplets (Baron-Altman group, Tyler-Zam group, etc.). And, finally, it was on the basis of “an inclusive party” that the Trotskyites were admitted into the Socialist Party.

In fact, the Socialist Party was never a homogeneous party. Opposition and distortion of Marxism, lack of adherence to principle, existence of factions were and remain characteristic features of the Socialist Party. But always it was the Right wing that

dominated the Party councils and determined its policies. In the present crisis (1932-1937) there was unfortunately no group principled enough and clear-headed, with courage to give expression to the strivings of the proletarian elements in the party. Surely, the expulsion of the Old Guard was to the rank and file of the party a desire to put an end to anti-Soviet policy, a desire for militant working class action, for unity of action with the Communist Party in the face of the growing menace of fascism. But the Thomas-Militant leadership succeeded in shunting the healthy strivings. From the very beginning the Militant group represented conflicting views. At the May, 1936, convention, the Socialist Party took a step forward on some issues. On others, especially the struggle against war, and the People's Front, it definitely developed a semi-Trotskyite position. With the admission of the Trotskyites, this tendency was strengthened.

Immediately after the convention in May, 1936, and the almost simultaneous admission of the Trotskyites, the Socialist Party found itself torn into many factions. These were:

- (1) The official Trotskyists;
- (2) The Tyler-Zam-Clarity group;
- (3) The Altman-Baron Militant group;
- (4) The Thomas-Devere Allen group;
- (5) The Wisconsin organization;
- (6) The Reading, Pa., organization.

The sharpening of the struggle in the Socialist Party led to the “Emergency Convention” in Chicago in the early part of 1937. This convention sealed the elimination of the Reading group from the Party, and gave the leadership into the hands of the

Clarity groups, which rose to power with the direct aid of the Trotskyites, to whom they stood closest. The Thomas-Altman-Wisconsin groups were in the main united; and while they succeeded in checking the Trotskyites to an extent, they were in the minority on the new National Executive Committee.

Under the pressure of the immediate situation and the fear of complete isolation from the labor movement, Norman Thomas succeeded in securing a majority of one at the last N.E.C. meeting for his withdrawal as candidate for Mayor. But the step was taken without the Socialist Party drawing the logical conclusion from this step—that the Socialist Party's policy in the last elections was wrong and sectarian. Second, they do not see this step as part of a broad policy of the People's Front. The result is, first, that they take only half measures; and, second, that they look upon this step and carry it through in the manner of the old Social-Democratic policy rather than the policy of struggle against fascism and reaction which is the cornerstone of the People's Front policy.

*The conclusion which Thomas and Altman are drawing from their present position in the election is that they were until now following a policy to the "Left" and were therefore isolated. They confuse their unholy marriage with the Trotskyites as a relationship with a brand of Communism. Now they say they have seen the folly of their ways and are wondering if they had not been wrong in ousting the Old Guard from the Socialist Party. In fact, there are already*

rumors flying around that there are taking place some conversations in the Jewish section of the movement to unite the expelled Old Guard Socialists with the Jewish section of the Socialist Party. And again the attracting force of these two groups is their opposition to the Soviet Union and Communism.

The role of the Clarity group in the Socialist Party is, at least for the present, one of forcing the Thomas-Altman group to cover with Left phrases their retreat to the Right, to the Old Guard position.

While having expelled the Trotskyites and differing from the Clarity group on the election policy in New York, the Socialist Party on all other major questions follows a policy not much different from that of the Trotskyites and the Clarityites. Take the three fundamental issues of the world labor movement today—the Soviet Union, the struggle in Spain and the fight for peace.

Norman Thomas, to make certain that his position would not be misunderstood following the expulsion of the Trotskyites, went on the radio and made one of the most vicious attacks ever made by anybody against the Soviet Union. Thomas and the *Socialist Call* continue with the most vicious attacks on the Negrin government, and especially the Communist Party of Spain. On the war question, Thomas and the Socialist Party are today in the forefront in the attack on the Soviet peace policy and on all those who wish to check the aggression of Hitler, Mussolini and Japan. In fact, they propose to give concessions to the fascists in the same man-

ner as the Socialist-pacifist Lansbury, who recently visited both Hitler and Mussolini.

Just at this critical moment, when all the peace forces of the world must be united to stop the fascist aggressors, the Socialist Party and its outstanding leaders are devoting their attention and time as never before to try to weaken and discredit the forces of peace and progress, and above all the Spanish government and the Soviet Union. To be sure, they try to cover up their work in behalf of the fascists with Left phrases.

In this respect the position of the Socialist Party is practically identical with that of the renegade Lovestone group, which has in the recent period "clarified" its positions and come out more openly than ever against the Soviet Union, against the Spanish government and in defense of the counter-revolutionary P.O.U.M. and against the fight for peace through the unity of all the peace forces of the world against the fascist aggressors.

And the policy of the Socialist Party today differs from that of the "Old Guard" only in that the Waldman-Oneal-Cahan group does not cover its policies with Left phrases. In the columns of the *New Leader* we find articles and views expressed almost identical with those in the *Socialist Call*. Especially is this true with regard to the attacks on the Soviet Union and the Spanish people's government. Clearly, the Socialist Party is not moving toward a realistic and working class policy following the expulsion of the Trotskyites. The Trotskyites have been expelled. But the poison of Trotskyism still corrodes

the body of the Socialist Party. Of course, there is as yet no unity among all sections of the Party. They differ on a number of questions, as, for example, on the trade union question. Some, like a number of Socialists in Wisconsin, and like Laderman of the Pocketbook Makers Union in New York, support the Green-Woll A. F. of L. leadership against the C.I.O. Others support the C.I.O. Still others, like McDowell and Trager of the Clarity group, make veiled attacks on the C.I.O. leadership and especially resort to Red-baiting against the Communists in the C.I.O. But then again, this is only an expression of the opportunism of the Socialist Party and its "all-inclusiveness" so dear to the heart of Norman Thomas as against the "orthodoxy" of the Communists.

#### THE SOCIALIST PARTY MUST WEIGH ITS FUTURE

But the party as a whole carries on a policy that will not build the Socialist Party, because this policy is detrimental to the interests of the workers and the people generally. *It is about time that the honest Socialist elements in the Socialist Party break their silence.* They must act quickly if they wish to save the party from further compromise and disintegration. The pamphlet of Porter presented to the membership at the time of the "Emergency Convention" is so far the most healthy expression that has come out of the Socialist Party. Because the people who think like Porter are passive, Socialists like Joseph Lash are compelled to leave the Party; Socialists like David Lasser, Philip Randolph, and the Reuthers in the auto union,

find it impossible to carry out the decisions of the party if they wish to continue to play a leading role in the labor movement. There are hundreds of others who have the same views. It is upon them that the future of the Socialist Party rests. Only if they and others like them assert themselves can the Socialist Party be saved from further ruin, and from even further damaging the name of Socialism.

We hope that the Socialist Party will make a change in its present course. We will do all we can to help in this direction. We stand ready to unite with the Socialist Party on any and all questions which offer a basis for united action. We hope that the field upon which united action will be possible will widen. But we are certain that only if the Socialist Party revises its present course and embarks

upon a policy of full and genuine support of the C.I.O. and trade union unity based on the general principles of the C.I.O.; joins wholeheartedly in the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party and the support of the struggle of all progressives against the reactionaries in the realignment that is now on foot in the country; abandons its wrong and dangerous policy of "isolation" and pacifism, which is of such practical assistance to the fascists, and joins in the realistic fight for peace on the basis of uniting all forces of the people against fascist aggressors; and adopts the policy of united action with the Communist Party, can the Socialist Party begin to get out of the present crisis in which it finds itself, become a force for progress and peace, and help in the struggle for socialism.

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## TRADE UNIONS IN THE LAND OF SOCIALISM

**I**N THE U.S.S.R. the trade unions are the largest workers' mass organizations next to the Soviets. It suffices to say that at present the trade unions embrace 82 per cent of all workers. The following table illustrates the continuous numerical growth of workers in the Soviet Union:

	1931	1934	1936
Number of workers	17,052,000	23,334,000	25,000,000
Number of trade union members	12,551,000	17,947,000	21,639,000

The number of workers joining trade unions is increasing yearly. The reasons are understandable. Trade unions in the U.S.S.R., as V. I. Lenin defined them, are "training organizations of education and participation; they are the schools, the school of administration, the school of practical economy, the school of communism."

Millions of men and women are studying in this school. Thousands of Soviet workers who now occupy responsible government positions received their first training and learned the methods of social work through participating in trade union activities.

Soviet trade unions, functioning under victorious socialism, have basically different tasks from trade unions in capitalist countries. People outside the Soviet Union do not always, and sometimes do not wish to, understand this difference. There are

many reformists who continue to measure Soviet trade unions with their own yardstick, according to conditions prevalent in the bourgeois state.

Historically, trade unions have arisen as a class organization of the proletariat under capitalism. The Mensheviks, the opportunists, cling to this old conception only to distort the correct approach to Soviet trade unions. After the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the establishment of the trade unions became one of the proletariat, the tasks of the trade unions began to change basically. From organizations struggling against the capitalists and their government, the trade unions became one of the main supports of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the chief reserve of the Soviet apparatus, the school of communism which trains millions of people, under Communist Party guidance, teaching them in practice how to build a new, socialist society.

The function of trade unions in capitalist countries is to struggle for higher wages and shorter working hours, to build unity and solidarity among the working masses in order to resist the constant tendency for increased profit-squeezing. Trade unions in the capitalist countries resort to strikes as their chief and most effective weapon in this economic warfare.

In the U.S.S.R. the parasitic classes

are liquidated and the exploitation of man by man has been obliterated. All the means of productions belong to the toilers and constitute national property. The Soviet Union has a working day of seven hours, the shortest in the world. Unemployment is abolished forever. Every worker is guaranteed the right to work, to rest, to education, and to sick and old age benefits—all of which are provided for in the Constitution.

The main objectives of the trade unions are to aid in building socialism, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to increase the productivity of labor and the productive forces of the workers' and peasants' government, to safeguard the socialist property which is the source of wealth and power of the Soviet Union, and the source of a prosperous and cultural life for all the toilers.

In their function as mass organizations for training millions of workers to build the socialist society, the Soviet trade unions are the closest aid to the work of the Party. As Comrade Stalin, leader of the Soviet people, said—the trade unions are the transmission belt from the Party to the masses.

The trade unions in the U.S.S.R. set up also as their task, for which they have established a whole series of departments, the complete fulfillment of the economic, cultural and everyday needs of their members, rearing them to be builders of the socialist order.

Financed by the federal budget, the trade unions carry out full social insurance. They subsidize their members in the event of illness, during pregnancy, confinement and nursing,

and surround them with the utmost care. They send their members to rest homes, sanatoria, and take measures to better medical aid and to decrease illness. The entire social insurance fund is employed to improved the health and living conditions not only of members but of their families as well.

The trade unions take an active interest in the education of their members' children. They place them in creches, kindergartens, playgrounds and pioneer troops, and send the sick children to sanatoria, outdoor schools, etc.

Since the Soviet trade unions consider as one of their main tasks political education, raising the cultural level, improvement of literacy and general education of the membership, they have organized palaces of culture, clubs, red corners and libraries. Physical culture, tours and various forms of sport figure prominently in their work, for which purpose the trade unions build stadiums, skiing and water-sport stations, excursion grounds, etc.

By means of inspection, the trade unions see that the laws regarding working hours, safety, distribution of uniforms, etc., are carried out. They have the right to control administrators in their spending of funds allotted to them by the government for safeguarding labor, for industrial hygiene, etc.

Soviet trade unions, representing the workers, make collective agreements with the various economic organs, in which wages and conditions of work are stipulated on the basis of planned socialist economy. They check daily as to whether the indus-

trial administrators carry out their duties. According to law, they have the right to institute proceedings against any administrator who violates the collective agreement.

Since the trade unions participate in planning and distributing funds allotted by the government for building and renovating living quarters, restaurants, creches, kindergartens, bath houses, laundries, etc., they play an important part in bettering the workers' living conditions. Within plants, factories and other projects they exercise control over the correct usage of housing areas, timely alterations and regulations of houses occupied by workers.

Soviet trade unions play an important part in the development of socialist democracy and in consolidating the state government of the working class society. They involve the masses in administration of the state and national economy. They select for the Soviet apparatus their most active and capable workers for state and social work. In accordance with Article 114 of the U.S.S.R. Constitution, the trade unions advance their candidates in each election district for the Supreme Council and the Soviets of Deputies.

#### "ONE UNION IN EACH INDUSTRY"

Recently, an old English miner, a trade unionist from Wales, visited the Soviet Union. He saw everything: the gigantic industrial enterprises which employ tens of thousands of workers, the mines, the textile mills. In every project, he showed special interest in the trade unions. Toward the end of his visit a characteristic dialogue took

place at one of the Moscow plants. The Englishman asked:

"Is there only one trade union in each industry?"

"Yes," the president of the shop committee replied and then asked him: "Do you disapprove of this arrangement?"

"Not at all," the miner protested, "We too talk a great deal about unifying the trade unions on an industrial basis. But, regrettably, it is not easily accomplished. In England, to this very day, many trade unions organize their workers on the craft basis; frequently into different unions in the same industry. As a result, lack of unity hampers the struggle for better economic conditions."

The Bolsheviks, who regard unity of the working class as paramount, have always fought against the craft basis and have always striven to unite the working class into industrial unions.

In Russia, soon after the February Revolution, the Bolsheviks initiated attempts to organize trade unions on an industrial basis. But the Menshevik conciliators, who fought in every way against unification of the toiling masses, for a long time still played an active role in the trade unions; thus tendencies toward craft unionism and disunity continued. Only after the great October Revolution did the merging of unions begin to proceed rapidly.

The Russian working class undertook the tremendous task of building socialism, as well as governing a vast country. The toilers, regardless of differences in their crafts, merged into unified trade unions, for they realized that any split in their ranks would

weaken the strength of the working class and undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet trade unions are now organized on an industrial basis.

All the workers in each industry, regardless of craft, belong to a single union. For example, in the Gorky shops of the automobile plant named after Molotov, there work blacksmiths, punchers, locksmiths, turners, painters, founders, unskilled workers, chauffeurs, engineers and constructors; while in the office of this plant there are draughtsmen, bookkeepers, accountants, planners, designers and project workers. All of them—beginning with the director and ending with the charwoman—belong to the automobile workers' union.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADE UNION STRUCTURE

Soviet workers are organized into 164 industrial unions. We shall name a few of the most typical.

At one time there existed in the U.S.S.R. a single metal workers' union which embraced all metal workers regardless of industry. Now, in its place, there exist several industrial unions for—respectively—the heavy machine works, light machine works, agricultural machine works, transport machine works, tool and dye industry, and metal works.

All workers in the textile industry are organized into the following unions: cotton industry union, knitgoods union, silk union, hemp and flax union.

Educational workers belong to trade unions according to the type of industry in which they work. Pro-

fessors, instructors and office workers in universities, institutes and other schools of higher education belong to a special union. Workers in educational institutions not of the school type (libraries, museums, social organizations, etc.), belong to the trade union of political-educational institutes. Instructors in the primary and secondary schools have their own independent unions. Salesmen, stockroom workers, store managers, etc., are organized into the unions of national trade workers and the unions of the consumers' cooperative workers, on a republic scale.

Every trade union is based on the principle of democratic centralism, characterized by the following:

- A. The right to join and resign voluntarily and to free participation in the life of the union;
- B. The right to elect officers;
- C. Regular reports from functionaries to the membership, to whom they are responsible;
- D. Responsibility of the lower organs to the higher ones;
- E. Subordination of the minority to the majority in decisions of all questions pertaining to the life of the union.

The highest organ of each union is the convention, which elects its central committee. The regional, district and all-republic trade union committees are elected at respective local conferences. City and district conferences elect their own committees. A general meeting of any industry or enterprise which has the required minimum of twenty-five union members elects its plant, factory, or local committee. The shop meeting elects its own shop committee, and, finally,

a general meeting of union members of a group elects its own trade union group organizer. (Usually the union members in a shop are subdivided according to brigades and districts, into separate groups of ten or fifteen members.)

Since all trade unions of the U.S.S.R. are headed by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the organizational structure of each union can be illustrated as follows:

The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions  
 The Central Committee of the Union  
 Republican or Regional Union Committees  
 City (district) Union Committee  
 Factory and Plant Union Committee at the Projects  
 Shop Committees  
 Trade Union Group Organizers

Generally, this structure is typical, although not fully applied to every union. Those which embrace only a small number of exceptionally large industries have foregone the middle links (regional and district committees), and give direct charge over plant and factory committees to their central committee (the union of the agricultural machine works industry, for instance). There are also unions that have no city district committees, for they embrace enterprises not centralized in any district or city.

All leading organs of Soviet trade unions, from top to bottom, as well as the delegates to conventions and conferences, are elected by separate, secret ballot for each candidate.

Besides the leading organs shown in the diagram, inspection commissions are also elected, responsible to the trade union convention or to the general meeting of the enterprise. Inspection commissions, as well as plant and factory commissions, are also elec-

ted by and are responsible to each of the lower committees.

The democratic principles laid down as the basis of trade union structure expose their activities to daily control by their membership. Not a single important organizational or financial measure of the union's central committee is carried out without approval of the trade union convention. The plan committee has no right to decide upon any important

question concerning trade union life in the plant without approval of the general membership meeting.

A general membership meeting of each enterprise must be called not less than once a month. This meeting elects the factory-plant committee and the inspection commission, and passes on their reports. The general meeting takes up the questions of budget for the factory-plant committee, and of social insurance within the limits of an enterprise. It also decides upon such questions as who should be sent to sanatoria, rest homes, etc. Finally, important functions of the general meeting are acceptance of new members, expulsions and reinstatements.

#### PROTECTION OF LABOR

The only workers' government in the world turned all its attention toward insuring the best working conditions, literally on the second day it came into power. Such was the decree establishing in the republic of Soviets

an eight-hour day (there is now a seven-hour day), which was followed by laws establishing the control of labor over production; finally, there came into existence the renowned Labor Code.

Of course, the country was able to achieve the best working conditions only when its national economy was fundamentally reconstructed, and a socialist industry established which completely changed, not only the technical set-up, but also the conditions for safeguarding labor in each industry.

Mechanization of difficult and dangerous work, isolation of injurious processes, rationalization of inner factory transport, institution of safeguard devices, wide use of sanitary-technical and sanitary-living conveniences (ventilation, lighting, showers, etc.)—all this helped to decrease illness and injuries.

The mechanization of labor was not only a powerful factor toward increasing production; it also served to make working conditions safer and more sanitary. At the 1931 conference of industrial administrators Comrade Stalin stressed this special role:

“The mechanization of the processes of labor is for us that new and decisive force without which it would be impossible to maintain either the tempo or the scope of our work.”

During the First and Second Five-Year Plans, the level of mechanization in all fields of national economy was raised sharply. Many enterprises are now equipped with the most modern machines and means of transportation.

The following facts illustrate successes in the field of mechanization.

In the mining industry of tsarist Russia coal was extracted exclusively by hand. At present 88 per cent of the coal extracted at the mines under the Commissariat of Heavy Industry is done through mechanized methods. In the oil industry processes of drilling and procuring oil are fully mechanized. In blast-furnace production the labor in the mining yards and foundries is 75 per cent mechanized. The rollers, who used to shift millions of tons of ore and metal by hand, have completely disappeared as a craft. The blast-furnaces which yield 60 per cent of all pig-iron production are completely mechanized. In those metallurgical plants where 100 per cent mechanization was impossible either because they were too old or because of faulty installation of blast-furnaces, partial mechanization, or so-called minor mechanization, has been introduced. Toward the beginning of 1936, 68 per cent of the open-hearth furnaces in the U.S.S.R. were fired automatically, 22.3 per cent were equipped with automatically functioning valves and 35 per cent had automatic furnace doors.

The special funds allotted to the protection of labor are growing from year to year. During the First and Second Five-Year Plans billions of rubles were spent for these measures. New enterprises are built according to the latest word in science and technique; their most characteristic feature is abundance of light, air, and landscape gardening.

The Stakhanovite movement shows some astounding results. Everyone knows of the unprecedented growth in labor productivity, of the flourishing of Soviet national economy, of the

rapid strides toward plenty and a prosperous life. But there are few who know that the Stakhanovite movement at the same time greatly decreased illness and industrial accidents. For example, in the Don Basin, on No. 6 "Capital" mine of the Budenny ore administration, there were in December 4.1 cases of illness for every 100 non-Stakhanovite workers, while there were only 1.7 cases for every 100 Stakhanovites. In mine No. 7-8 "Donbassantrazita," in December and January, for every 100 non-Stakhanovites 2.1 cases were released from work due to industrial accidents, whereas for every 100 Stakhanovites there were 0.7—exactly a third as many.

There are fewer sick cases and accidents among Stakhanovites because, as intelligent workers who have mastered technique, they know the basic rules of prophylactics in their everyday life and in industry, and they observe all safety rules. Contrary to the venomous insinuations of enemies that the Stakhanovite movement is an injurious strain on the muscles, that it is Taylorism, etc., facts bring us the irrefutable conclusion that the Stakhanovite movement leads to the liquidation of industrial injuries and decreases illness.

#### TRADE UNIONS AND THE PROTECTION OF LABOR

The reader can see that the basic principle of Soviet industry is to insure high productivity on the basis of *creating ideal conditions for safeguarding labor*. For the slightest violation of these principles those in charge are held responsible with all the strictness of the revolutionary law.

Only in the U.S.S.R. could such a wide network of state inspection have been established to enforce the carrying out of the world's best labor legislation. There are more than 6,000 labor inspectors—legal, technical and sanitary—working in socialist industry, and about 10,000 specialists on safety technique. There are also considerable cadres of specialists in service with the industrial-sanitary inspection department in the People's Commissariat of Health.

Labor inspection is controlled by the trade unions and is given exceptionally broad rights, fixed by the Labor Code and by a series of special state decrees. The role and tasks of Soviet labor inspectors are vast.

Here are a few points from the "Labor Inspection Decree" passed as far back as December, 1925:

Point 7 states that a labor inspector has the right of "free access regardless of time to any industrial or agricultural project or establishment in his district, also to any other place where work is being conducted as well as to any other affiliate establishment for the workers (baths, hospitals, apartments, creches, etc.)."

Point 8 says that "in the event of discovery of non-compliance with the existent legislation on labor, the inspector shall rectify the violation, shall institute legal or administrative proceedings against those responsible for it, and shall also have the right to appear in court as plaintiff in this particular matter."

How broad the rights of the trade union labor inspectors are can be seen from Point 12, which states that "*besides the measures contained in the preceding articles, the organs of labor*

*inspection have the right to special measures, even to closing down the project,"* in order to remove conditions directly menacing the life and health of the workers.

#### PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR

In the U.S.S.R. the owners of labor power are also owners of the means of production. Socialist production relations create tremendous possibilities for the development of labor productivity, not as a means of exploitation, of profit for one class at the expense of another, but to improve the economic conditions of the toilers. That is why increase in labor productivity is the cardinal task of socialist construction. Lenin said:

"Capitalism created a productivity of labor unprecedented during feudalism. Capitalism can be completely conquered and will be conquered by the fact that socialism will create a new, far higher productivity of labor."

These words, uttered many years ago, are borne out by the whole experience of socialist production in the U.S.S.R.

How have the tremendous successes in growth of labor productivity been gained? Above all, by the fact that in socialist society, as distinguished from capitalist society, the workers themselves promote labor productivity, for they know that the gains made thereby belong to them. All obstacles which hamper the growth of labor productivity have been demolished together with the capitalist order. Outside the U.S.S.R. machines are used to enslave workers, while the mechanization of labor leads to the scrapping of many workers. All measures the capitalist takes to rationalize

production aim at extracting the maximum of surplus value from the worker.

In the U.S.S.R. a worker welcomes technique and mechanization, personally tries to master it, participates in organizing labor and rationalizing production. The Soviet worker is not afraid that mechanization and improved organization of labor will force a certain number of workers out of one industry or another. There is no unemployment in the U.S.S.R. There is a place for every man's labor.

The decisive factor in socialist organization of labor is the new, conscious attitude of the workers to labor and their interest in the growth of productivity; for the interests of production and labor do not contradict each other, but are identical.

All this does not mean, of course, that it would suffice to overthrow capitalism and the socialist organization of labor would appear by itself without any effort, without any struggle or difficulties. Socialist forms have come into existence for the first time in the history of mankind. Despite the new order, old habits and customs in work persist and cannot be abolished immediately. Socialist forms of work grow and become strengthened in the struggle against habits and traditions which have remained from bourgeois society. Although most workers take a new attitude toward socialist production, there are still many (not to mention those that have been absorbed from other classes into the ranks of workers) who regard socialized industry as they did industry under capitalism.

This situation was explained by Comrade Stalin as follows:

"We cannot say that we have overcome the survivals of capitalism in the consciousness of the people. We cannot say this, not only because man's consciousness in its development lags behind his economic position, but also because he is still surrounded by a capitalist environment which strives to revive and maintain capitalist survivals in the economic structure and in the consciousness of the people of the U. S. S. R., against which we Bolsheviki must always be on guard."

"Does not the class struggle," Lenin said, "in the period of transition from capitalism

to socialism, consist of safeguarding the interests of the working class from individuals, groups, and strata of workers who stubbornly cling to the traditions of capitalism and continue to regard Soviet power as they did their capitalist employer: to give 'him' less and inferior work, to cheat 'him' as much as possible?"

The struggle to overcome these old attitudes is the main basis of the whole mass production work of the trade unions.

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# NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN ORGANIZING THE MARINE INDUSTRY

BY ROY HUDSON

**“W**HAT happened in the maritime industry nationally and on the Pacific Coast in the fight against the C.I.O. will happen elsewhere!”

This warning was hurled at the delegates to the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L. by Mr. Vandeleur, President of the California State Federation of Labor. He was not a delegate to the convention, but was present as an invited speaker, apparently brought there by the Executive Council for the purpose of further inciting the delegates to war against the C.I.O. If so, he earned his hire, because he outdid even President Green in the brazenness of his attacks. In appealing for a war to the finish, he said:

“We don’t monkey around with the C.I.O. We expel them. We have the C.I.O. backed down to the waterfront. If we get the support of the A. F. of L. and the International Unions we can lick them in thirty days.”

In making this statement, Vandeleur was merely basing himself on President Green’s report to the convention, in which the Pacific Coast and, by inference, the maritime industry, had been singled out as the “main battlefield with the C.I.O.” Green had called for making the Pacific Coast the concentration point in carrying through the splitting policies and

union-smashing tactics of the A. F. of L. reactionaries. He had further characterized the Pacific situation, for which the Executive Council is entirely responsible, as follows:

“We have men at each other’s throats on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere, fighting each other like animals in the days of the jungle and as the primitive men fought each other in those days.”

Green, Hutcheson and Co. know that the maritime industry and the Pacific Coast are decisive fronts in their war against everything progressive in the labor movement, and that the outcome of the struggle in these fields will have a far-reaching effect on the fight for the strengthened C.I.O., for trade union unity, and for progressive unionism. Therefore the tactics and policies pursued by the progressives on these fronts are of importance to the entire labor movement.

## ATTEMPTS TO BLOCK NATIONAL UNITY

The decisions of the Cincinnati conference ordering suspension of the C.I.O. created a new situation for the labor movement, and raised for the marine workers in particular the question as to how most effectively to maintain and strengthen their own unity, help defeat the splitting tactics

of the A. F. of L. Executive Council, and advance the struggle for trade union unity. It is to the maritime workers' credit that they saw in the Cincinnati decisions not only a declaration of war against the C.I.O., but against everything progressive in the trade union movement as a whole and, hence, a warning of increased attacks upon their own unions, which constitute one of the most militant sections of the American labor movement. They realized that these attacks could be met only through increased support to policies of industrial unionism against the A. F. of L. reactionaries and in alliance with the C.I.O.

In determining how to achieve these aims, the maritime workers had first to consider the concrete situation in their industry. No national union existed among seamen because of the undemocratic policies of the International Seamen's Union (A. F. of L.) bureaucrats. These haters of industrial unionism had long ago split the seamen's organization by expelling the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Their strike-breaking policies had forced the seamen in the East and Gulf to organize a new union, which they refused to recognize although it embraced the overwhelming majority of seamen. The American Radio Telegraphers Union, including practically all marine radio operators, had been refused a charter by the A. F. of L. Executive Council. The Marine Engineers Beneficial Association existed as an independent union. The progressive policies, especially those of unity with the rest of the marine crafts, pursued by the Pacific Coast District of the I.L.A., brought it into

constant and open conflict with the reactionary president and International Board of the I.L.A.

Thus, there existed a situation in which the unions embracing the overwhelming majority of the workers in the industry nationally were either directly outside the A. F. of L. or in open opposition to the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. leadership. Thus, the A. F. of L. leadership was the main force blocking the establishment of national unity of the seamen and of all the crafts through a National Maritime Federation.

With increased attacks by the ship-owners, the question of united action of all crafts on a national scale and of a national seamen's union is a life-and-death issue that will determine whether or not the unions on the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific Coasts continue to exist.

In view of this situation, direct affiliation to the C.I.O. was the concrete step that would enable these unions most effectively to maintain their own unity—unity based on support of industrial action, progressive policies, and rank-and-file control. This step was necessary to advance the struggle for winning longshoremen in the East and Gulf, members of the I.L.A., for support of the progressive program.

To apply this general national policy successfully, a number of major objectives had to be achieved, namely, to strengthen and consolidate the National Maritime Union in the East, Gulf, and Great Lakes, to maintain the unity of the Pacific maritime unions through the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, and to advance the movement for a national seamen's

union and a national maritime federation affiliated to the C.I.O. Therefore, in estimating the correctness of steps taken and in indicating the perspective and future tasks, it is necessary to review briefly the extent to which these objectives have been achieved.

#### EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE UNIFICATION IN THE EAST

The achievements of the East Coast seamen in consolidating their forces, and the correctness of the policies they pursued, can best be appreciated in the light of difficulties they were confronted with and enemies they had to defeat. Last winter, after nearly three months of heroic struggle, they were forced to terminate their strike in such a manner as to maintain their organized strength, before their demands were entirely met, because of the reactionary policies of the I.S.U. and A. F. of L. officialdom, who had labeled their strike "outlaw" and actively assisted the shipowners in recruiting scabs. Thus, the seamen were robbed of the immediate fruits of their struggle. Later, the bureaucrats tried to crush the militancy that had been expressed in this strike, through the use of injunctions, gangsters, and alliance with the shipowners.

These continued attacks, and utter violation of all democratic procedure, forced the seamen to renounce the I.S.U. and organize the National Maritime Union, in order to maintain their strength and continue their fight for increased wages and improved working conditions. The A. F. of L. mobilized all its forces to combat this action and, recognizing that the old I.S.U. officialdom was dis-

credited, created a committee of three, headed by Joseph P. Ryan, charged with the responsibility of saving the seamen for the A. F. of L. Masquerading as a "new set-up," under the slogan "Drive the Communists and C.I.O. off the Waterfront!" they launched an attack accompanied by unlimited intimidation and gangster violence.

The revolt of the seamen against reactionary policies, and their organized strength, had reached such a degree that the combined attack of the shipowners and A. F. of L. officialdom could not stem their advance. This was proved by the results of the N.L.R.B. elections on a number of decisive issues where the mass of seamen voted overwhelmingly against the A. F. of L. The Constitutional Convention of the National Marine Union, held in New York, made possible the establishment of a powerful new union along industrial lines. Already through the National Marine Union the seamen have secured substantial improvements in wages and working conditions and will shortly be in a position to conclude union agreements covering the entire Atlantic and Gulf Coasts.

The union has also expanded its activities to the Great Lakes, where, within a short period, it has secured several agreements, conducted the first strike there in over twenty years and enrolled several thousand Great Lakes seamen into its ranks. Thus, the basis has been created for organizing the Great Lakes 100 per cent, which will be of tremendous importance to the newly-organized workers in the steel and iron ore industries.

While the immediate task of con-

solidating the National Marine Union and uniting all seamen into it has not yet been completed, nevertheless, on the basis of these results, there is no longer any uncertainty as to the ability of the National Marine Union to achieve consolidation in the immediate future, if its progressive leadership mobilizes all forces to carry out decisions and policies adopted by the union.

These achievements are of double significance because the establishment of a powerful union of Eastern and Gulf seamen strengthens the position of the C.I.O. in the maritime industry, advances the fight for one united national seamen's union, and exerts tremendous influence on the membership of the International Longshoremen's Association in the East and Gulf.

#### THE STRUGGLE ON THE PACIFIC COAST

While the Eastern and Gulf seamen battled against tremendous odds, the struggle on the Pacific Coast was even sharper, more difficult, and more complicated. The situation required a new orientation on the part of the unions, while the issues were not completely clear and the dangers of confusion and splits in the workers' ranks were consequently great. The ship-owners and industrialists saw here an opportunity to accomplish what they had been unable to do in nearly three years of constant warfare—smash the unity of the maritime unions and weaken their organizations. The A. F. of L. bureaucrats felt that with the support of the employers the time had come, not only to deal a death blow at the C.I.O. on the Pacific Coast, but to crush all support for progressive

policies within the A. F. of L. unions. The center of their attack was the Pacific Coast District of the I.L.A., especially San Francisco, which had voted overwhelmingly for C.I.O. affiliation.

The fight to prevent the maritime workers from uniting around a correct policy in relationship to the C.I.O. developed on a number of fronts. The main opposition came from forces led by Lundberg, head of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, a syndicalist, strongly under the influence of Trotskyites, whose policies brought him more and more into alliance with the most reactionary and discredited elements in the labor movement. Their position was as follows: to block C.I.O. affiliation on the grounds that the C.I.O. was "undemocratic," had no constitution, had not fulfilled promises given to the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, and "catered to the Communists"; to oppose cooperation with the National Maritime Union and the establishment of a united national seamen's union on the grounds that the N.M.U. was a "Communist-controlled" paper organization and that the Eastern seamen were finks—the equivalent of scabs. They attempted to foster and promote friction between the seamen and longshoremen of the Pacific Coast, charging the longshoremen with trying to dictate the policies of the seafaring unions and invading their jurisdiction. They talked of a West Coast Federation, independent of both C.I.O. and A. F. of L.; at the same time, they secretly and sometimes openly supported and made alliances with the A. F. of L. reactionaries.

The position of Lundberg and his group of "super-militants" on these and other issues threatened to split the unity of the maritime unions. They resorted to vicious Red-baiting and such criminal tactics as burning the ballots of a referendum vote conducted by the Sailors' and Firemen's Union on C.I.O. affiliation and national unity, thus preventing any official action in support of these questions.

Encouraged by the apparent success of this group, the A. F. of L. misleaders intensified their activities on all fronts. Splitting the labor movement wide open, they expelled the San Francisco I.L.A. from the Central Labor Body and launched a "war to the finish" against the C.I.O. and the longshoremen's union. The spearhead in this war was the teamsters' union officialdom, who, under cover of demanding jurisdiction over the warehousemen, declared an embargo against the longshoremen and ordered their membership not to handle any cargo to or from the San Francisco docks. An intensive propaganda campaign was launched to incite labor and the public against the longshoremen under the slogan of "War against the splitters of the labor movement—the C.I.O.-Communist combine!" The embargo was in effect over twenty days and reached a climax when the teamsters' officials threw mass picket lines around the docks to prevent the longshoremen from going to work.

This attack, however, had the opposite effect, as it made the issues clear and helped unite the masses against the Teamster-A. F. of L. policies. The longshoremen under Bridges and Schmidt stood solid as a rock; the sea-

men, with Lundberg abstaining, voted overwhelmingly for support of the longshoremen, and refused to recognize the teamsters' picket line; so also did the firemen, who a week previously had removed Ferguson, secretary of the union, and forced the resignation of other reactionary officials because of their plans to commit the union to support of the teamsters' embargo. The cooks' union, which has followed a consistently progressive policy, likewise supported the longshoremen. At the same time it became evident that the resentment of the rank-and-file teamsters against the policies of their leadership was growing.

Thus, the showdown was forced: with the marine workers united and the danger of a growing revolt in the ranks of their own membership, the teamster officials were forced to retreat, and call off their "war to the finish." The outcome of this struggle marks an important turning point in the fight for unity of the maritime unions and the labor movement.

First of all, it made clear to the membership of the maritime unions on the Pacific Coast that war against the C.I.O. meant war against the longshoremen; therefore the seamen repudiated the A. F. of L. policies. It helped them understand also that the C.I.O. was the key to maintaining their own unity and to achieving national unity of the seamen and a national maritime union.

Secondly, the outcome of this struggle made possible the consolidation and strengthening of C.I.O. forces on the Pacific Coast and placed the splitters of the labor movement definitely on the defensive. This is especially true in view of the growing dissatisfac-

tion of the rank-and-file teamsters, without whose support it becomes increasingly difficult to conduct war against the C.I.O.

Thirdly, the resulting situation should make more clear how the steps taken by the longshoremen's union, and now under consideration by the other maritime unions, in affiliating to the C.I.O., served to strengthen the fight against the splitters of the A. F. of L. Executive Council and for a united trade union movement. Would the unions constituting the original C.I.O. bloc have been able to defeat the attacks of the A. F. of L. reactionaries without the direct support of such powerful unions as the longshore, loggers, and the seafaring crafts? Does not the affiliation of the longshore and other powerful unions to the C.I.O. strengthen the fight against the labor splitters, and help the A. F. of L. rank-and-file understand what is meant by "War on the C.I.O.," thus increasing their sentiment and struggle for united action with the C.I.O. unions and for a united trade union movement?

#### TASKS AHEAD

Thus, the maritime workers can register progress in the accomplishment of the major tasks that have confronted them. Prospects are now more favorable for them to realize a National Maritime Federation and a National Seamen's Union affiliated to the C.I.O. The successful achievement of this will greatly stimulate the organized movement of longshoremen in the East and Gulf, which during recent months has registered considerable growth around the slogans of

united action with the seamen's union, for a better agreement, and for a referendum on C.I.O. affiliation. The growth of this movement and the intensified C.I.O. activity in the marine industry enabled the longshoremen to secure those concessions that were gained in the recent negotiations, even though their major demands have not been met.

Unification of the maritime unions nationally, and the establishment of a national maritime federation or council affiliated to the Committee for Industrial Organization will be of tremendous importance in the general struggle for a united trade union movement, for peace, and for the development of a People's Front in the United States. It will mean the consolidation of all C.I.O. forces on the Pacific Coast and the creation of a mass base there for a strong campaign to organize the unorganized and a vigorous fight for trade union unity.

On the Atlantic and in the Gulf Ports especially, winning all the maritime crafts, especially the longshoremen, for this policy will mean a blow to whatever strength the reactionaries who stand in the way of unity and progressive action still have. In New York, for instance, establishing a united front of all maritime unions on the basis of C.I.O. principles and affiliation will mean a change in the whole relationship of labor forces in the state in the direction of progressive policies and a united trade union movement.

The maritime unions, united nationally through the C.I.O. under the banner of progressive leadership and policies, will be of tremendous importance in the struggle for peace.

With the sentiment for an embargo against Japan, with the demand for action against the aggressor nations, the maritime unions can, with the backing of labor and an organized peace movement, give expression to these demands of the people, in such form as to have immediate effect upon the fascist warmongers, and to influence greatly the federal government toward collective action with other peace-loving nations against those who threaten the peace of the world.

This article opened with quotations from Mr. Vandeleur. It can fittingly close with a quotation from the same source, when he stated:

"We can't hold out in the fight against the C.I.O. for another thirty

days unless we get finances and support."

Here he inadvertently gave expression to the secret fear of himself and those that he speaks for—a fear that exists notwithstanding their loud speeches and war cries. Finances, they may get. But the only support that would do them any good is that of the rank and file in the maritime unions and the A. F. of L. membership. They cannot rally this support on the basis of dividing and destroying the labor movement. Those forces that stand for progressive unionism, for unity, for democracy, can—if they work properly—rally the support of the rank and file and thus ensure the continued forward march of labor.

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# SOUTHERN TEXTILE WORKERS ORGANIZE

BY JOHN J. BALLAM

SOON after its victories in auto and steel, the C.I.O. turned its attention to the formidable task of organizing the nation's textile industry. This industry presents serious organizational problems which must be studied and overcome. In the past many trade unions came upon the scene, conducted organization drives and struggles, held on for a spell in one locality or another, and disappeared. These included almost every type of labor organization—separate local societies and craft unions in the early eighties, the I.W.W. in Lawrence and Paterson, the One Big Union, the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America, the Textile Councils, combining several semi-independent craft locals as in New Bedford, independent unions, such as the Carpet Workers Union, the National Textile Workers Union, T.U.U.L., the United Textile Workers, A. F. of L., and many others. None of these unions had succeeded in organizing the majority or even a decisive minority of the American textile workers.

Of these unions the United Textile Workers has the longest record of activity on a national scale. Organized in 1902 at Washington, D.C., it united many scattered craft locals. The U.T.

W. followed the traditional conservative policies of the A. F. of L. under its two Presidents, John Golden and Tom McMahon. After thirty years of continuous existence, it had less than 35,000 members organized in isolated local unions in an industry employing 1,200,000. The U.T.W. combined both the craft and industrial forms of organization. About 1931 the U.T.W. sought to establish federations of local unions in the silk, woolen, worsted, hosiery, dye and other branches of the industry. Of these only the Federation of American Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers and the Dyers and Finishers Federation (1933) succeeded in establishing stable organizations. In surviving all other textile unions the U. T. W. had the advantage of absorbing their past experiences. Under the leadership of Francis J. Gorman it adopted progressive policies and immediately after the 1935 A. F. of L. Convention the U.T.W. joined with the other nine A. F. of L. unions in founding the Committee for Industrial Organization—the now famous C.I.O.

Influenced by Section 7a of the N.R.A. (1932-34) textile workers flocked into the U.T.W. until nearly 200,000 were organized under its ban-

ner. This figure includes several thousand members of the National Textile Workers Union which voted to join the U.T.W. After the strike of 1934 the membership declined, and when incorporated into the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, the U.T.W. had 75,000 dues-paying members which represents the highest percentage of dues-paying workers heretofore adhering to a single trade union.

This failure on the part of the American textile workers to achieve permanent forms of trade union organization, North or South, certainly cannot be attributed to their lack of militancy. There are no more glorious pages of labor history than the strikes, struggles and demonstrations carried out by textile workers against low wages, long hours, the stretch-out, and other forms of exploitation by the mill owners. Mill workers have struck frequently for the right to organize. They are famous for their tenacity, courage, and for their capacity to endure extreme hardships, to win their demands.

One of the longest effective strikes in the history of the American labor movement was carried out by 16,000 textile mill workers in Passaic, N. J. (1926-27) for eleven months; they maintained their ranks under the leadership of the United Textile Councils and the Communist Party. Textile workers, led by the U.T.W., have to their credit one of the three largest single strikes in American labor history when, in 1934, nearly 475,000 poured out of the mills paralyzing the textile industry throughout the nation. But whether their strikes were won or lost, the textile workers as a whole were never adequately organ-

ized. Since the causes of the difficulties in organizing textile workers lie within the industry itself let us take a cursory view of this industry.

Along the foothills and the valleys of the Appalachians, from Maine to Alabama, there are 5,400 textile mills. Four hundred and seventy additional mills are scattered throughout the rest of the country. These 5,870 plants represent an investment of \$7,000,000,000. They produce in infinite variety and in enormous quantities all manner of fabrics, yarns and cloths—cotton, silk, rayon, woolens, worsteds, knit goods, hosiery, carpets, tapestry, passamenterie, belting, tire fabric, velvet and plush, burlaps, lace, and other products.

In 1936 these mills consumed 4,233,400,000 pounds of cotton, wool, silk and rayon. Cotton mills consumed 7,035,089 *bales* of cotton. Related to and bound up with textile there are dye houses, printing, finishing and processing plants, those engaged in producing synthetic fibers, etc.

The textile mills support 250,000 stockholders. They employ 10,000 officials, managers and technicians whose job it is to drive 1,200,000 textile workers to the limit of their endurance and to squeeze out of their labor the ultimate amount of surplus value.

#### TEXTILE, A FAMILY INDUSTRY

These 1,200,000 workers include 662,000 men, 428,000 women, and 110,000 *minors from 10 to 17 years of age*. Their annual income, taking into account seasonal fluctuations, is \$850 a year (\$16 a week) or \$300 a year less than the average yearly wages for

*all* American industries. From the viewpoint of wage levels alone no body of American workers needs the benefits of trade union organization more than the overworked, underpaid and sweated textile workers. The textile industry is based generally upon family labor. Father, mother, adult sons and daughters and minors depend upon their combined income to maintain a low standard of subsistence for each. This presents a problem of first magnitude to the textile union organizer. In the steel and auto industries, for example, one has to organize the male *breadwinner*—in textile one has to take the *whole family* into the union, and then get them to pay dues individually.

This problem is by no means impossible of solution. To be overcome, however, it must be fully recognized. For every six adult male workers in textile there are four women. These women textile workers are permanently employed in the industry, except during periods of child-bearing, since marriage usually does not change their status. For every ten adults employed in textile there is one child under 17 years of age. These children, once in the mill, are ordinarily doomed to spend the rest of their lives in the industry.

The garment trades, among others employing a large number of women workers, have demonstrated that women can be successfully organized, are as militant as men in defense of their unions, equally as capable of trade union leadership and make disciplined and loyal trade union members.

If this problem is to be met the T.W.O.C. must employ an adequate

number of capable youth and women organizers, preferably those with experience in the mills or who have been active among women and youth textile workers, know how to approach them and who understand their reactions and definitely special problems.

#### THE QUESTION OF CONCENTRATION

In auto, in steel or in transportation the union, when it has achieved a percentage of mass organization, can sign contracts with a relatively few companies in order to organize most of the industry, because of the high degree of concentration. *In textile, 3,400 companies own 5,870 mills or plants.* In the past fifteen years there has been a trend toward consolidation. But there is nothing in textile which can compare with General Motors in automobiles or Carnegie-Illinois in steel, or Goodyear or Firestone in rubber. Therefore, the union in textile must attack the problem of organizing thousands of companies on many fronts, simultaneously, in order to achieve mass organization.

The general experience of previous textile unions, and more especially the recent experiences of the T.W.O.C. since March, 1937, have demonstrated that it is well nigh impossible to organize simultaneously the far-flung textile industries with thousands of mills, each with its individual management, under the direction of thousands of owners and companies. It is obvious that the principle of concentration must be applied; concentration upon the most vulnerable and decisive branches of the industry, and within these branches or divisions, concentration upon the companies controlling chains of mills and upon

the most important large single mills in strategically located mill centers. Otherwise there will be dissipation of energy, time and money resulting in the signing up of small, obsolete mills which have no effect upon the industry as a whole. This has already been the experience of the T.W.O.C., particularly in the South.

In this respect let us take the example of what happened in the T.W.O.C. drive at Danville, Va.

The Riverside and Dan River Mills at Danville are probably the largest cotton mills in the world, employing about 10,000 workers. The U.T.W. maintained a very small, dormant local union in Danville which is a notorious open-shop, anti-union town. Miss Hazel Dawson went there, in January, 1937, to help organize workers in the U.T.W. local. She worked carefully and patiently, selecting workers from the mill, training them in small groups to become voluntary organizers. Dawson had about fifty of these workers, a selected group of courageous and loyal trade union men and women, ready for action when the T.W.O.C. came into Danville last April. A T.W.O.C. director took charge of the work. Dawson was put on the T.W.O.C. payroll and began to function openly. T.W.O.C. headquarters were established, and under Dawson's direction the fifty volunteer organizers went to work. The mills were busy, working two and three shifts largely on government orders. In a comparatively short time some 3,000 mill workers signed T.W.O.C. cards. Danville did not strike in 1934; its last big struggle was in 1931. Now they are ready. Two small department sit-down strikes, in succession,

were settled, the workers gaining all their demands. The mills raised wages to forestall organization.

Here was an opportunity for the T.W.O.C. to go boldly forward, formulate demands, win a collective bargaining contract and thus set an example for the whole Piedmont textile area. A rank-and-file textile workers' committee should have been set up to work in cooperation with the T.W.O.C. organizers; a dozen more men, youth and women organizers should have been sent to Danville to sign up rapidly the remaining workers on the basis of concrete demands worked out by the textile workers' committee and broadcast to all the mill workers. But the T.W.O.C. Roanoke Regional Office did not do any of these things. Instead, Hazel Dawson was discharged. The 3,000 cards with the workers' signatures are still on file. The T.W.O.C. is still waiting for the Riverside and Dan River Mills to sign up.

And the textile workers of Danville? They feel that the opportunity to build their union and improve their conditions under the banner of the C.I.O. has been missed. Meanwhile, a hundred organizers of the T.W.O.C. were scattered all along the line, each one trying to organize a dozen smaller mills all at the same time with very little success anywhere in the South. The principle of concentration was not applied as it should have been.

#### THE T.W.O.C. AND THE FOREIGN-BORN

Yet another factor which goes to make up the complexities of organizing in textile must be noted. During the Lawrence strike of 1912 it was recorded that the 24,000 textile workers

involved spoke 25 different languages and 42 distinct dialects. Since then textile labor in Northern areas has become more homogeneous, understanding and, more or less, generally speaking the English tongue. Yet in the mill towns of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, textile organizers must deal with Russians, Poles, Germans, Irish, Belgians, Italians, Portuguese, French Canadians, Jews, Armenians, Syrians, Lithuanians, who have habitually lived in their own "ghettos," formed their own language clubs and societies and follow their national political and social leaders.

The T.W.O.C. can use their foreign language clubs and societies as a basis for building the new mass industrial union. T.W.O.C. organizers can be recruited from among the men, women and youth of these nationalities. These are the natural and trusted leaders of their people. Many volunteer organizers may be found among them. All these organizers can be orientated toward the general T.W.O.C. program by forming them into democratically controlled organizing committees in each textile community, under the direction of the T.W.O.C. Regional Office.

In the field of distribution and marketing the many companies are in fierce competition with one another and this competition also exists as between the different branches of the industry. No other industry illustrates so well what Marx meant by "anarchy of production" under capitalism. Woolen goods vie with silk, and rayon with cotton. The ancient distribution system inherited from the old English factories involves the in-

dustry in an intricate jumble of lines from the mill to the wholesale house, to the broker, to the converter, to the retailer and finally to the consumer. Along this maze of trade the surplus value originally squeezed out of the mill workers is dissipated. Commission merchants make this confusion worse.

All this waste and anarchy result in higher prices to the consumer, while the mill owners try to recoup their losses by depressing wages below the subsistence level and stretching out the workers from 12 looms to 24, to 48, and in some instances, to 65 and over. The unorganized textile worker pays for this industrial anarchy with his health and eventually with his life. A powerful industrial union, national in scope, would protect the mill workers and force the manufacturers to reorganize the industry with some regard for the workers' interests and rights.

Compare this situation with the automotive industry where capital is concentrated and production centralized and where monopoly prices rule. The big companies maintain their own sales agencies and control their own finance corporations for marketing their products.

No examination of this creaking, rickety industry would be complete without an analysis of the conditions under which the fibers, upon which textile rests, are produced. Hemp, silk culture, cotton planting and ginning, sheep raising, produce the raw materials for the mills. The demand for cheap cotton creates the basis for the semi-feudal plantation system in the Cotton Belt, with it concomitants—sharecropping, tenancy and virtual

peonage. The Cotton Belt is consonant with the Black Belt where millions of Negro people suffer dual oppression and exploitation and out of which arise lynch-terror, Jim Crowism, and race hatred, engendered against the whole Negro people by plantation owners, bankers and mill owners, for generations, in order to prevent the union of black and white agriculturalists for the right to own the land they cultivate and to prevent the white slaves of the mills from joining hands with their colored brothers against their common enemy.

Such a survey would take us into the hemp fields of the Philippine Islands and the plantations of Mexico and South America where colonial slaves fester and perish; onto the foothills, mountain areas and plains of North and South America and Australia, where sheep are raised and shorn and men are exploited to the bone. It would take us to the Orient; to China, India and Japan, where babes and girls unwind silk cocoons in boiling water with their bare hands, 18 hours a day, for a few pence—a bowl of rice to keep body and soul together. But such a review would take us too far outside the scope of this article.

#### THE C.I.O. ENTERS TEXTILE

Having turned its attention to the textile industry, the C.I.O. proceeded to set up the apparatus to conduct the drive. In March, 1937, the leadership of the U.T.W. met at Washington, D.C., and by unanimous agreement with the C.I.O., the Textile Workers Organizing Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Sidney Hillman, President of the powerful

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Into this committee the organizational apparatus of the U.T.W. was incorporated. The drive was initiated immediately. Eight regional directors were appointed. Hundreds of organizers took the field. The technique was the same as that employed in steel, *viz.*, to sign up textile workers, without initiation fees or dues, on a pledge card which designates the T.W.O.C. as the collective bargaining agency for each mill. The theory was that when most of the workers of a mill or company sign up, the T.W.O.C. Regional Office approaches the management for a collective bargaining contract. When a contract is signed with a plant the workers concerned are given a T.W.O.C. charter and function as a local T.W.O.C. union. When the industry or a substantial part of the industry is thus organized the T.W.O.C. will call a convention and consolidate the regions and locals into a national industrial textile workers' union.

The American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers and the Dyers and Finishers Federation conducted their organization drives independently but in cooperation with the T.W.O.C. and maintained their own apparatus. All other U.T.W. affiliates were merged completely into the T.W.O.C. The Dyers and Hosiery Workers have made the greatest progress in the drive, both in maintaining their old contracts and in gaining new ones, due to the fact that they had had the strongest organizational base in the old U.T.W.

The T.W.O.C., while organizing the drive in all branches of the in-

dustry and in all sections of the country simultaneously, did have a limited program of concentration. This concentration was on the woolen and worsted branch, almost wholly located in New England and New Jersey, and upon synthetic yarn production plants located mainly in Virginia, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Northern Tennessee. There are important plants also in North Carolina and Georgia.

With the drive under way for the past six months the T.W.O.C. has made definite progress. Recent figures, announced by Sidney Hillman at the C.I.O. Conference at Atlantic City, are as follows: 470,000 pledge cards signed, of which 270,000 textile workers are covered by contracts that have been signed by 905 employers. The T.W.O.C. spent \$978,421 in the drive to October 1, 1937.

Two of the largest woolen mills in the world, employing some 10,000 workers, the Ayer and Wood Mills of the American Woolen Company of Lawrence, Mass., have recently concluded consent elections under the National Labor Relations Board, and the workers are on record overwhelmingly for the T.W.O.C. as their sole bargaining agency. It remains to be seen what demands will be made and whether or not a favorable contract can be signed without a strike. It is the entering wedge for the organization of the whole woolen textile industry. The favorable agreements signed by the T.W.O.C. with the American Bemberg Co., in Elizabethton, Tenn., and with the Viscose Company, cover nearly 20,000 workers and form the base for the organization of the whole rayon-producing

industry with its 35 plants and 54,000 workers. The du Pont Rayon Company's plants, the Italian syndicate's Tubiz-Chatillon plant at Rome, Ga., the Dutch syndicate's plant Enka at Ashville, N.C., will not yield except to the greatest pressure since these are notoriously hard-boiled, open-shop outfits.

These important gains have been made mainly in the North. The great, basic cotton industry has barely been touched. Hardly a dent has been made in the solid South, where the drive has recently been experiencing difficulties and has some shortcomings.

Let us examine the situation below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Fifty-nine per cent of the nation's textile workers are in the South. Much has been written about the industrialization of the South but it must be emphasized that, aside from the Birmingham area of heavy industry (coal, iron and steel), little of this industrialization would remain if textiles were eliminated. Other Southern industries, mainly connected with agriculture, are transportation, saw-mills and wood-working, cotton ginning and cotton seed oil extraction, etc., together with *cigarette and tobacco manufacturing*, centering around Winston-Salem, Readville and Durham, N.C., employing about 45,000 workers most of whom are Negroes; *furniture manufacturing*, mainly located around High Point, N.C., employing about 10,000 workers; and scattered chemical, railroad, garment shops, etc., would account for nearly all Southern industries.

The textile industry, as almost all Southern industry, is concentrated in

the Piedmont area. Extending from its Northern tip at Danville, Va., the Piedmont passes in a sweeping curve along the foothills of the Southern Appalachians from Virginia through North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, into Northern Alabama. A contributory belt extends from Atlanta, Ga., through Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Elizabethton, Tenn.

The three leading textile manufacturing states in this area are North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, where the cotton manufacturing industry of the nation is concentrated. The mills in these three Southern states employ nearly 350,000 textile workers. Ninety-six mills in Alabama employ 35,000 workers. Gaston County (N.C.) alone boasts of having more than 100 cotton mills within its boundaries.

Cotton textiles as a whole employs nearly 500,000 workers in over 1,000 mills throughout the country.

It is precisely in this cotton mill area that the notorious Southern mill village is found with its unpainted, dilapidated shacks on stilts, muddy or dust-choked unpaved roads and evil-smelling out-houses. This is the area of long hours, low pay, stretch-out, child and family labor, with its concomitants of pellegra, tuberculosis, malaria, venereal disease and other hideous results of malnutrition, unsanitary conditions, illiteracy and poverty.

The story of the development of the textile industry in the South is the story of the smashing of the domestic economy of the free peasantry, the expropriation of their small holdings and their final herding into the mills. Many of the textile workers in

the Carolinas, Georgia and Tennessee were once mountaineers who had escaped from the hated slave-plantation economy of the lowlands. Impoverished white cotton farmers of the Piedmont, ruined by the competition of the big planters, by the usury of the bankers and by the manipulations of the Cotton Exchange, were driven off their small patch and had but to walk into the mill gate to change their status and that of their children forever.

The descendants of these hardy, freedom-loving folk compose the overwhelming majority of the Southern textile workers. These are the workers whom the Southern small-town Chambers of Commerce advertised far and wide as "docile, cheap and contented labor" and "safe from the influence of the trade union organizer," as an inducement to the Northern capitalists to put up mills in their localities.

But these textile workers, the sons and daughters of mountaineers and independent farmers, have in the past decade wiped out with their own blood the mill owners' sneering insult of "cheap and docile" labor. Gastonia, Marion, Elizabethton, Danville, Huntsville, take their places in the glorious traditions of the textile workers alongside of Lawrence, New Bedford, Passaic, Berks County, Central Falls and Paterson.

There is hardly a mill town below the Mason-Dixon Line, whether the textile workers were organized or not, that has not struck at one time or another for better conditions. These struggles, in spite of set-backs, terror and betrayals, have resulted in smashing the 60-hour week and in raising

wages above the prevailing \$6 and \$8 level. They have forced concessions from the unwilling hands of Southern mill owners and improved conditions in many a mill village. These struggles, costly at times, because often poorly organized and frequently led by inexperienced, timid or faithless leaders, have, nevertheless, demonstrated to the mill owners the inherent fighting qualities of the Southern worker, letting them know, in a language that they could not fail to understand, that in their unconscionable exploitation of these Southerners, whom they once despised, there was a definite and calculable limit.

There has been a pronounced tendency among some T.W.O.C. organizers down South to decry and underestimate these past struggles, to stress the negative side and to emphasize the blacklisting and victimization of the more militant workers whom the mill owners characterize as "Reds," without recognizing the positive gains made through these demonstrations of resistance to virtual serfdom. But it is the strike of 1934 that is most often held up as an example of the futility of strike action. It is for this reason that I want to review briefly this important struggle.

#### THE GENERAL TEXTILE STRIKE OF 1934

Encouraged by the belief that Section 7a of the N.R.A. would protect them against the mill owners in exercising their right to organize, thousands of Southern mill workers, together with their Northern fellow-workers, flocked into the United Textile Workers Union. Following the big strike of 70,000 silk workers, the Southern mill hands sent a mili-

tant delegation to the convention of the U.T.W. held in New York City on August 16, 1934.

This convention drew up a list of demands upon the nation's mill owners. Chief among these were:

1. A 30-hour week;
2. Minimum weekly wages of \$13 for unskilled and proportional increases for workers of varying degrees of skill;
3. Elimination of the stretch-out;
4. Reinstatement of workers fired for union activities;
5. Recognition of the union;
6. Establishment of an arbitration tribunal satisfactory to both sides to settle disputes, all decisions to be final.

The convention instructed the union officials to submit these demands to all mill owners in every branch of the industry and, in case of rejection, to call a national industrial textile strike by September 1, 1934. On August 24 the General Strike Committee rejected the Cotton Textile Board's attempt to forestall the strike by mediation. The strike was called on September 3. Workers in 22 states answered the call and by September 6, three days later, it was reported that over 475,000 textile workers had walked out. Extreme terror was levelled against the workers, North and South, on the part of the police, gun thugs, strikebreakers and state militia. More than 15,000 troops were mobilized against the picket lines at an estimated cost of \$37,000 a day. All the forces of the government and the employers were employed to call off the strike.

A Board of Inquiry was appointed by President Roosevelt (the Winant Board) on September 5. Two weeks

later they made public their findings. They urged the union to call off the strike; suggested to the mill owners that the strikers be taken back without discrimination; recommended the appointment of another textile labor relations board and a survey of the industry. Conservative U.T.W. leaders spoke of the strike as "a complete victory" and called off the strike on September 22, 1934, although none of the basic demands had been granted. The mill owners, particularly in the South, blacklisted unionists and strikers. By October 19, 1934, a partial report to the U.T.W. showed discrimination in 363 mills, involving over 25,000 workers.\*

There is no doubt that this strike was insufficiently prepared, inadequately staffed, poorly financed and directed by the General Strike Committee. The mobilization of public opinion behind the strikers was to some extent neglected and organized support from the rest of the labor movement was lacking. The Communist Party's forces in the strikers' ranks were too weak to stem the retreat and we had little influence upon the leadership. The hasty and panicky termination of the strike left no opportunity to bring up those reserves which could have ensured at least a partial victory. But most inexcusable, because in violation of correct strike strategy, was the demobilization of the strikers' ranks without obtaining any guarantees against victimization by the employers and for the protection of the union.

This strike demonstrated, however, the mobility of the nation's textile workers, their capacity for solidarity

of action, cutting across craft, departmental, geographical, national, religious, race and sectional lines. At one blow, acting on the decisions of their convention for attainable demands designed to solve common national grievances, they broke through every scheme devised by the ruling class to keep labor divided and helpless. They fought against great odds with supreme courage. They displayed flexibility and initiative, originating the "flying squadron" method of spreading the strike and consolidated their gains as they moved on to fresh victories.

The rank-and-file textile workers are not responsible for the loss of the 1934 strike. At the very peak of their action, at the crest of their offensive, the spectacular swiftness of which demoralized the mill owners' forces, they were ordered by their general staff to abandon their positions, break ranks and surrender. Of course, the mill owners' forces rallied, struck the retreating workers left, right and center. The retreat became a rout, the rout a panic. These splendid battalions of labor, nearly half a million strong, after 19 days of continuous victories all along the line, were left helpless and defenseless before the vicious blacklisting and victimization of the flower of their forces by the cowardly and brutal bosses.

During the strike seventeen workers were murdered by the militia, police and gun thugs. Scores were injured and thousands arrested. The T.W. O.C. now inherits the traditions of these textile workers. The demands of 1934 have yet to be realized and brought up to date on the basis of the increased earnings of the mills and

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\* *Labor Fact Book*, Vol. III, pp. 81-82.

the enormously increased cost of living. The T.W.O.C. must yet carry the 1934 convention demands into life and pledge that these seventeen heroes of labor who died in 1934 shall not have died in vain.

Communists are often charged with advocating strikes in season and out and with being irresponsible strike agitators. It must be pointed out here that the responsibility for strikes rests squarely on the shoulders of the employers. Communists are opposed to "wild-cat" strikes or any other undisciplined action on the part of the unions or the workers, nor do we advocate strike struggles under any and all circumstances.

Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, reporting to its Ninth Convention in June, 1936, said:

"When American workers go on strike, it is not because Communists are stirring up trouble, but because in those places the forces of big business are denying these workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, and denying it by force and violence. . . . To strike is a weapon of last resort, to which the workers turn only when the capitalists have blocked every other road of redress for their grievances." \*

The organization of the Southern textile workers into the T.W.O.C. will not be easy, nor can they be organized exclusively from the top. Certainly, they need and will accept the direction and advice of capable and experienced organizers. But they must be shown how to *organize themselves*. Right *inside* the mills and in the mill villages there are thousands

of willing hands and stout hearts. It is these natural leaders of the textile workers, from among the rank and file that must be organized *first*. This can be done by taking these selected workers into the confidence of the T.W.O.C. organizer, meeting with them, organizing them into local and mill committees, giving them a voice and a vote on questions of local policy and procedure. They will become voluntary organizers and form the nucleus around which their fellow workers will gather. They know the textile workers in their mills and in their vicinity and they know how to talk to them. This is how steel was organized, *from the inside*, under the direction of the S.W.O.C. leaders. This is how *textile* will be organized.

#### THE WAGNER ACT NO SUBSTITUTE FOR ORGANIZATION

The Wagner-Connelly Labor Act is now the law of the land. It is implemented by the National Labor Relations Board. But the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B., at its best, can only protect the workers in their *right* to organize, determine the bargaining agency through consent elections and prevent discrimination against union members during the process of organization. We cannot depend upon the Wagner Act to *organize* the workers nor can we expect the mill owners to obey the law without mass pressure. When the mill owners find that they cannot avoid recognizing the T.W.O.C. they will scream, "Reds, Communists and Moscow gold" at the top of their voices, echoed by their reactionary press, their A. F. of L. stooges and their political henchmen

\* Earl Browder, *Democracy or Fascism*, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 5 cents—Ed.

—the Baileys, Byrds, Glasses and Coxes.

Fulminating against the Wagner Act, the N.L.R.B. and the C.I.O., Representative Cox of Georgia cried out in the United States Congress:

“This country will witness an *uprising* of its outraged citizens in protection of their industries, their business, their employment, their homes! And that, Mr. Speaker, will be *civil war!*”

Thus it is not the Communists who are for force and violence, uprisings and civil war in opposition to the established laws of the country and against the Constitution but these reactionaries of the Democratic Party who were sent to Congress by the votes of the workers, the farmers and the common people and who, after they were elected on the New Deal program, unite with the open-shop Wall Street bosses, the “Economic Royalists,” to bring, not democracy and peace to America, but civil war and fascism.

The organization of textile in the North will remain precarious until the South is organized. What is needed now is a general C.I.O. drive to organize every industry in the South. Nor can we afford to neglect the farm workers. The organization of the farm workers will bring about a higher wage level for all workers in all industries. *The American Wool and Cotton Reporter*, a magazine published by the mill owners, says:

“The South is always going to have low wages. The majority of workers are agricultural workers and they set the day rate for agricultural wages; and industrial wages cannot help but be governed by agricultural wages.”

The T.W.O.C., therefore, should direct its propaganda and publicity to the farmers, Negro and white, for the textile workers live in rural communities and their immediate traditions are closely associated with the land. John L. Lewis says:

“I believe the fundamental interests of labor and farmers are interlocked and that they should work together for common democratic and economic objectives.”

The C.I.O. and the T.W.O.C. should also carry out a program of close collaboration with the middle classes of town and country, especially in the South.

In a statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, issued recently, it says:

“The Communists will work for all these aims and policies as an inseparable part of the working class, of the C.I.O. and of the liberty-loving American people. . . . The members of the Communist Party everywhere take the initiative in . . . promoting the unity of labor with the farmers and small business and professional people in the whole struggle against reaction on the economic and political fields.”

#### WINNING THE SOUTH FOR THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The successful organization of the textile workers into a democratically controlled and powerful industrial textile workers' union under the C.I.O. is not only an immediate necessity for the mill workers and their families, but is of immense importance to all workers and their middle-class allies in the struggle of the American people against fascism and reaction. The C.I.O. recognizes this and therefore has thrown its great resources behind the T.W.O.C. drive

which can and will overcome all obstacles on the basis of its present experiences and the experiences of C.I.O. unions in other industries.

Textile is still the most important industry in New England and the mill workers comprise a decisive section of its population. But it is in the South-eastern states that a victorious T.W. O.C. drive, resulting in the organization of the workers in the textile industry, will have the greatest economic and political consequences and will change the face of the South.

A general and concerted C.I.O. drive to organize the Southern workers to obtain collective security, decent working conditions and the smashing of the wage differentials between the North and South would inevitably be coupled with political action supported by middle-class liberals, progressives and the Negro people to break the Southern reactionaries' grip on government, which is based upon disfranchisement, terror and race hatred.

Hundreds of thousands of American citizens, both Negro and white, living below the Mason-Dixon Line are deprived of the right to vote because of fake literacy tests, poll taxes, racial discrimination and terror in violation of the Constitution of the United States. For example, Georgia and Wisconsin having about the same population each have ten Congressional districts. In 1932 it took 1,044,069 votes in Wisconsin to elect ten Congressmen, whereas, in 1932, the State of Georgia sent ten Representatives to Congress elected by 267,146 votes. The vote of Wisconsin in the Congressional elections of 1934 was 639,546, while in the same year

Georgia elected ten U. S. Congressmen with only 52,833 votes!

Or take the State of Alabama. The United States Census of 1930 gives Alabama 1,348,041 citizens 21 years of age and over, of whom 479,950 are Negroes. But Alabama's total registration of voters in 1932 was 325,000!! Over one million citizens of Alabama, alone, were thus disfranchised, almost all of them unlawfully.

The organization of Dixie's industrial and agricultural workers, and in the first place its 500,000 textile workers, would change this situation. The almost unbelievable conditions where a political clique in Georgia controlled the election of ten Congressmen on the basis of 52,833 votes could be changed by the workers and farmers of Georgia almost overnight. The rank-and-file voters of the Democratic Party, mobilized by the trade unions, progressive middle class and farmers' organizations, could march into the Democratic primaries in each of the Southern states and nominate candidates committed to a minimum program of economic, social and political rights for the common people, Negro and white. They could easily vote out of office the present reactionary Bourbons, the political representatives of the Wall Street bankers and monopoly capitalism.

These Southern reactionaries in Congress speak openly of a split in the Democratic Party. It is entirely feasible for Southern labor, organized into C.I.O. unions, in cooperation with their fellow trade unionists in the A. F. of L. and their middle class allies, to see to it that when Bailey, Byrd, Glass, George, Cox and Co. "take a walk" with Al Smith and the

Raskobs, du Ponts, Sloans, Girdlers and Morgans, that they walk out alone. It is entirely within the field of practical politics for the workers, farmers and the city middle class—the common people of the South—to take possession of the machinery of the Democratic Party, in the South, and turn it into an agency for democracy and progress.

Harry W. Odum, a patriotic Southerner, once described the South as:

“ . . . a region of farms, yet an importer of foods; potentially a garden spot, in reality a region of broken hearts and backs; abounding in traditions of good living, actually often lacking the means for a decent subsistence level of life.”

And Mr. Odum cries out:

“Is the South to remain forever a poor relation, a dark continent, an abode of poverty, misery and lack of opportunity?”

The C.I.O. and the T.W.O.C. can and will answer this question by organizing the forces of labor.

The Communist Party is the inheri-

tor and the bearer of the old democratic traditions of the South—the traditions of George Washington, Patrick Henry, George Mason, Nat Turner and Thomas Jefferson. As such, the Communist Party will require all its members to increase their efforts to give loyal and active support to the C.I.O., the T.W.O.C. and its leaders, to take advantage of every opportunity to build the unions whether as rank-and-file union members or as union organizers and to prepare the political ground for the growth of the People's Front which will prepare the way of the Southern toiling masses out of bondage.

This is the road which the South, together with the rest of our country, must travel—the road of mass struggle for increasing democratic rights, the road to socialism—in order to achieve lasting peace, security, and progress for all. In the historic struggle, the American textile workers are destined to play an important and decisive role.

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## UNITE THE NEGRO PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE'S FRONT\*

**T**HE upward trend in recovery, which is already showing evidence of decline, was never very pronounced as it affected the Negro people. A large section of the Negro people remain jobless; lay-offs on W.P.A. and cuts in the Relief Bureaus hit the Negro population hard. They are poorly housed and undernourished. They are denied civil rights and liberties, and manhood status. Their cultural outlook is blighted and retarded. The forces of reaction and fascism attack the Negroes with especial vehemence. There are few sections of the forces of reaction so autocratic, dictatorial and anti-Negro as the Supreme Court of the United States.

The favorable decisions of the Supreme Court in the Scottsboro and Herndon cases were forced through by the pressure of millions of workers and progressive people in the U.S. and the world.

The militancy of the Negro people has been shown in the great steel struggle. The Negro people have played a big role in the movement to build a powerful labor organization, centered in the C.I.O. In the steel, as well as in the automobile and tobacco industries in the South, and

in many other industries, Negroes are leaders in the unions of the C.I.O. and are taking an active part in militant struggles. Negro voters contributed to the organization of the progressive forces in the elections of 1936 and helped to give a smashing blow to reaction.

Negro volunteers, together with their white brothers and the Ethiopian warriors, are making a splendid record in Spain against international fascism, fighting to preserve democracy in the world and to shatter the hold of Italian fascism on the Ethiopian people.

On the basis, and around the following issues affecting the Negro people, the Communists must develop struggles in the interests of the Negro people and for democracy and progress in the United States:

A. The lack of adequate housing, and the prevalence of high rents under Jim-Crow conditions.

B. The rise in the cost of living; the higher prices of inferior food and other commodities, particularly in the Negro ghettos.

C. Inequalities, the denial of civil rights: lynching; persecution, notably exemplified in the case of the Scottsboro boys.

D. *The lack of security.* Relief appropriations are being drastically cut; lay-offs on W.P.A. are growing every

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\* Resolution adopted at the Plenum of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A., June 17-20, 1937.

day in larger proportion among the Negro population; special provisions deny relief to agricultural workers (Negroes) who refuse to accept low wages in private employment, on farms and plantations, and as personal servants; social security legislation excludes domestic and farm labor, laundry, restaurant and hotel workers (categories which include large numbers of Negroes.)

*E. Wage differentials.* Wage-and-hour legislation as now formulated permits the same type of differences in wages for Negroes as was the case under the old N.R.A.

*F. The absence of farm tenancy legislation.* Southern farm labor feels the heavy blows of insufficient and in many cases of complete lack of farm tenancy legislation.

*G. Retarded cultural development.* The advancement of the cultural life of the Negro people is retarded by attacks of reactionaries and their false inferiority doctrines.

Around these basic issues of economic and physical insecurity of the Negro people the Communist Party must render assistance to, and take an active and leading part in building, the United Negro People's Front. We should aim (1) to unite the Negro people for full and equal rights, for manhood status, and for cultural advancement, and (2) to unite the Negro People's Front, as expressed in the National Negro Congress and by the fight that is constantly carried on by various organizations of the Negro people, as a part of the People's Front in the United States against reaction and war, for democracy and peace.

Both locally and nationally, the warmest relations are to be estab-

lished between the membership and leaders of the Communist Party and the membership and leaders of the progressive organizations of the Negro people. The interest of carrying out our policy and of broadening the National Negro Congress movement requires systematic, sustained and fraternal collaboration with outstanding Negro organizations, particularly the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the National Colored Women's Federation, and similar organizations.

The broad progressive trade union movement now being developed around the C.I.O. offers increasingly favorable opportunity to the Negro people to improve their economic conditions. The involving of Negro workers in the economic struggles of the trade unions on strike committees, as organizers and in the leadership of the trade union movement requires the closest attention of Communists. All Negro workers, and all elements among the Negro people, must be rallied to the support of the C.I.O. There should be no neglect of the task of fighting for equal rights and equal status for Negro workers in the A. F. of L. and in the independent trade unions.

#### THE SOUTH

The drive of the C.I.O. and the widespread progressive development inside the Democratic Party in the South have tremendous significance and offer advantages for the Negro people. The C.I.O. leaders are giving more attention to the need of appointing Negro organizers. They must make still more firm and clear their

determination to fight against discrimination both in the industries and in the unions. The Communists must help the C.I.O. leaders nationally and locally, and impress upon them the need for extra vigilance in combating racial prejudice, thereby helping to win the confidence of Negro workers in unionization.

In view of the terrific super-exploitation of Negro workers—with wages as low as ten cents per hour in the South—which works against the interests of all workers, white as well as black, special demands must be placed in the interests of Negroes, for the establishment of higher wages and better conditions.

A powerful ferment is growing in the Democratic Party in the South. The fight is sharpening between elements who support the progressive measures of President Roosevelt against the reactionary Bourbon landlords and capitalists who are uniting with Wall Street against relief and for low standards for the Southern workers and farmers, black and white.

Progressives in the South realize that they must have the support of the Negro masses in the primaries, if they are to upset the old political machine and the reactionaries—such as Senators Glass and Byrd of Virginia—and are beginning to fight for the right of Negroes to vote. Progressives in the trade unions and Southern white liberals are putting forth programs for the abolition of the poll tax system or for its modification, for lightening the burden of the poor, and for abolition of the fee-system, by means of which hundreds of thousands of Negro and white workers are imprisoned annually. The progressive

movement in the South will raise the status of the Negro people and broaden the struggle for their national liberation.

“The Party will be equal to its task” of building the People’s Front and winning the Negro people for support to it “only if it fights for the equal status of the Negroes” (Dimitroff). We must fight against all discrimination, against the exclusion of Negroes from industry, and against the attempts of the reactionaries and employers to stir up racial animosities between Negro and white workers (in the auto, steel and other industries).

Broad sections of the Negro people can be won to the struggle for peace and in support of the Spanish people because the aggression of fascist Italy and of Nazi Germany in Spain is a continuation of the brutal assault upon the liberty of the Ethiopian people—an aggression which aims to destroy democracy throughout the world. All Negro organizations must be rallied to the support of the Spanish people and for our heroic Negro and white volunteers now fighting for democracy in Spain.

#### BUILDING THE PARTY

The slow growth of the Party among the Negro masses, in the face of the successful fight freeing Angelo Herndon, the partial victories in the Scottsboro case and the general successes gained by our Party for equal rights and status for the Negro people, is serious. This slow growth can be attributed to: (1) insufficient sustained activity and independent leadership by the Party in the day-to-day problems of the Negro people; (2) in-

sufficient mass education conducted among the Negro people and lack of systematic training and education of our Negro leading personnel; (3) insufficient attention of leading Party committees of state and district organizations in those specific territories where large masses of Negroes are to be found. Training schools should be organized; Party organization should be strengthened in these centers; and special literature should be written.

A major task of winning Negro recruits for the Communist Party rests upon the shoulders of the Negro

Party members; our Negro leading personnel should give special attention to recruitment for the Party and building the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* among the Negro masses. But concentration of the attention of the Negro Party members upon this task does not lessen the responsibility of the entire Party membership to render every assistance in Negro work, to win the confidence of the Negro people, and thereby to gain their support for the People's Front against reaction, fascism and war.

#### FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

W. Z. FOSTER — "THE C.I.O.—A REVIEW"

FREDERICK ENGELS — "THE BAKUNINISTS AT WORK"  
(Hitherto untranslated)

The publication of "A Year of *Science and Society*" by V. J. Jerome, announced for this issue, is unavoidably held over for the next issue.

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# FOR A COMMON FRONT AGAINST THE WAR-MAKERS

BY EARL BROWDER

**F**RIENDS AND COMRADES, your convention of the Communist Party of Canada\* meets at a moment when the whole world stands at the crossroads, pondering the most fateful decisions. The horrible fumes of a new world conflagration already hang over every home.

A small minority of desperate international bandits have been able, because the great majority of peace-loving people have been disunited and retreating, to drag the whole world again to the brink of the abyss. At this moment, above all others, your Party has a most responsible role to play, above all in helping to create and strengthen a common front against the war-makers.

This critical moment in world history puts to the test all men, all leaders, all programs, all parties. It is upon this background that it is my duty and pleasure to bring to you the warmest fraternal greetings of the Communist Party of the United States and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and to wish you the most fruitful deliberations.

It would indeed be strange if the

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\* An address to the Eighth Dominion Convention of the Communist Party of Canada at Toronto, October 8, 1937.

Communist Parties of Canada and the United States should fail to have the closest and most brotherly relations. By our close collaboration, which expresses our full internationalism, we are at the same time continuing the best traditions of our two nations.

Today, on the most vital questions of war and peace, and the regroupings taking place in our political life, there is an essential similarity and close relationship between us in the problems we face and the solutions we must find. It is hardly possible that our two countries should part company now at the crossroads of history and take opposing paths.

Why is the whole world threatened by war today? Why is it that no city can be sure that it may not be awakened any night by the crash of bombs dropped from the air? Why is it that three governments have been able to terrorize the world?

There is a direct succession of events, during the past six years, which inevitably created the present situation. In 1931, the Japanese militarists marched unannounced into Manchuria, seized control of it by violence, and transformed it into a Japanese colony with a puppet government called Manchukuo. The whole world shuddered, the League

of Nations and the U.S.A. declared the act a violation of international law and of solemn treaties—but nothing was done. The great majority who wanted peace based upon ordered agreement could not themselves agree upon any common action.

This helplessness and futility were not lost upon the other bandit powers. Hitler tore up the Locarno treaty, marched into the demilitarized Rhineland, fortified it, and brought his gigantic war-machine directly to the borders of France. Again nothing happened—the democracies were terrified by the threat of war, retreated before the aggression, bowed before the accomplished fact.

Mussolini, originator of fascist banditry, drew the next conclusion by throwing an army of invasion into backward and helpless Ethiopia, member of the League of Nations. This time there were gestures of organized resistance; the League denounced the aggression and declared economic sanctions against Italy. But just at the moment when sanctions could become effective, just when the U.S.A. was ready to declare it cooperation, the Tory ruling circles in Britain torpedoed the ship of peace by exploding upon the world the Hoare-Laval proposal, broke up and scattered the peace front, and opened the road to Addis Ababa for Mussolini. Again the bandits were told in effect that the world was their free hunting preserve, that the forces of peace were helpless before them.

Then the bandits struck again, this time into the heart of Europe; Mussolini and Hitler made their joint invasion of Spain, with the help of Moorish mercenaries, and under the

slogan of a war for Christianity undertook to destroy the Spanish Republic. The democratic nations responded with the hypocritical farce of the “non-intervention” policy, which blockaded Republican Spain while the fascist rebels were freely supplied with men and munitions by Mussolini and Hitler—a positive help to the bandits, in which, to our shame, the U.S.A. also joined with its irrational “neutrality” law. Again the international bandits were told in effect that they could freely roam the world with the torch of war.

With such a complete breakdown of international law and morality, why should the Japanese not have assumed that a “neutral” world would also complacently witness their horrible atrocities in China? The democratic nations had done everything possible to encourage banditry! During all this period, only one great power had stood out as an uncompromising fighter for peace, had never deserted Ethiopia, had stood firmly by the side of the Spanish Republic, had given practical aid to China. That power, the most reliable bulwark of peace, was the land of socialism, the Soviet Union.

But six years of unresisted international banditry, six years of constant “scuttle and run” policy by the democracies of the West, had so clearly brought the whole world on the brink of disaster, that we now witness a great upheaval of the people, demanding that a halt be called upon the bandits.

This people’s uprising began with the movement to aid the Spanish Republic, which brought the flower of democratic youth from the whole

world into the Republican trenches in Spain, in the glorious International Brigade, and our own MacKenzie-Papineau and Abraham Lincoln Battalions.

Now it has become a great storm of protest against Japanese banditry in China, in which the whole labor movement in the English-speaking countries is already mobilized in a "boycott Japanese goods" movement.

This upheaval of the peace-loving peoples of the capitalist democracies found its strongest, most far-reaching voice in the great speech of President Roosevelt in Chicago.

In the past few years, we Communists have been the sharpest critics of President Roosevelt, even while we were his staunch supporters when he fought against the reactionaries for progressive policies. Our criticism of the President has been especially sharp against what we considered his cowardly surrender to the reactionary neutrality policy.

All the more clearly, then, because of our past criticism of President Roosevelt's foreign policy, must we of the Communist Party declare our full and complete support to the line laid down in his Chicago speech. It is the only course which can save the world from a terrible catastrophe.

We have no illusions that the new course charted by President Roosevelt will be easy to execute. Above all, we are conscious of the strong and bitter enemies who will oppose a positive peace policy with all their power. These reactionary forces own or control most of the daily press of the United States. They control many leading positions in the President's own party. They are working hand in

glove with Hitler and Mussolini in world affairs. They will move heaven and earth to defeat the President and his policy.

Only the active support of the masses of the people in the United States, as well as in Canada and the other democratic countries of the West, can overcome the resistance of the accomplices of fascism and carry this positive peace policy into effect.

We have in the United States a group of pacifist societies who, in the name of peace, are counselling unconditional surrender to the international bandits. Whatever their motives, such pacifists have become no better than the conscious agents of Hitler and Mussolini. The time has come to end the fascist menace to world peace. Everyone must line up on one side or the other. Whoever is opposed to collective action for peace is an enemy of peace, an agent of the international bandits.

More than ever we are conscious that only a socialist reorganization of society can, once and for all, abolish the causes of war and bring permanent peace to the world. But the great majority of the people, in the United States and Canada especially, are not yet ready for the fundamental solution of socialism.

But they do want peace; they are ready to fight for peace; they have the leadership for peace of the head of the most powerful capitalist nation, President Roosevelt; they have the People's Front in control of France, with a powerful will for peace; they see the iron battalions of the Spanish People's Army throwing back the invaders from their land; they see the great Chinese people uniting into a

solid front of heroic resistance to Japanese invasion; they know above all they have the complete support of the great and powerful land of socialism, the Soviet Union.

Therefore, the masses know that it is possible to stop the war-makers now, the determination to do that job is growing throughout the world. The fascist war-makers can be stopped.

They must be stopped. That is the task of all progressive humanity. To that task we dedicate our full strength.

*Quarantine the fascist war-makers!*

*Unite the peace-loving peoples for collective action!*

*Stamp out international banditry!*

*Preserve the world peace!*

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## FROM THE WORLD COMMUNIST PRESS

### WE SHALL MEET THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF OCTOBER AS IT DESERVES

Editorial from *Pravda*, Moscow, September 13, 1937

**T**HE country is gathering a harvest of seven billion, and an endless flow of collective farm and state farm grain is filling the Soviet warehouses. Detachments of eastern and western border guards are entering into competition for the right to perform the Stalinist watch on the day of the twentieth anniversary of the great Revolution.

The People's Commissar of Heavy Industry, Comrade L. M. Kaganovitch, has appointed the well-known Donetz miner, Nikita Izotov—a student of the Industrial Academy—inspector for the coal industry under the People's Commissar. The hero of our time, Alexei Stakhanov, has taken Izotov's place in the Industrial Academy.

The sugar industry season began much earlier than in previous years, and up to September 12, thirty-seven sugar factories have been started; at this time last year, only one was working.

The pilot Kokkinaki has made a new speed record; and the hero of the Soviet Union, Gromov, with the consent of Comrade Stalin, has worked out a plan for the capture of all the international aviation records.

Yesterday in Moscow, in the traditional demonstration in honor of In-

ternational Youth Day, one million young men and women participated.

Such are the splendid events of the Soviet autumn of the year 1937, the militant autumn of the twentieth year of the socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R.

The approach of the great jubilee of Soviet power is calling forth a great tide of patriotic sentiment in every honest citizen of our country. Each individual wants to show his love for the fatherland, his devotion to the Party of Lenin-Stalin and to the Soviet government—especially now, in the pre-holiday days—by shock work, by good fulfilment of his duties.

The Moscow Stakhanovites splendidly reflected the rising feelings of our workers when they proposed to begin the pre-October competition of the factories and workshops. The call of the Moscovites found a thousand-voiced response in the country. Not only the workers, but even the collective farmers, want to participate in this important competition. Yesterday we published an appeal of three collective farmers of the Moscow District, who issued a call to meet the great anniversary with new successes in socialist agriculture.

There is no doubt that the collective farm villages will answer this call,

that the collective farmers will take an example from the workers. And the workers are already answering the Moscow Stakhanovites with action. In the Diesel motor department of the Chelyabinsk tractor plant, more than 100 new workers have begun to double their norms of work. The Magnitogorsk rolling-mill workers have established an unprecedented record—in 24 hours, they produced 5,406 tons of metal. On the Moscow-Kiev railroad, a brigade of machinists ran a train at a speed exceeding 70 kilometers an hour. There it is—the speed of Bolshevik railroadmen!

Our country knows how to appreciate good work. Where there is a high productivity, there we have also high pay. The account book in a Soviet factory becomes a sort of special kind of passport of an honest attitude towards work. In the account book of the Donetz miner, Peter Proskurin, his pay for August is written down as 3,185 rubles. Seventeen cutting machine workers in the city of Sergo received in that month from 1,200 to 3,000 rubles in pay. Honor and glory to these masters of socialist labor! Anyone can become a Stakhanovite, and for Stakhanovite work—Stakhanovite pay.

New records and new wages—a splendid agitator for the raising of the productivity of labor. Thanks to the pre-October competition, it, no doubt, will increase, if the leaders of economy will carry through the work in a Bolshevik manner. In some enterprises excellent conditions have been provided for one or two records; but the whole mass of the workers, who wish to become shock-workers and Stakhanovites, have not been helped.

This is cheating, and sometimes intentional sabotage.

The task of the leaders of economy is correctly to organize labor and production, so that each worker can utilize his mastery and show his art. We must remember that, despite the Stakhanov records, in a number of branches of industry there is still a rather large percentage of workers who have not fulfilled their norms. According to information of the central office of people's economic accounting, in June, the norm of work was not fulfilled: in the ferrous-metal industry by 17.6 per cent of the pieceworkers; in the cotton industry by 55.2 per cent of the workers. Stakhanovite Donbas gave several norms a shift, but at the same time, 10 per cent of the machinists in general did not fulfil the norm. Do not these figures show how quickly the mining of coal increases, if the leaders of economy correctly organize the work of all the miners? Help to those lagging behind in the fulfilment of the norm pulls them up to the level of the shock-workers and Stakhanovites!—such is one of the tasks of the pre-October competition.

Competition lets loose the creative initiative of the mass. It is not necessary, under the guise of "leadership" to dilute this initiative by formal and bureaucratic inventions. It is known that bureaucrats are capable of discouraging the most excellent work. In the textile factory named Dzherzhinsky in Leningrad, they are now trying to push this pre-holiday competition into the narrow framework of "inner-factory individual competition." The Party and trade union organizations must understand that we

are speaking, not of individual competition; but of the organization of mass socialist competition, inspiring the advanced and drawing in the laggards.

Three and a half months remain until the end of the year. The railroadmen, food workers, the advanced enterprises of heavy and light industry, have all the possibilities of fulfilling the yearly plan ahead of time. But there are also branches that lag: coal, oil, lumber, light industry, water transport. The People's Commissar of Heavy Industry, Comrade L. M. Kaganovitch, is, with a firm hand, smashing the bureaucratic barriers on the road to a further advance of industry; he is destroying the harmful functionalism in management; he is strengthening the leadership and the enterprises with new people, devoted to the Party of Lenin-Stalin and to the Soviet government. Other economic people's commissariats also need organizational reconstruction, especially the People's Commissariat of Light Industry, whose former leadership the government has removed because it could not cope with the tasks given it. The leadership in the center—in the People's Commissariats—is being strengthened, the creative advance among the masses is great; there are all the necessary conditions for meeting the holiday as it deserves to be met.

We will work in a Stakhanov manner! We will, as the Moscow Stakhanovites call upon us to do in their appeal, "keep our Soviet doors shut with a strong lock against the enemies of the people," and we will no doubt take yet another fortress.

Let all the factories and plants, col-

lective farms and state farms, participate in the pre-October competition, and let everyone of them come out in the October demonstration as victors!

#### FOR THE EXECUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT PROGRAM

*L'Humanite, Paris, Sept. 28, 1937*

#### FOR UNITY

**R**EACTION is furious at the strengthening of unity in the People's Front on the eve of the cantonal elections, which will prove once again the desire of the French people to see the application of the program adopted through universal suffrage in the legislative elections of 1936.

The Communists, Socialists and the mass of workers belonging to the organizations of the People's Front wish that no stone be left unturned in surmounting all the obstacles in the path of the complete carrying out of this program, in the defense of bread, liberty and peace.

The resolutions relative to unity, of which we are publishing several passages, testify to the common desire of both Communist and Socialist workers to create as soon as possible a single party.

If the propositions of the Communist Party have been adopted, we would have been about to realize unity, and Socialists and Communists would now be meeting in common.

This evening the Coordinating Committee of the two parties is finally meeting, after a regrettable interruption of several months in its work, and we hope that the meeting of the

committee of unification will be able to take place very soon.

The masses expect unity; we think that their hopes should not be shattered.

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT COMMITTEE OF MONTCHANIN ASKS FOR THE EXECUTION OF THE PROGRAM

Asks the government to return to the rigid and integral application of the program for which the people pronounced themselves on April 26 and May 3, 1936.

Demands that the government vote for and immediately grant old age pensions.

Asks for the adjustment of salaries to the cost of living through a sliding scale.

Demands on the part of the government vigorous steps against those who cause the cost of living to rise.

For peace throughout the world. Considering non-intervention in Spain a crime against our Spanish brothers, demands the reconsideration of the Spanish problem.

Demands the effective disbanding of the fascist leagues, their having reconstructed themselves in the form of a party and remaining as before a danger to democracy.

Demands respect on the part of the employers for collective contracts and for union rights which must give full guarantees to worker delegates.

Asks that the national committee, in order to reinforce the cohesion of the People's Front, convoke very quickly a national congress of local committees, the object of this congress being to discover ways and means of applying the program in its entirety.

THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT OF TARN-ET-GARONNE ASKS THAT MEASURES BE TAKEN AGAINST SEDITIOUS GROUPS

The bureau of the departmental committee of the People's Front of Tarn-et-Garonne, meeting September 21, 1937, thinks that, in view of the evident bankruptcy of non-intervention in the Spanish events, the French government should persevere in the course it followed at the time of the last conference of Nyon, and that consequently the blockade of the Pyrenees border should be lifted.

Furthermore, it is very much disturbed by the events in our country, whose evident purpose is to divide the French people at the moment when it is more indispensable than ever to unite them in order to face the cunning attacks of the Two Hundred Families, attacks which are taking place on the economic front upon the orders of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco.

Located in a region which shelters a good number of "emigres" from Spain, the bureau of the People's Front Committee believes it important to carry on a serious investigation in order to ferret out the emulators of Franco and Mussolini who swarm in our region.

*This resolution bears the signature of the representatives of the Radical, Socialist and Communist Parties.*

THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS OF DROME AND THE DEFENSE OF PEACE

The coordinating committee asks the People's Front government:

1. To regain its liberty of action and to re-establish free commercial relations with the Spanish Republic, in conformity with international law. This will assure a supply of arms and munitions to the Republican armies.
2. To support the requests of the Spanish government at the League of Nations.
3. To secure adequate representation with the Spanish government by sending an ambassador to Valencia.

THE COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS OF  
DROME ASKS FOR UNITY

The Coordinating Committee of the Socialist Federation of Drome and of the Communist region of Drome-Ardeche expresses its satisfaction at the good relations between the two parties in the Drome Department.

In order to draw closer the bonds which unite the members of the two parties, they ask the Socialist and Communist sections to hold frequent meetings of local coordinating committees to permit the coordination of the efforts of both Socialists and Communists in the defense of the people of Drome.

It rejoices in the agreement shown by the Central Committee of the Communist Party with the resolution on unity of the Socialist Congress of Marseilles.

It sees in this identity of views a happy augur for the realization of the single party of the proletariat.

Therefore, it expresses its desire that the national unification committee meet without delay in order to study the question of that realization with a view to strengthening the action of the People's Front and for the achievement of its program.

THE SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS OF  
CLICHY WANT THE SINGLE PARTY  
AND INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF  
ACTION SOUGHT FOR SO LONG  
BY THE COMMUNISTS

The Communists and Socialists of Clichy promise to do everything to bring about, in the shortest space possible, the single party of the working class, and asks the unification committee to accelerate its efforts in this direction.

Striving to work thus in the best interests of the immense majority of the French people, the Socialists and Communists of Clichy, before the grave danger to which international fascism is exposing world peace, ask the three great Internationals (Socialist, Communist and Labor) to achieve, in the shortest possible time, international unity of action to oppose the forces of war by the invincible strength of the world proletariat according to the example of what we accomplished in France in July, 1934.

BUILD UNITY WHILE THERE  
IS STILL TIME

HARRY POLLITT'S MESSAGE  
TO THE LABOR PARTY  
CONFERENCE

*Daily Worker, London, Oct. 4, 1937*

**T**HE Labor Party Conference opens at Bournemouth today, at a time of unprecedented gravity in the international situation.

There will be no doubt that the agony and sacrifices of the Spanish

and Chinese peoples will find an echo in the hearts of all the delegates.

Fascist aggression has started two wars already. No longer are wars declared. They begin, and when begun, the fascist method is to slaughter defenseless women and children first.

A year ago at Edinburgh the Chairman of the Labor Party Conference said: "We stand for democracy. We stand for peace." But since that time both democracy and peace have been savagely attacked.

A year ago the Edinburgh Conference was deeply moved by the appeal of the Spanish delegation. Since that time Almeria and Guernica have burned themselves into the consciousness of all decent people.

*And in these last days the horrors of Canton, Nanking, Shanghai, Chapei, have roused the British people as never before in our lifetime to an understanding of what fascism means.*

But who knows where the fascists will strike next? Will it be at Prague? Will it be at Vienna? No one knows what new horrors for civilization have been planned in the recent meeting of the two fascist blackguards, Hitler and Mussolini.

Never was the responsibility of British labor so heavy and so serious. The peoples of China and Spain are building living walls with their bodies against fascism. The people of Germany and Italy fight despite illegality and terror, against fascism.

But the power of the British people, under the National Government, is being used not to second these efforts, but to thwart them.

The mass resentment in this country against Japanese brutality in China is largely spontaneous and, be-

cause it is not united under a common leadership, is not able as yet to enforce its demands.

*The Labor Party Conference at Bournemouth can help to bring about unity and leadership among all the working class and progressive forces in Britain. . . .*

The Tories are in high glee. They openly declare the Labor Opposition in Parliament to be weak and impotent.

They gloat over labor's stagnation in the by-elections and the fact that 50 per cent of the people are not voting.

They applaud the decision of the Labor Party Executive to strike off all unity resolutions from the conference agenda.

They rejoice in the decision to abstain from voting on the arms estimates in Parliament and in the rearmament decision of the Norwich T.U.C.

And up and down the country they are using these decisions against the Labor Party, as they did in Springburn and will do at Islington, knowing that they strengthen the National Government. . . .

When the unity campaign was started in January, Transport House circles scoffed at it: "Anybody could hold mass demonstrations." But the Labor Crusade has proved that the present leaders of the Labor Party cannot get a mass response to their appeal.

Why is this? It is because the workers and other democratic forces do not feel that the lead, policy, unifying and fighting spirit are present either in the official policy or among the leaders.

The workers are in doubt. They see no clear line. The progressive forces waiting and anxious to rally to a fighting policy against the National Government feel that labor at present is not presenting the real alternative they need.

*This is why the government feels strong; why its foreign policy strengthens reaction and fascism; why 2,000,000 unemployed men and women are forgotten; why food prices rise and wages lag behind; why the Public Order Act is directed against the working class and not Mosley; why the Harworth fighters are in Lincoln prison.*

This is why the bloody agony and sacrifice of Spain and China goes on.

We Communists sincerely believe that the Bournemouth Conference can give a lead that would dispel the present political stagnation, that would inspire great victories in the November elections, revitalize the whole labor and progressive movement, develop such power as could force changes in the policy of the National Government now, and help prepare the way for its defeat at a coming general election by returning a majority of labor and progressive members to Parliament.

But this can only be done on the basis of unity. Mr. Morrison, in *Forward*, has an article attacking the Communists and the united front. It is an article that is a rehash of the old, childish arguments that have been heard hundreds of times and exposed hundreds of times. It is an article not worthy of a man claiming to be a responsible leader. Although it needs to be pointed out that Mr.

Morrison's public utterances on this question do not always accord with his private statements.

We believe that, as the leader of Labor's Crusade, Mr. Morrison would do the movement a greater service by trying to probe why the Crusade is not the success he had hoped and worked for. He might also reflect why he and Messrs. Attlee, Greenwood and Shinwell, while being profoundly disturbed at some aspects of Labor Party policy, for example on rearmament, find themselves so powerless in fighting the extreme reactionaries in the Labor Party. . . .

We Communists believe the times are too serious for living in the past. It is the present that matters, not for Communists, but the whole labor movement and progressive people of Britain.

History will judge Mr. Morrison and Mr. Pollitt, not by what they said years ago, but by what they are doing now, when death stalks Spain and China and threatens the whole world. Others in the Labor Party believe that unity may have to be established if events take a turn for the worse. . . .

Have we to wait until conditions get worse? Until death is rained from the skies on the working class quarters of London, Newcastle, Sheffield, Glasgow?

We Communists say no! We hope the Bournemouth Conference will say no.

A united movement, sworn to unceasing struggle against the National Government, would not only ensure the ultimate defeat of that government; it would be ready to replace

it with a government supported by a united working class and all the progressive forces of the nation.

Such a government would transform the whole international situation and give a new hope and confidence to the smaller democratic powers, now weighed down by the fascist menace.

It would also advance unity in the whole international labor and peace movement, and would go far to make the world really safe for democracy.

In these fateful hours, when the specter of fascism and war is haunting the peace-loving peoples of all lands, may the Labor Party Conference, with unity as its watchword, set an example of courage and resolution that will ensure the democratic and peace forces throughout the world, and lead the British people forward, through the defense of progress, peace and democracy, to the final victory of socialism.

### THE GERMAN TROTSKYITES AND THE GESTAPO

From *Die Internationale*, special number of 1937, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

#### BRANDLER LANDS WITH THE TROTSKYITES

**A**FTER the Moscow trial against the Trotskyite - Zinovievite terrorists, the Brandler \* group itself pointed

\* Brandler. Heinrich Brandler, the leader of the Right opposition in the Communist Party of Germany, was expelled from the Communist International after the Sixth World Congress. Subsequently, his group has pursued a bitter anti-Party and anti-Soviet line.

out that "political bankruptcy" and the passing of this group to the "methods of individual terror and murder plots" were the "typical methods of the uprooted and politically defeated counter-revolution." At that time, the Reich Executive of the Brandler group reached the conclusion that:

"The verdict of the Soviet courts against the Trotskyite-Zinovievite conspirators was the only one possible in accordance with the proceedings and the laws of the Soviet state. It was an act of justified defense against a counter-revolutionary plot."

But in July, 1937, Brandler began to work together with the Trotskyite "Funke" group and the Trotskyites who had split off from the S.A.P.\* in joint action for the Trotskyite P.O.U.M. leaders. Brandler's new allies are the people whom he himself has called counter-revolutionary, against whom the Soviet court handed down the only possible verdict. Brandler's new allies are the people to whom Maslow was recently permitted to expound the following purely fascist theory in a recent joint discussion: "There are situations in which Russia's defeat is a defeat of Stalinism and opens the way to a new revolution."

In the Spanish question, Brandler has gone over completely to the position of criminal Trotskyism. In "material" issued by the Brandler organization on the Barcelona events, the statement is made:

"It was their inalienable revolutionary duty to commence the fight against the endeavor to disarm them. As for conquest of power

\* The S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party) is an organization of Left-wing Socialists that split from the Social-Democratic Party of Germany some years before Hitler came to power.

by the working class, it was still conceivable without armed force up to May 3, and Nin stated so publicly. This is no longer the case after the May fighting."

This is the theory of armed uprising in the rear of the Republican People's Army fighting against Franco. Starting with rejection of the People's Front, this broad common front of all anti-fascist forces against the common fascist enemy, Brandler is turning more and more openly to Trotskyite counter-revolution. In this same document, he denounces the policy of the People's Front, the Communist International, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and calls the P.O.U.M. the "vanguard of the Spanish proletariat." To Mr. Brandler, the hundreds of thousands of Communists and Socialists fighting on the civil war fronts are "democratic counter-revolutionaries." Brandler vilifies the necessity for creating a unified People's Army and a firmly organized war industry in order to win the war and defend the revolution by circulating this lie:

"The strangling of the Spanish revolution is to form a bridge toward an imperialist compromise between England-France and Germany-Italy."

On May 30, 1936, the Brandlerite "Bureau of the I.U.C.O."\* wrote: "The Trotskyite policy of revolutionary phrases is in reality counter-revolutionary"—and today, the bankrupt Brandlerites have descended to this Trotskyist policy themselves! Today, like parrots, they repeat the slanders recited to them by the Trotskyite Gestapo agents: that the heroic strug-

\* The I.U.C.O. is the international organization of the Lovestoneite-Brandlerite anti-Communist renegades.

gle of the Spanish Communists and Socialists against the storm attack of fascist hirelings, this struggle under the drumfire of Krupp cannon and the bombs of Junkers planes, this desperately heroic defense of liberty against barbarous fascism—that this struggle for the labor movement and for all progressive people throughout the world is comparable to the Noske\* policy of 1918-1920. Never has history been falsified more shamelessly! Today, the heroes of the struggle in Spain are the only true descendants of the Spartacus\*\* fighters of 1918-1920, carrying on the struggle in accordance with present-day conditions and creating, by the victory of the democratic people's revolution in Spain over fascism, an important prerequisite condition for the further advance of socialism on an international scale.

What is true of Brandler's attitude on the P.O.U.M. question is largely true of the attitude of the S.A.P. leaders as well who have been infected by Trotskyism. They refuse to understand the importance of the present stage in Spain, the slogans and forms of struggle of the democratic people's revolution. By making Mensheviks like Diamant their "experts" on the Soviet Union, they take a more and more open Trotskyite counter-revolutionary position on the question of

\* Noske. Gustav Noske was the German Social-Democrat who, as Minister of War, drowned the proletarian revolution in Germany in blood, being directly responsible for the slaughter of more than 20,000 revolutionary workers in 1918-1920.

\*\* The Spartacus League, founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, was the underground organization of Left-wing German Socialists during the World War, out of which the Communist Party of Germany was formed.

the Soviet Union too. On December 13, 1926, Clara Zetkin gave them and all other Trotskyite enemies of the Soviet Union an answer that holds good for all time:

"I believe that I can stake this old head of mine upon this: if Marx and Engels were still alive today, they would reject the question: 'is socialism in a single country possible?' by pointing with admiration to the achievements of the Russian proletariat, to life and developments in the Soviet Union. They would say: 'here, in the labor, in the struggle of millions, there stands before us the proof of the possibility of socialism and of socialist construction'."

#### PURGE THE LABOR MOVEMENT OF TROTSKYISM

It is no accident that all the degenerate elements expelled from the Communist Party go over to Trotskyism. There they find protection and shelter, and willing allies in the struggle against communism and the Soviet Union. The so-called "conciliators," who no longer have anything in common with the opposition of that name within the Party, which was beaten in an inner-Party discussion in 1928-1929, have also followed this path. Under the leadership of the adventurer and renegade Karl Volk, they have caused the arrest of a number of Party functionaries through their failure to observe the rules of underground work in their efforts to penetrate into the Party apparatus within Germany, because they were connected with all sorts of rotten and Trotskyite elements. Heinz Neumann has also revealed his true character: he degenerated completely in the last few years and, together with Rememe and Schubert, placed himself at the disposal of the Trotskyite-fascist

elements for the service of the Gestapo, thus becoming a cowardly traitor to the working class. Some elements of this sort, who were no longer bound up with the work of our Party and the revolutionary movement, have, in the course of time, allied themselves with all kinds of degenerate elements and have descended to assisting enemy fascist agents. It is not enough that such elements are thrown out of the Communist Party; *it is necessary to purge the entire labor movement of them.*

The comrades of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany ought to understand that Trotskyism is a provocative menace to their party and their youth organization as well. When three members of the Paris organization of the Young Socialist Labor League openly champion the position and the arguments of Trotskyism, it proves that the Trotskyites have wormed their way into this youth organization. Tolerance of them would mean tolerating a channel from this organization to agents of fascism.

Though it is obvious that the Brandlerites are supporting the Trotskyite policy and are waging a struggle against the Spanish People's Front and against the German People's Front, a leading Social-Democrat in Valencia endeavored to obtain the release of the Brandlerites Bolze and Brauning, arrested there. He told the governmental authorities there that these two were adherents of a Communist group in Germany and that both of them enjoyed the reputation of absolute reliability in the German labor movement. In reality, however, both of them were expelled from the

Communist Party of Germany as Brandlerites years ago, which was known to that leading Social-Democrat. Why, then, does he deceive the Spanish authorities by declaring that they are adherents of a Communist group? Whoever supports enemies of the People's Front, either out of light-mindedness or because of group interests, injures the cause of the common struggle against fascism.

The Tukhachevsky trial showed every sensible person that all of Hitler's war policy speculated upon the support of Trotskyism and of the condemned generals allied with it, who wanted to stage a Bonapartist coup d'etat against the Soviet Union. In many acute situations, war and peace depend on whether fascism thinks it is certain of the support of such provocateurs—provocateurs who, like Trotsky and Maslow, are endeavoring to bring about "Russia's defeat as a defeat of Stalinism" in a coming war. And therefore it is with poor grace that the *Neue Vorwärts* glorifies none other than Mr. Willie Schlamm as the representative of the "new humanism" in its campaign against the Soviet Union, for it has not been forgotten that this Mr. Schlamm, as editor of the *Neue Weltbuehne*, published the articles in 1933 in which Trotsky advocated the necessity of the violent overthrow of the Soviet government and of individual terror in

the Soviet Union. When the *Neue Vorwärts* praises a Schlamm, who has become in this manner an accomplice of the Trotskyite murderers, it strikes a blow against the illegal fighters in Germany.

Comrade Ernst Thaelmann taught us: "A clear understanding that provocation and stool-pigeons are a component of the bourgeoisie's system for breaking up the revolutionary labor movement, and that, as a result, the struggle against these agent-provocateurs must be a daily component of our revolutionary class struggle against capitalism." Today, peace cannot be defended if the Trotskyite provocateurs are tolerated. One cannot fight against Gestapo spies successfully and in common (and let the people of the "I.S.K." group, in particular, keep this in mind), if one comes forward at the same time as a protector of the Trotskyite-Gestapo agents. One cannot defend Spain against fascist intervention if one does not combat Trotskyism at the same time.

Therefore, our conclusion must read: *purge the labor movement and the whole anti-fascist movement of Trotskyism!* Break with Trotskyism and P.O.U.M. policies in the S.A.P.! Whoever supports Trotskyism supports fascism, consciously or unconsciously. Fascism cannot be defeated without the destruction of Trotskyism.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### THE PERIOD OF WAR COMMUNISM

*The Period of War Communism, by V. I. Lenin. International Publishers, New York. 460 pp., \$2.*

**T**HE PERIOD OF WAR COMMUNISM is the eighth in a series of Lenin's selected works to comprise twelve volumes. This volume, appearing for the first time in English, deals with the general problems of the period of War Communism, the policy of the Communist Party toward the peasants, economic organization and administration, and the revision of the Party program. The compiled reports, speeches, and articles cover the period of 1918 to 1920. When measured in terms of years, this period seems short; but these were not ordinary years. This was the period when the young Soviet Republic was fighting for its life; combating famine, disease and sabotage; fighting on all fronts against invading White-Guardist and imperialist armies. When viewed in this light, each year contained the essence of many decades.

War Communism, Lenin pointed out, was only a temporary policy, called forth by the needs of war, under actual historic conditions. The chief slogan of the moment was "Everything for victory, everything for the war!" The realization of this slogan decided the existence of the Soviet Republic.

Industry was in a state of collapse, there was an acute shortage of fuel and raw materials; industrial and transport equipment was worn out; in the cities there was a food shortage; while the best workers were at the front. In this situation, the government concentrated all industry in the hands of the state, set food quotas, abolished free trade, in order to combat profiteering. The principal task was to distribute properly supplies on hand and to insure that the workers and the Red Army had the necessary supplies. To realize this, the government introduced

quotas for deliveries of agricultural products and grain. The peasants delivered all their surplus in the form of quotas, retaining only the quantity of grain strictly fixed by the government for their own consumption and for sowing purposes. This policy of War Communism was an expression of the military and political alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry.

War Communism had its positive aspects, in that it guaranteed victory for the proletariat. But Lenin pointed out that this policy was not and could not be a correct economic policy capable of meeting the economic demands of the proletariat under different conditions. The peasants received very little in return. That is why Lenin said:

"We admit ourselves debtors of the peasant. We took grain from him in return for currency notes, we took it from him on credit. We must repay that debt, and we shall repay it when we have restored our industry." (P. 266.)

This debt has certainly been repaid by the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. The difference between town and country, between workmen and peasants is disappearing as the socialist system is advancing through new victorious stages on the road to Communism.

In *The Period of War Communism* we see Lenin, the master dialectician, solving the most difficult problems, the simple and the complex; problems concerning industry, agriculture, famine, cooperatives, trade unions, the Red Army, and a host of international problems.

Under his leadership, the Bolsheviks were able to defeat all those who saw things only in detached forms and derived their conclusions on the basis of abstract formulas. When people were subject to despair, Lenin was firm.

"We have gained a number of successes both on the external, the military front, and on the domestic front, in the fight against the exploiters, in the fight against sabotage, and in the fight for the arduous, painful,

thorny, but *true* path of socialist construction. We are on the verge of a complete and decisive victory both in the Russian and in the international arenas." (P. 24.)

When Lenin proposed the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace, he was accused of "opportunism." Among the group that could not understand how to take advantage of imperialist contradictions and fought Lenin, were Trotsky, Bukharin and other so-called "Lefts" who have since found themselves in the enemy camp. As regards opportunism, Lenin says:

"Opportunism means sacrificing fundamental interests in order to gain temporary and partial advantages."

As regards the Brest-Litovsk peace, Lenin points out:

"At that time we did not sacrifice any fundamental interests. We sacrificed subsidiary interests and preserved the fundamental interests." (P. 281.)

Lenin saw at the time of Brest that there were two gigantically powerful groups of imperialist pirates: the German-Austrian group and the Anglo-Franco-American group. They were engaged in a furious struggle which was to decide the immediate future of the world, Lenin said:

"The fact that we were able to hold on, although from the military standpoint we were a nonentity possessing nothing and steadily sinking into the depths of chaos economically, the fact that we were able to hold on, this miracle, was entirely due to the fact that we took proper advantage of the hostility between German and American imperialism. We made a tremendous concession to German imperialism and by making a concession to one imperialism we at once safeguarded ourselves against the persecution of both imperialisms." (P. 280.)

History has well confirmed the correctness of Lenin's viewpoint. When the question of giving concessions to foreign capital came up, again the panic-mongers whined about the "betrayal" of the revolution. What did Lenin say? He stated that he was glad that among the rank and file of the population there was a certain suspicion of concessions; for this meant that the people were vigilant and wanted to safeguard the revolution.

"Concessions do not mean peace with capitalism, but war on a new plane. The war of guns and tanks is replaced by economic war. True, it too harbors new difficulties and new dangers, but I am certain that we shall overcome them." (P. 298.)

When the economic and military problems were intensified and became more pressing, the question of using bourgeois experts in military affairs and industry aroused a great deal of discussion. Some saw in these experts only out-and-out saboteurs. Lenin had another viewpoint, the viewpoint of the Party. He said:

"We have been steeled in the struggle, we have the forces and we are united, and we must carry on our work of organization, making use of the knowledge and experience of the experts. This is an indispensable condition, without which socialism cannot be built. Socialism cannot be built unless advantage is taken of the heritage of capitalist culture. There is nothing communism can be built from except what has been left us by capitalism.

"We must now build practically, and we have to create a communist society with the hands of our enemies." (Pp. 36-37.)

Since the period Lenin refers to, under the leadership of Stalin, the Bolsheviks have developed tens of thousands of proletarian experts.

The Trotskyists have distorted the history of Bolshevism. They have even succeeded in misleading some well-meaning people to believe that the struggle of the Soviet government and the C.P.S.U. against wreckers, diversionists, spies, etc., is a campaign on the part of Stalin to destroy the "old Bolsheviks." A careful reading of *The Period of War Communism* will convince all honest people that, not only is such a conception false and slanderous, but that Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Tomsky, Piatakov, Trotsky, Bukharin, *et al*, were time and time again in the opposite camp fighting Lenin and the Party; that the degradation was not accidental.

A group operating under the banner of "Democratic Centralism" fought Lenin and opposed the proposals of individual responsibility and management in industry. In the trade union field, in spite of the pressing demands of the civil war, Rykov and Tomsky fought for collective authority, against defi-

nite responsibility, and even succeeded for a short time in influencing the Communist fraction in the trade unions against Lenin. Trotsky flew to the other extreme and wanted to impose military forms upon the workers in industry in place of socialist forms of labor. The Soviet government during the civil war did organize labor armies; *i.e.*, Red Army men were used in industry and in agriculture, subject to mobilization for transfer to places of the greatest need at a given time. These, however, were temporary measures. The Soviet Republic was in constant danger of attack; if these armies were demobilized and sent home, it would take months and years to remobilize them, considering the state of transport at that time. Trotsky wanted to make these labor armies permanent—a bureaucratic, dangerous distortion of socialism.

We cannot in this inadequate review deal with the numerous questions in *The Period of War Communism*, but there are a few problems that need emphasis. Among these is the question of the relation of the proletariat to the peasantry. Lenin shows that in order to abolish classes the people must first overthrow the landlords and the capitalists. He further states that this is only part of the task toward the realization of socialism.

"In order to solve the second and most difficult part of the problem, the proletariat, after having defeated the bourgeoisie, must unswervingly conduct its policy toward the peasantry along the following fundamental lines: The proletariat must separate, demarcate the peasant toiler from the peasant owner, the peasant worker from the peasant huckster, the peasant who labors from the peasant who profiteers.

"In this demarcation lies the whole *essence* of socialism." (P. 9.)

Here it is well to observe that the opposition of the Right opportunists led by Bukharin, which has now taken on the character of counter-revolution, wrecking and assassination, was based upon an anti-Leninist approach to this question. In his struggle against Stalin and the Party, Bukharin developed the "theory" that it is possible for the kulak to grow peacefully into socialism. Quite contrary was the position of Lenin.

"The kulaks are rabid foes of the Soviet government. Either the kulaks massacre vast numbers of workers, or the workers ruth-

lessly suppress the uprisings of the predatory minority of the people against the government of the toilers. There can be no middle course. Peace is out of the question: even if they have quarreled, the kulak can easily come to terms with the landlord, the Tsar, and the priest, but with the working class *never*.

"That is why we call the fight against the kulaks the *last*, decisive fight." (P. 130.)

In the fight against the Central Committee, the Right opportunists even began to deny that there was such a thing as a kulak. Bukharin stated at one time during this struggle that what is termed a kulak in the Soviet Union may only be a poor or middle farmer in another country.

The counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and Bukharinites, although using different labels, and arriving through different approaches, meet on common ground. The Trotskyites wanted to treat every middle peasant as a kulak, as a foe, instead of a friend. They showed a complete lack of faith in the proletariat's ability to lead the middle peasants. In the present period they viciously oppose the People's Front because it is an expression of the solidarity of all the toilers.

In speaking of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry included, Lenin said:

"The task of the proletariat in relation to this class—or to these social elements—is to lead it and to strive to establish its influence over it. The proletariat must lead the vacillating and unstable." (P. 12.)

Many pages in the book are devoted to the problem of the peasantry. Lenin stated:

"We are theoretically agreed that the middle peasant is not our enemy, that he requires special treatment and that in his case the situation will vary in accordance with numerous accessory factors of the revolution." (P. 30.)

Taking into consideration these factors, Lenin formulated the Communist position in that period:

"Close alliance and complete fusion with the poor peasants; concessions and agreements with the middle peasants; ruthless suppression of the kulaks, those blood-suckers, vampires, robbers of the people and profiteers, who have grown rich on starvation—such is the program of the class conscious worker. Such is the policy of the working class." (Pp. 131-132.)

It was this correct policy of the Party in its relation to the peasants that made it possible for the civil war to be won and that later, through the New Economic Policy, consolidated the alliance between the working class and the masses of middle peasants and paved the way for the "great change" of 1929. On the basis of universal collectivization in agriculture, it was possible to raise and carry through the slogan of liquidating the kulaks as a class, to involve the middle peasants in this movement and so to transform the relationship in the countryside that the collective farm peasant became the main support of the proletariat. It was this correct approach that stimulated and made possible socialist forms of production in agriculture with the Soviet and collective farms predominating.

\* \* \*

In the struggle on revising the Party program at the time of the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Bukharin and a group under his leadership wanted to strike out from the program the analysis of capitalism. Bukharin argued that inasmuch as we were now in the era of imperialism, we might as well be "practical" and limit the description to imperialism. This was more than a mere difference of opinion.

In this struggle for the correct Party program, Lenin said:

"I think it is theoretically wrong to strike out the old program, which describes the development from commodity production to capitalism. There is nothing wrong in it. That is the way it happened, and that is the way it is happening now; for commodity production gave birth to capitalism and the latter led to imperialism. This is the general perspective of world history, and the fundamentals of socialism should not be forgotten." (Pp. 314-315.)

And again Lenin points out:

"If one holds the point of view that there is such a thing as integral imperialism without the old capitalism, the wish is father to the thought." (P. 338.)

This conception led Bukharin to his anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist theory about "organized capitalism," which attributed an exaggerated strength to imperialism, echoing the words of Hilferding and other Social-

Democratic reformists. These ideas of Bukharin were in turn reflected by Lovestone in the United States.

At the time of the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Bukharin minimized the dangers of capitalism and capitalist elements. In 1927 in his struggle against Stalin he defended the kulak. Lenin continuously emphasized the danger of capitalist revival and always pointed out, as did Comrade Stalin in his recent speech on "Mastering Bolshevism," that the capitalist remnants have international support by virtue of the capitalist encirclement.

In his report to the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, December 22, 1920, Lenin stressed the following:

"As long as we live in a small-peasant country, there is a surer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than there is for communism. This must be borne in mind. Anyone who has carefully observed life in the countryside, as compared with life in the towns, knows that we have not torn up the roots of capitalism and have not undermined the foundation, the basis of the internal enemy. The latter depends on small-scale production, and there is only one way of undermining it, namely, to place the economy of the country, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, the technical basis of large-scale production. And it is only in electricity that we have such a basis." (P. 277.)

Comrade Stalin, best co-worker and pupil of Lenin, clearly understood these dangers, as well as the Leninist way of overcoming them. Under his leadership socialism has been established in the U.S.S.R. And the question very often raised by Lenin, "Who will win?" has been definitely decided in favor of socialism.

In the capitalist countries, and even in the Soviet Union, there was a misconception regarding the whole idea of communism. Some people thought that War Communism was a permanent policy and must remain unchanged. When the New Economic Policy was introduced, these same people considered it an "abandonment of communism." Such ideas and conceptions as history has demonstrated had nothing in common with Marxism.

Lenin knew the limits of War Communism, and was always looking ahead to the development of real socialist forms. He was intensely concerned with promoting electrifi-

cation, and he helped to initiate the plan to electrify town and countryside, as well as other economic plans.

When the lower organizations of the Communist Party in Moscow, in May, 1919, introduced Communist subbotniks (Saturdays) as a method of volunteer labor to combat economic disruption and assist the defense of the country, Lenin considered this "the beginning of a change of historic importance"—a change which is comparable perhaps only to the movement of Stakhanovism in the U.S.S.R. at the present time.

Lenin always warned against the promiscuous use of the word "communist," in order not to give a false impression that the communist system is already established. But in the subbotniks, Lenin saw "in this extremely small phenomenon that something communistic began to manifest itself." In his report to the Moscow City Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), on December 20, 1919, he said:

"If we were to ask what the present economic system in Soviet Russia is, we should have to say that it is a process in which the foundations of socialism are being laid in large-scale production, that it is the remolding of the old capitalist economic system in the face of the stubborn resistance of capitalism manifested in an immense variety of forms." (P. 241.)

Later on, Lenin says:

"But there is still nothing communistic in our economic system. 'Communist' features begin only with the appearance of subbotniks, that is, the unpaid work of individual persons, unregulated by any government or state, performed on a wide scale for the public good. This is not help rendered to a neighbor, such as was always practiced in the countryside; this is labor to satisfy a general need of the state, organized on a wide scale, and unpaid. It would therefore be more correct to apply the word 'communist,' not only to the name of the Party, but also and exclusively, to such economic phenomena in our social life as are 'communist' in fact." (*Ibid.*)

He points out that socialism is the society which grows directly out of capitalism, that it is the first form of the new society, while communism is a higher form.

"Communism, on the other hand, is the name we apply to a system under which people become accustomed to the performance

of public duties without any specific machinery of compulsion, when unpaid work for the common good becomes the general phenomenon." (P. 239.)

It will be clear to the reader that War Communism was not the higher form of communism that Marx and Lenin often referred to.

In *The Period of War Communism* we therefore see not only a record of actual historical data and events, but a deep theoretical analysis of the basis for the society now being built in the U.S.S.R., where the last remnants of classes are disappearing, with new forms of a higher development coming into being, already finding expression in the new Stalinist Constitution. The foundations of these higher forms will be found in the struggles of the period of War Communism. It is well to remember this fact, especially on this twentieth anniversary of the proletarian revolution, which we are now celebrating.

MORRIS CHILDS.

## FEUCHTWANGER SAYS "YES"

MOSCOW 1937, by Lion Feuchtwanger, *The Viking Press, New York, 151 pp., \$2.*

"MY Visit Described for My Friends" reads the sub-title of Lion Feuchtwanger's book. "And for My Enemies Too, Old and New," the author might have added. In addition to the Nazis, who burned his books (while publishing them for export in order to rob him of his income abroad), Feuchtwanger has made some new enemies. The final sentence of his book must have had the effect of a thunderbolt among open and hidden enemies of the Soviet Union. After breathing the "stale and foul" air of what is called "Western civilization" with its half-hearted and vague declarations against fascism and the fascist attack on Spain (Feuchtwanger clearly has in mind the *governments* of the Western countries) he concludes:

"One breathes again when one comes from this oppressive atmosphere of a counterfeit democracy and hypocritical humanism into the invigorating atmosphere of the Soviet Union. Here there is no hiding behind mysti-

cal, meaningless slogans, but a sober ethicthe problems with which the formation of this new Socialist State confronts them." prevails, really 'more *geometrico constructa*,' and this ethics alone determines the plan according to which the Union is being built up. Thus they are building there by a new method and are using completely new material. But the time of experimentation lies far behind them. There are still everywhere debris and dirty scaffolding, but already the framework of the mighty building is rising up pure and clean-cut. It is a very Tower of Babel, but one which wants not to bring the people nearer to the sky, but the sky nearer to the people. And the work has succeeded. They have not allowed their languages to become entangled; they all understand one another.

"It does one good after all the compromise of the West to see an achievement such as this, to which a man can say: Yes, yes, yes, with all his heart; and because it seemed ungrateful to keep this 'Yes' within me, I wrote this book."

Feuchtwanger says "Yes, yes, yes" with all his heart—three outstanding reasons for the cold reception accorded to his book by the capitalist press as well as by "liberal" magazines, which gave so much prominence to the slanders of Andre Gide against the Soviet Union.

Here was a real test. A writer famed the world over, having tasted the capitalist blessings of Western Europe and America, writes his sincerest opinion about the Soviet Union. Was it not reasonable to expect from publications proclaiming to be seeking nothing but the truth to permit their readers to acquaint themselves with this opinion, particularly after they had not lost a moment in publicizing the Gide book against the Soviet Union as well as other attacks? Or, perhaps, it was not reasonable to expect. . . .

Some people hiding behind the label of "impartiality" are mercilessly exposed in Feuchtwanger's book. Some of these people have been particularly hit by the last chapter of the book dealing with the "disappointment" of certain intellectuals in the Soviet Union. Feuchtwanger declares:

"For many this disappointment was certainly honest. Nevertheless, there are also intellectuals to whom it was welcome. The violence with which these people reacted to the trials undoubtedly springs from some innermost part of their being impervious to the dictates of reason. It springs from the uneasiness which the mere existence of the Soviet Union causes them, from uneasiness about

Feuchtwanger touches upon something which will explain the attitude of many a "disillusioned" intellectual. Some of these became "impartial" to the point of ignoring his book. Others turned to slander.

Feuchtwanger mentions Andre Gide by name on but two occasions, in discussing Stakhanovism and the Soviet youth. With little effort he explodes the tales of Gide that Moscow people are "lazy" and that Soviet youth is "arrogant." Gide lamented that he had been questioned by Soviet young people as to whether there was a subway in Paris and whether Soviet films were shown in France. He was shocked by such "arrogance." But the mere citing of this silly nagging is insufficient. The Moscow subway happens to bear the name of the Paris subway: Metro. Soviet newspapers have on numerous occasions made comparisons between the Paris Metro and its Moscow namesake. The success achieved by Soviet films abroad is a topic often encountered in the Soviet press. Small wonder Feuchtwanger brushes aside the slander of Gide with so much ease.

Gide was lavish in his praise while *inside* the Soviet Union, only to turn slanderer *outside*. Feuchtwanger, in the land, made ample use of the right of everybody in the Soviet Union to criticize. He found an open ear among the leaders of the government and the Party, including Stalin, who granted him an interview. Feuchtwanger criticized. He was not in agreement with everything. He still complains that the artists are "tied to the state's apron strings." He grants that "the Soviet Union is under the shadow of an immediately imminent war." He exults in the building of a new Tower of Babel which brings "the sky nearer to the people." A new society is being built. Still, he does not see that the artist must enlist his art in this lofty task, must help defend this young new society. Feuchtwanger does not yet see the freedom in the artist's self-integration with the fashioning of the new world. Feuchtwanger has not outlived everything. But he has found that when people in the Soviet Union say "Stalin," "they have in the back of their minds increasing prosperity and increasing culture." He has become convinced that

"Stalin is flesh of the people's flesh" and that "of him it can be said, more truly than of any other statesman I know, that he speaks the people's language." Feuchtwanger has become further convinced from what he saw at the trial of Radek, Piatakov, et al, that Trotsky has become the ally of fascism. There is no question in his mind but that Radek and his co-defendants were guilty of the crimes of which they were convicted.

Feuchtwanger quotes from Emil Ludwig's book *Gifts from Life* to prove "Trotsky's arrangements with the fascists." In this book, written as early as 1931, Ludwig reports the following conversation he had with Trotsky on the Isle of Prinkipo, near Istanbul. Trotsky stated that his own followers were "scattered and therefore difficult to estimate."

LUDWIG: "And when could it come together?"

TROTSKY: "When an opportunity is presented from outside—perhaps a war or a new European intervention, when the weakness of the government would act as a stimulus."

LUDWIG: "But they are least likely to let you out when the others want to let you in?"

Here, Feuchtwanger quotes Ludwig as stating, there was "a pause of contempt." Then, the answer came.

TROTSKY: "Ah, ways could be found."

At this point "even Madame Trotsky has to smile," Ludwig adds.

Feuchtwanger pondered over Trotsky's contemplated "opportunity"—war and intervention against the Soviet Union—and, in the light of recent events and of what he saw and heard at the Radek trial he concludes:

"This is Trotsky's opinion on the likelihood of Trotsky's having come to an arrangement with the fascists."

Feuchtwanger's book abounds with apt characterizations of this arch-bandit and pyromaniac, Trotsky.

In special chapters Feuchtwanger praises the solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union, the real democracy of that invigorating country. Having himself suffered from the barbaric racial "theories" of Nazism, he could not fail to give prominence in his book to this glorious achievement of workers' rule, the solution of the national and racial question, something which people of the

Gide type so lightly pass by. Having tasted the democracy of Weimar and of the Western countries, he became convinced of the correctness of Lenin's formula that "all talk of liberty and equality is self-deception . . . so long as the question of the ownership of the means of production remains unsolved."

Feuchtwanger had the occasion to see how the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the national and racial question was put into practice. He writes:

". . . Stalin, the great practical psychologist, has worked the miracle of mobilizing the patriotism of many peoples for the ends of international socialism. . . . Stalin's formula, 'national in form, international in substance,' has today been translated into reality. The same Socialism is rendered by many languages of the Union in many forms, national in expression, international in essence. Affectionately the national peculiarities of the autonomous republics are fostered, language, art, folklore of every kind. Nations which hitherto knew only the spoken word have been given writing and an alphabet. Everywhere national museums have been founded, institutes for the scientific study of national traditions, and national opera houses and theatres of a high standard. I have witnessed the enthusiasm with which the people of Moscow, although thoroughly spoilt as theatre goers, received the Georgian opera when it visited their Great Theatre."

Feuchtwanger, hounded by the Nazis both as progressive writer and as Jew, having also come in contact with anti-Semitic propaganda in countries outside of Germany, exulted in the solution of "the ancient, vexatious, and apparently insoluble Jewish question." He tells of the achievements of the Jews under the Soviets, of their flourishing national culture, of their agricultural colonies, and of their active participation in the upbuilding of the country generally.

He depicts the "Hunger for Reading," the rise of culture in the Soviet Union. In the chapter on democracy he proves that the Soviet Union has "gone far along the path toward socialist democracy," that "it is an actual fact that there the people and not individuals are in possession of the means of production." Feuchtwanger knows that there are people who consider "carping, whining and alarming" the essence of democracy. For this reason, such people consider the Soviet Union the very opposite of democracy, synonymous, actually, with those countries where

democracy is really crushed. "Their blindness is to be pitied," Feuchtwanger states. And he proves why.

There are many elements in the short book by Lion Feuchtwanger which make it imperative reading for anybody really desiring to know the truth about the Soviet Union. It constitutes required reading material particularly for intellectuals, for writers. One is reminded of the words of Comrade Earl Browder, in his speech before the Second Congress of American Writers:

"Writers can stand aside from the struggles that are rending the world only at the price of removing themselves from the life of the people, the source of all strength in their art, and of becoming, even if unwittingly, apologists for reaction. They can join the camp of reaction only by completely abandoning all honesty and decency, not to speak of the professional stultification of all writers who join the goosestep parade of fascism which celebrates its victory by burning books. Writers cannot contribute anything to literature today except in the service of the people, against reaction, fascism and war. The ivory tower has been irretrievably shattered by the bombs of Hitler and Mussolini."

This is attested by *Moscow 1937*. Lion Feuchtwanger's ivory tower was smashed by the onslaught of Nazi barbarism, compelling him to turn publicist in order to shout his wholehearted "Yes, yes, yes" into the world. One gets the impression that certain intellectuals pretend to be shocked by this "desertion" of the ivory tower. However, since those very intellectuals acted differently with regard to Gide and others like Gide, one has ground for suspicion that they are really disturbed by what Feuchtwanger has told them.

Whether Feuchtwanger himself has bidden farewell to the ivory tower forever will have to be seen. His book is an excellent beginning along the road of struggle against reaction, against fascism and war. One may hope that, inspired by what he saw in the Soviet Union, invigorated by the air of socialism, having realized the necessity of forbidding in the Soviet Union "the agitation in support of the principle that twice two is five," he will cast off his ivory tower doubts as to the role of the writer in this struggle by enlisting in that struggle with an equally wholehearted "Yes, yes, yes."

PAUL NOVICK.

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