

THE COMMUNIST

Vol. XIII.

FEBRUARY, 1934

No. 2



FROM THE CONTENTS

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the Communist Parties**

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THE COMMUNIST

*A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of
Marxism-Leninism*

Published Monthly by the

Communist Party of the United States of America

Entered as second class matter Nov. 2, 1927, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. 209

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Fascism, the Danger of War and Tasks of the Communist Parties

THESIS OF THE THIRTEENTH PLENUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

THE development of the general crisis of capitalism, after the end of the relative stabilization that was noted by the last (XII) Plenum of the Executive Committee, Communist International, has already shaken the capitalist system to a far-reaching degree all over the world.

While the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of the international proletariat and of the oppressed nations, is developing its socialist construction and raising its power to a higher and higher level, the economy of the capitalist world is falling to pieces. The noose of poverty, ruin and hunger is tightening. The bourgeoisie is furiously intensifying its economic means of exploitation by methods of fascist violence, by robbing the toiling classes and by predatory wars against other nations. But at the same time the revolutionary indignation of the toiling masses and their readiness to overthrow the intolerable yoke of the exploiting classes are growing more and more.

The tremendous strains of the internal class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, as well as of the international antagonisms, testify to the fact that the objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis have matured to such an extent that at the present time the world is closely approaching a new round of revolution and wars.

I.—FASCISM AND THE MATURING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

1. Fascism is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital. Fascism tries to secure a mass basis for monopolist capital among the petty-bourgeoisie, appealing to the peasantry, artisans, office employees and civil servants who have been thrown out of their normal course of life, and particularly to the declassed elements in the big cities also trying to penetrate into the working class.

The growth of fascism and its coming into power in Germany and in a number of other capitalist countries mean:

(a) That the revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capital are growing.

(b) That the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and of bourgeois democracy in general.

(c) That, moreover, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists both in their internal politics (the struggle against the proletariat) as well as in their foreign politics (war for the imperialist redistribution of the world).

(d) That, in view of this, capital is compelled to pass to open terrorist dictatorship within the country and to unrestrained chauvinism in foreign politics, which represents direct preparation for imperialist wars.

FASCISM BORN IN THE WOMB OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

Born in the womb of bourgeois democracy, fascism in the eyes of the capitalists is a means of saving capitalism from collapse. It is only for the purpose of deceiving and disarming the workers that social-democracy denies the fascization of bourgeois democracy and makes a contrast between the democratic countries and the countries of the fascist dictatorship in principle. On the other hand, the fascist dictatorship is not an inevitable stage of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all countries. The possibility of averting it depends upon the forces of the fighting proletariat, which are paralyzed by the corrupting influence of social-democracy more than by anything else.

2. While the general line of all bourgeois parties, including social-democracy, is towards the fascization of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the realization of this line inevitably gives rise to disagreement among them as to forms and methods of fascization. Certain bourgeois groups, particularly the social-fascists, who in practice stick at nothing in their acts of police violence against the proletariat, urge the maintenance of parliamentary forms when carrying through the fascization of the bourgeois dictatorship. The fascists, however, insist on the full or partial abolition of these old, shaken forms of bourgeois democracy, on carrying through fascization by means of the establishment of an open fascist dictatorship and by a wide application of both police violence and the terrorism of fascist gangs. Having come to power, fascism pushes aside, splits and disintegrates the other bourgeois parties (for instance, Poland), or dissolves them (Germany and Italy). This striving of fascism for political monopoly intensifies the discord and conflicts in the ranks of the ruling classes which follow from the internal contradictions in the position of the bourgeoisie who are becoming fascized.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY MAIN PROP OF BOURGEOISIE

3. The establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany has unmasked *German Social-Democracy* before the whole world. From the bloody crushing of the proletarian revolution in 1918, through an uninterrupted chain of treachery and strike-breaking, through all the coalition governments, the savage police massacres of revolutionary workers, voting for Hindenburg as the "lesser evil," to servile endeavors to cooperate openly with the fascist gangs—such is the record of German social-democracy, the leading party in the Second International.

German social-democracy was and still remains the banner-bearer of all the parties of the Second International which follow the steps of German social-democracy.

Social-democracy continues to play the role of the main social prop of the bourgeoisie also in the countries of open fascist dictatorship. In fighting against the revolutionary unity of the proletariat and against the U.S.S.R., it helps the bourgeoisie to prolong the existence of capitalism by splitting the working class. In the majority of countries, however, it is already in the process of disintegration. The radicalization of the social-democratic workers intensifies the squabbles among the leading circles of the social-fascists. Avowed neo-fascist groups are arising; "left" fragments break away and try to patch together a new two-and-one-half international. Trotsky, the lackey of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, is unsuccessfully trying to prevent the social-democratic workers coming over to the side of Communism by his despicable attempts to form a fourth international, and by spreading anti-Soviet slanders. On the basis of the sharp antagonisms between the imperialist countries, the international organization of social-democracy is disintegrating. The crisis of the Second International is a fact.

FINANCE CAPITAL CANNOT RESTORE STABILIZATION
OF CAPITALISM

4. The economic policy of the financial oligarchy for overcoming the crisis (the robbery of the workers and peasants, subsidies to the capitalists and landlords) is unable to restore the stabilization of capitalism; on the contrary, it is helping still further to disintegrate the mechanism of capitalist economy (disorganization of the money system, of the budget, state bankruptcies, a further deepening of the agrarian crisis), and to sharply intensify the fundamental contradictions of capitalism.

In this situation, all the capitalist countries are developing their war industries to unprecedented dimensions, and are adapting all

the principal branches of industry, as well as agriculture, to the needs of war. The "demand" thus created for means of extermination and destruction, combined with open inflation (U.S.A., Great Britain, and Japan), super-dumping (Japan), and hidden inflation (Germany), has in the past year caused an increase in output in some branches of industry in a number of countries (particularly iron, steel, non-ferrous metals, the chemical and textile industries). But this whipping up of production for non-productive purposes, or the speculative leaps in production on the basis of inflation, is accompanied by stagnation or a fall in production in a number of other branches (machine construction, building, the production of articles of consumption), and in the near future cannot but lead to the still greater disturbance of state finances and to a still further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

The furious struggle for foreign and colonial markets has already assumed the form of an actual international economic war.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY'S WRONG ESTIMATE OF THE CRISIS

5. Therefore, the social-democratic estimation of the present world situation as one in which capitalism has succeeded in consolidating its position, in which it is already on the path towards overcoming its general crisis, is completely wrong. As distinguished from the first wave of the fascization of capitalist states which took place at the time of the transition from a revolutionary crisis to partial stabilization, the capitalist world is now passing from the end of capitalist stabilization to a revolutionary crisis, which determines other perspectives of development of fascism and the world revolutionary movement of the toilers.

Even the most savage terror which the bourgeoisie employs, in order to suppress the revolutionary movement, cannot, in the conditions when capitalism is shaken, for long frighten the advanced strata of the toilers and restrain it from taking action; the indignation which this terror has aroused even among the majority of the workers who followed the social-democrats, makes them more susceptible to Communist agitation and propaganda. When the bourgeoisie reorganizes its tottering dictatorship on a fascist basis in order to create a firm, solid government, this, in the present conditions, leads to the strengthening, not only of its class terrorism, but also of the elements which disrupt its power, to the destruction of the authority of bourgeois law in the eyes of the broad masses, to the growth of internal friction among the bourgeoisie and to the acceleration of the collapse of its main social support—social-democracy. Finally, when the bourgeoisie tries, by an aggressive war policy, to strengthen its foreign position, it intensifies extremely in-

ternational antagonisms and the danger for capitalism which arises from them.

THE MATURING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

6. It would, therefore, be a right opportunist error to fail to see now the objective tendencies of the accelerated maturing of a revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world. But the presence and operation of these tendencies, both economic and political, do not imply that revolutionary development is proceeding upwards by itself, or unhindered without resistance from counteracting forces. Revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the fascist fury of the bourgeoisie. The question as to how soon the rule of bankrupt capitalism will be overthrown by the proletariat will be determined by the fighting preparedness of the majority of the working class, by the successful work of the Communist Parties in undermining the mass influence of social-democracy.

In the present situation, in conditions when antagonistic class forces are strained to the utmost, the growth of the revolutionary mass movement in individual capitalist countries can have a constant or level character even less than before. In *China* there is a war, intervention and revolution. In *Japan* there is the growth of the forces of revolution and the mobilization of the military fascist forces on the eve of great class conflicts. In *Spain* there is the clash between revolution and counter-revolution. In the *U.S.A.* there is a wave of mass strikes of the workers and indignation among the farmers against the bourgeois program for overcoming the crisis. In *Germany*, the revolutionary hatred of the proletariat is growing at the present moment in less open forms. There, enormous revolutionary energy is being accumulated among the masses and a new revolutionary upsurge is already beginning. The strained situation in Germany sharpens to the extreme the class relations in the neighboring countries—in *Czecho-Slovakia*, *Austria*, the *Baltic* countries, as well as in the *Scandinavian* countries, in *Holland*, *Belgium*, and in *Switzerland*. In *Poland* the mass strikes of the workers are accompanied by big revolutionary actions in the Polish rural districts. In *Bulgaria*, in spite of the terror, the majority of the working class solidly follows the Communist Party. In *Rumania* there is a big strike of railwaymen, with barricade fighting.

At the same time, the main stronghold of the world proletariat, the powerful *Land of the Soviets*, the land of the victorious working class which is making the present year into the last year of economic difficulties, raising the well-being of the toiling masses to a new and higher level by its great socialist victories, serves as an

inspiration to the toilers of all countries in their revolutionary struggle.

II.—THE IMPERIALIST PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW WORLD WAR

The growing uncertainty of the bourgeoisie as to the possibility of finding a way out of the crisis only by the intensified exploitation of the toilers of their own countries, has led the imperialists to put their main stake on war. The international situation bears all the features of the eve of a new world war.

SOVIET CHINA A BIG FACTOR OF WORLD REVOLUTION

1. The flames of a new world war are flaring up in the Pacific. The Japanese militarists, spurred on by the profound internal crisis which the bourgeois-landlord monarchy is undergoing, are continuing the predatory war against China, and with the aid of the Kuomintang are subjugating Northern China and are preparing a blow against the Mongolian People's Republic. British imperialism is stretching out its hand to the southeastern provinces of China, Tibet, Szechwan, while French imperialism is stretching out its hand towards Yunnan. The fascist military clique of Japan is acting as the battering ram against the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in China. The American, Japanese and British imperialists are behind the Kuomintang in its sixth campaign against the only people's government in China, against the Chinese Soviets. The victories of the Soviet revolution in China, the partisan war in Manchuria, the growth of the revolutionary forces in Japan and of the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, create a new front in the rear of the imperialists. The Soviet revolution in China has become a big factor of the World Revolution.

UNLEASHING COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY WAR AGAINST U.S.S.R.

2. The Japanese militarists are calling to the German fascists and the British imperialists to unleash a counter-revolutionary war *against the U.S.S.R.*, from the East and from the West. Pursuing a policy of continuous provocation against the U.S.S.R. and contemplating the seizure of Soviet territory, the fascist militarists of Japan are acting as an outpost in a counter-revolutionary war against the Land of the Soviets. At the same time, German fascism is inviting the international bourgeoisie to purchase its national-socialist mercenaries to fight against the U.S.S.R., intriguing with British, Italian and Polish imperialists (the German-Polish negotiations). The British imperialists at the present time have taken the place of the French as the chief organizers of an anti-Soviet war.

The Soviet Union has achieved considerable successes in the unswerving and firm policy of peace it has pursued in the interests of all the toilers (a number of pacts of non-aggression, a number of new recognitions, the definition of the aggressor, the forced raising of the embargo of Great Britain). The Land of the Soviets is the only bulwark of peace and of the independence of the weak states against the attacks of the predatory imperialists. By its proletarian policy, it is winning more and more the confidence of the toilers of the whole world and of the oppressed nations. Retarding the outbreak of a new war by the gigantic growth of its power, the U.S.S.R. invokes upon itself a new wave of hatred on the part of the most reactionary and aggressive groups of the imperialists.

FASCIST GERMANY CHIEF INSTIGATOR OF WAR IN EUROPE

3. The fascist government of Germany, which is the chief instigator of war in Europe, is provoking trouble in Danzig, in Austria, in the Saar, in the Baltic countries and in Scandinavia, and on the pretext of fighting against Versailles, is trying to form a bloc for the purpose of bringing about a new bloody carving up of Europe for the benefit of German imperialism. Imperialist blocs, headed either by France or Italy, or by Britain, which intrigues behind their backs, are being feverishly reorganized around the key-points of imperialist contradictions. Europe has become a powder-magazine which may explode at any moment.

British and American imperialists, availing themselves of the war alarm in Europe and the events in the Far East, are increasing their preparations for a decisive imperialist struggle for world hegemony in the Atlantic and in the Pacific.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN SUPPORT OF IMPERIALISM

4. In this situation *social-democracy* sticks at nothing in the support of the imperialist interests of its own bourgeoisie and combines this support with service to international capital against the U.S.S.R.

Japanese social-democracy and the trade union leaders, following General Araki, proclaim the civilizing mission of Japanese imperialism in Asia and justify the predatory conquests of their bourgeoisie in China on the grounds of the "interests of socialism". In England the National Laborites, in conjunction with the Conservatives, are pursuing the predatory policy of British imperialism; the Labor Party, deceiving the workers by its pseudo-opposition to the government, is striving after ministerial posts in order to continue what, in fact, is the same imperialist policy. The French Socialists (as well

as the social-democrats of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, etc.), carrying out the "sacred unity of the nation" under the slogans of "defense of democracy", and "defense against German fascism", actively participate in the preparations for war against Germany. The German social-democracy openly voted in the Reichstag for the national front of German fascism, which is preparing for a military adventure.

At the same time, the Second and Amsterdam Internationals are adapting their policy to the situation of the eve of war, trying to safeguard the interests of their own bourgeoisie and to ensure that the main blow will be directed at the U.S.S.R.; they hypocritically ask this by expressing readiness to reply to war by a general strike and a boycott, but they declare in advance that they will do so only against the government that will be declared the aggressor by the League of Nations. They pretend to be leading a boycott against goods from fascist Germany, but they persecute the workers who really carry out this boycott. Under the slogans of pacifism and of a fight against war and fascism, they act as pioneers in working up public opinion in the capitalist countries in favor of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

* * * *

The bourgeoisie wants to postpone the doom of capitalism by a criminal imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the land of victorious socialism. The great historical task of international Communism is to mobilize the broad masses against war even before war has begun, and thereby hasten the doom of capitalism. Only a Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war for the triumph of revolution can assure the victory of a revolution that breaks out in connection with war.

III. THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

In the conditions of the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis, when the bourgeoisie is trying to divert the ferment, the discontent and the indignation of the masses into the channel of *fascization and war* in order to strengthen its dictatorship, the main task of the Communists is to direct this mass movement towards the fight for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the exploiting classes.

A. THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCIST IDEOLOGY

The Communists must:

Daily and concretely expose chauvinism to the masses in every country and oppose it by proletarian internationalism; in the imperialist countries come out determinedly for the independence of the colonies, for the liberation of the dependent nations from all

national oppression; in the keypoints of national antagonisms Communists must struggle against imperialist occupation and violence, for the right of self-determination (Upper Silesia, the Saar, Northern Bohemia, etc.), coming out in all these regions, and also in Austria and Danzig, against the chauvinism of their national bourgeoisie and against incorporation in the hangmen's "third empire" of German fascism.

Widely popularize the solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R. and the tremendous economic, social and cultural successes achieved by the peoples which were liberated by the October Revolution.

B. THE FIGHT AGAINST THE FASCIZATION OF THE
BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENTS AND AGAINST WAR

In the fight against the fascization of the so-called "democratic" countries, the Communist Parties must first of all brush aside the fatalist, defeatist line of the inevitability of a fascist dictatorship and imperialist war and also the opportunist underestimation of the tempo of fascization and the threat of imperialist war, which condemn the Communist Parties to passivity.

In carefully explaining the economic and political slavery which the fascist dictatorship is bringing to the toilers, showing the masses that the fascists are not socialists and are not bringing in a new order, but are lackeys, lickspittles of capital, the Communists must rouse the masses in time for the defense of the trade unions, of the labor press, of the workers' clubs, of the freedom to strike and of workers' meetings, organizing protest demonstrations, strikes, and setting up fighting self-defense detachments to resist the terrorist gangs.

In the fight against the fascist dictatorship, the Communists must:

(a) Taking as the starting point the defense of the *every-day* economic and political interests of the toilers, rouse the masses against the fascist dictatorship which deceived the workers, the peasants and the urban toilers; expose the demagogy and all provocations of fascism (the burning of the Reichstag, the faking of the Reichstag elections, etc.), stirring up strikes and leading the proletariat up to mass political strikes; (b) Penetrate all the *fascist mass organizations* and also carry on revolutionary work in the forced-labor camps; while fighting against the revolutionary workers leaving the fascist trade unions individually, but not calling upon the workers to join the fascist trade unions, the Communists must utilize all mass movements as well as all manifestations of discontent shown by the masses in the fascist trade unions in order to form and consolidate *independent class trade unions*, while at the same time continuing their revolutionary work inside the fascist organ-

izations; (c) Expose in the eyes of the *peasants* the policy which fascism pursues in the interests of the landlords and the kulaks, illustrating this by concrete examples from their own farm life; join the mass fascist organizations in the rural districts in order to split off the toiling peasants; organize the *agricultural proletariat* in independent trade unions which are to serve as the main lever for the whole work in the rural districts.

In fighting *against war*, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, concentrate their forces in each country, at the *vital parts of the war machine* of imperialism.

In addition to increased agitation, the Communist Parties must by all means in their power ensure the practical organization of *mass action* (increasing the work among the railwaymen, seamen and harbor workers, preventing the shipping of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries, organizing demonstrations against military maneuvers, etc) and must *intensify political educational work in the army and in the navy*.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all the workers and the toilers of the world self-sacrificingly to defend the U.S.S.R. against the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the imperialists, and to defend the Chinese revolution and its Soviet power from imperialist intervention.

C. AGAINST SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND FOR A UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW

In their fight against *social-democracy*, the Communists must prove to the workers that the new bankruptcy of social-democracy and the Second International was historically inevitable. While carefully exposing to the masses and refuting the hypocritical and treacherous sophistries of social-democracy, the Communists must win over the social-democratic workers for active revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Parties.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. fully approves the appeal for a united front issued by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I., and the position of the Political Secretariat, E.C.C.I., in the correspondence with the British Independent Labor Party. Social-democracy, which split the working class by its treachery at the time of the imperialist war and the October Revolution, has in all countries, in accordance with directives of the Second International, refused the offers made by the Communist Parties for united working class action, and sabotaged the united anti-fascist and anti-war movements created in Amsterdam and Paris, and in the face of fascism and war, striven to deepen the split in the ranks of the proletariat.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all Sections of the Communist International persistently to fight for the realization of a united militant front with the social-democratic workers,—in spite of and against the will of the treacherous leaders of social-democracy.

The Plenum fully approves the resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of April 1, 1933, on the situation in Germany and the political line pursued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, headed by Comrade Thaelmann, before and at the time of the fascist coup. The Plenum notes the heroic Bolshevik struggle waged by the Communist Party of Germany against the fascist dictatorship.

IV. THE TASKS OF MASS WORK AND THE STRENGTHENING
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

The fulfilment of these fundamental tasks demands the genuine reorganization of the whole of the *mass work* of the Communist Parties, especially the work in the factories and trade unions, which still represents their weakest sector. In the situation when the toilers are in a state of great ferment, the Communists, while taking into account the moods of the masses, must formulate *slogans and demands* in such a way as to make them arise from the present level of the movement; at the same time they must show the workers the revolutionary way out. This means:

a) That the content and language of *agitation and the press* must henceforth be addressed to the broadest strata of the proletariat and the toilers, showing the face of the Communist Parties in both agitation and in mass actions (demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions).

b) *Securing within the shortest time possible a decisive turn to the work in the factories*, concentrating the forces of the Party organization in the decisive enterprises and raising the political level of the leadership given by the factory nuclei to the daily class struggles.

c) Putting an end to the opportunist, defeatist neglect of *trade union work* and in particular work inside the reformist trade unions and the mass fascist and Christian trade unions, in accordance with the directives given by the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on work inside the trade unions.

d) Really developing *mass work among the unemployed*, carrying on an untiring fight for social insurance, for all kinds of municipal relief.

e) Intensifying revolutionary *work in the rural districts*, opposing the landlord-kulak slogan of a "united countryside" by the

class slogans of the toilers and by the agrarian program of the Soviet revolution; at the same time, developing the fight for all the partial demands of the peasantry, at the same time opposing the kulak demands which conflict with the interests of the proletariat and the village poor; obtaining a foothold (trade unions of agricultural workers, peasant committees) among the farm laborers, poor peasants and the semi-proletarian elements of the villages; to win over the basic masses of the small and middle peasants.

f) Increasing the *mass work among women*, at the same time promoting and training even now, a body of active Party women, who, during the war, could in a number of cases replace mobilized comrades.

g) Putting an end to the *narrowness of the Y.C.L.* and really turning it towards the masses of working youth, struggling against the compulsory government system of fascization and militarization. The Communist Parties must give every possible help to the Y.C.L. in developing the work inside the mass bourgeois and reformist youth organizations (cultural, sporting, etc.) and in the formation of Y.C.L. cells in the factories.

* * * *

DISCIPLINE AND FIGHTING FITNESS

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. sets before all Communist Parties as most important tasks the carrying out of regular and constant check-ups on the strengthening of their ranks, of preparing to go underground, of tightening up the *discipline* and *fighting fitness* of every Party organization and of every member of the Party.

The whole situation demands that the Communist Parties prepare in good time *cadres* for underground work, that they seriously tackle the question of *combatting provocateurs*, that they combine the methods of *strict secrecy* with securing the best contacts with the masses and avoiding the schematic structure and work of the underground organization.

Only the concentration of all the efforts of the Party organizations on forming underground factory nuclei and intensifying the work of the Communist fractions in all of the mass organizations can ensure contacts with the masses and also the maximum of secrecy and efficiency.

In carrying out these tasks, the Communists must utilize all legal possibilities to develop mass work, and to link up legal and illegal work.

The XIII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls upon all sections of the Comintern to ruthlessly root out opportunism in all its forms, and

above all, right opportunism (Remmels, Neumann, the defeatists in other countries in their estimate of the prospects of the German revolution), without which struggle the Communist Parties will not be able to lead the working masses up to the victorious struggles for the Soviet power.

V.—FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS—FOR A
SOVIET GOVERNMENT

1. The Communist Parties must, with all resoluteness, raise before the masses the task of the revolutionary way out of the crisis of capitalism.

Against the quack recipes of the fascists and the social-fascists for saving decaying capitalism, the Communists must prove to the masses that the ills of capitalism are incurable. Therefore, the Communists, while defending in every way the demands of the toilers, must untiringly disclose to the masses who are suffering from starvation and exploitation the whole truth, viz, that their catastrophic conditions will grow worse and worse under the blows of the continuous offensive of capitalism, until the toilers succeed in uniting their forces for a counter-blow and the crushing of bourgeois rule.

There is no way out of the general crisis of capitalism other than the one shown by the *October Revolution*, via the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, of the factories, the mines, transport, houses, the stocks of goods of the capitalists, the lands of the landlords, the church and the crown.

LIVING EXAMPLE OF SOVIET UNION

2. It is necessary increasingly to popularize the *living example* of the Land of the Soviets and to explain to the toilers and the exploited masses in all capitalist countries how Soviet economy, freed from the anarchy of the crisis of capitalism, is in the position to develop unhindered the productive forces on the basis of a socialist plan; how the Soviet workers and all the toilers are vitally interested in this development and in its rapid *tempo*; how the Soviet proletarian state, which is at the same time the organization of the power of the proletariat as well as the dominating productive organization of society, constantly increases the social wealth and thereby the welfare of all the toilers, whereas every bourgeois state, being a social economic parasite, devours and exhausts the economic forces of the people.

It is necessary to unfold before the toilers of each country a program which, basing itself on the experience of the great triumphs of the Soviet workers and collective farmers on all fronts of the class struggle and socialist construction, should, while making allowance for the peculiar conditions of the different countries, show

what the Soviet Power will give them in their own country. At the same time it is necessary to emphasize in particular the abolition of unemployment and the elimination of uncertainty for the morrow under the Soviet power; the constant improvement in the conditions of labor, and social insurance, along with the reduction of the working day; the liberation of the toilers of the countryside from all the remnants of feudalism and from all bondage; the provision of land for the landless peasants and those having little land; the support given to the poor peasants and the assistance rendered to the peasant cooperative societies and collective farms; the throwing open of all the doors of cultural development to the working class youth and to all the toilers, etc.

The Soviet power, which is based on the mass organization of the workers and semi-proletarians, offers the possibility of the wide and real enjoyment of democracy by all the toiling masses who were formerly oppressed by capitalism.

The Soviet power is the state form of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Soviet power is the state form of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants, which ensures the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution (China, etc.).

It is democracy for the toilers, but a stern dictatorship against exploiters.

CHIEF SLOGAN IS SOVIET POWER

3. It is necessary with all insistence to raise the question of *power* in the mass work of the Communist Parties. The chief slogan of the Communist International is: *Soviet power*.

The example of the U.S.S.R. is the example of *Bolshevism*. Only *this* example shows the way out, and the way to save the exploited and oppressed in all the imperialist and colonial countries.

The example of Bolshevism is the example of proletarian internationalism. The victory of the socialist revolution is possible only by strengthening the international ties of the revolutionary proletariat. The way of Bolshevism is the way of uniting the proletarian forces of all nationalities and races, it is the way of their joint struggle hand in hand with the proletariat against the oppressors and exploiters.

The Plenum of the E.C.C.I. obliges all Sections of the Communist International to be on their guard at every turn of events, and to exert every effort without losing a moment for the revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the impending decisive battles for power.

Forward in Struggle Against Hunger, Fascism, and War!

REPORT OF COMRADE EARL BROWDER TO THE
EIGHTEENTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE C.P.U.S.A., JAN. 16, 1934

By EARL BROWDER

COMRADES: The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which finished its sessions in the middle of December, had to sum up the new features in the world situation for the period of fifteen months since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.; to give the answer to the new questions that have been raised before the international movement in this period; and to give an estimate of the present moment in the world situation. The Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum, embodying the answers to these questions, was published in the *Daily Worker* on January 13, and you have all had the opportunity to study this document.

You will remember that the central point of the decisions of the Twelfth Plenum in 1932 was the judgment of the world situation, that capitalist stabilization had ended and that we were in a period of transition to a new round of wars and revolutions. This judgment of the Twelfth Plenum was completely confirmed by all the events in the fifteen months until the Thirteenth Plenum met. It was not necessary to revise in any way the judgment arrived at by the Twelfth Plenum. The Thirteenth Plenum, basing itself upon those correct decisions and upon the examination of the events since then, sharpened up this line, pointed out that everything that has happened in the intervening period emphasizes the correctness of that judgment and brings us at this time to the point where we are very closely approaching a world revolutionary situation. The Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum declared that the mainstays of capitalism are already being destroyed. The world economic crisis, which is most closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism, sharpens all the cardinal contradictions of the capitalist world to such an extent that a turn may take place at any moment which will mean the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis.

The Plenum declared that the great task before the interna-

tional proletariat is to prepare to turn this crisis of the capitalist world into the victory of the proletarian revolution. This is the keynote of the Thirteenth Plenum.

The social-democracy, the Second International, and all the various attachments to it, the renegade groups, the left social-fascists, have interpreted the events of the past fifteen months in the opposite sense. They reject the conclusions of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., and see instead the beginnings of a new period of stabilization for world capitalism, a period in which capitalism has won a victory over the proletariat and entered a more or less protracted period of fascist reaction. The Thirteenth Plenum gives a great deal of attention to disproving thoroughly the social-fascist thesis, making clear for the world movement the true significance of these big events that have taken place in the past fifteen months.

AN EXAMINATION OF ROOSEVELT'S POLICIES

Let us examine a few of these larger world developments in the relation to their effect upon the crisis of capitalism. Let us take the policies of the Roosevelt government, the New Deal in all its aspects, which is one of the mainstays of the social-fascist arguments for the capitalist recovery from the crisis. Is it in any way true that the Roosevelt policies have improved the situation for capitalism? We need but examine one phase of the Roosevelt policies to disprove this immediately. When we see what the Roosevelt policy of inflation means in the situation of the world capitalism, it immediately becomes clear that, far from bringing new elements of stability into the world, this inflation policy has delivered shattering blows to the capitalist world. It has upset every relation of forces in the world market and in world politics. It has not only brought about the extreme sharpening of the class relations within the country, representing the most far-going offensive against the living standards of the American masses, but has at the same time been an imperialist offensive throughout the world against the imperialist rivals of the United States. It has meant the extreme sharpening of the struggle for markets, it has inaugurated a world-wide currency war, it has changed the balance of power, it has disturbed all political alignments in the world; and, in combination with other factors, has brought about such a sharpening of the international relations as has not been seen before except in the midst of general war.

It is only for the purpose of creating new illusions among the masses that the bourgeoisie speaks of the Roosevelt policies as having a stabilizing effect in the world situation. Among them-

selves they are very clear as to its having the opposite effect, that of bringing the international antagonisms to the breaking point.

Let us examine the second great development in the world—the rise of Hitler-fascism to power in Germany. Is this, as the social-fascists and renegades say, introducing new elements of stability into the world situation of capitalism? Far from it. The policy of the Hitler regime not only hastens the development of a catastrophic situation for the German masses, but introduces new strains and new disorders into the international relations of the capitalist powers.

We shall go into a more detailed examination of the problems raised by the rise of Hitler in dealing with the problems of the struggle against fascism; at this moment it is sufficient to point out that German fascism, rising on the basis of the accentuation of every contradiction, internal and external, of world capital, represents a sharpening of the crisis of German capitalism, and a sharpening of the whole world crisis into a revolutionary crisis.

The third factor to be mentioned as a characteristic of the past fifteen months is that in every capitalist country there has taken place a general lowering of the living standards of the masses, a general all-around attack upon all the toiling sections of the population, and, accompanying this, a sharpening of political repression, of all the class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the working class and the toiling farmers, peasantry. And the bourgeoisie itself is more and more breaking up into struggling antagonistic groups, and must resort more and more to extraordinary means to secure united class action.

A fourth feature of this period, which has deepened and intensified the chaos of the capitalist world, has been the continued victories of the Chinese Soviets, which, in the past weeks, have already emerged triumphantly from the test of the sixth anti-Soviet expedition of the Nanking Government, outrigged and financed by American imperialism and assisted politically and materially by British, Japanese and French imperialism. In spite of this great concentration of reaction against the Chinese Soviet Republic, they have again emerged victorious, creating, in the Far East, a new strong base for the anti-capitalist elements, for the anti-imperialist revolution, intensifying, at the same time, all of the contradictions among the imperialist powers, who are beginning to move for the actual division among themselves of China.

THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE WORLD SITUATION

Finally, there is that most important factor in the world situation: the Soviet Union and its socialist construction. In the past

fifteen months, there has been a tremendous shift in the relation of forces in the world in favor of the socialist system of the Soviet Union and against the capitalist world. While the capitalist crisis has deepened during this period, the Soviet Union has moved steadily forward, consolidating its socialist industry, continuing the steady advance of socialist industrialization of the country, consolidating the victorious inclusion of agriculture into the socialist economy through the victories of collectivization, which solved the basic economic questions of the country, still presenting difficulties a year ago, so that this year is for the Soviet Union, what Comrade Stalin described as the last year of economic difficulties for our socialist fatherland. It is upon this basis of the rise of Soviet Power to new heights that the political victories of the Soviet Union have been won in the past year. It is in the light of this change in the relation of world forces that we must understand the whole series of diplomatic victories won by the Soviet Union.

During this past year, since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Soviet Union has emerged as a great industrial power. It has realized in life the slogan that was set by the Soviet Union Communist Party to catch up with and surpass the most advanced countries of the world. The Soviet Union is already second only to the United States in industrial production. And as you will see by studying the figures of the Second Five-Year Plan, which are just now being placed before the Seventeenth Party Congress in the Soviet Union, by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union will be approximately equal to the U. S. in national income, even supposing that the U. S. does not further decline.

All these factors, which are the decisive features of the past period, prove unquestionably the end of capitalist stabilization—unquestionably demonstrate that the crisis of the capitalist world, far from being overcome, is, on the contrary, passing into a new stage, the stage of transformation into a revolutionary crisis.

The objective pre-conditions already exist for the revolutionary crisis. What is still lacking is the preparedness of the working class, its revolutionary determination to make an end of the bankrupt system of capitalism and to enter the decisive struggle for the reorganization of society upon a socialist basis. The preparation of the working class is the task of the Communist Party.

The greatest obstacle to this preparation and therefore, the greatest obstacle to the revolution, therefore the greatest support to the bankrupt capitalist society, is the continuing influence among the workers and the toiling masses of the parties of the Second International, the social-fascists generally and, in the U. S., the special feature of social-fascism, the American Federation of Labor.

The problem of how long it will take for the working class to be prepared for the proletarian revolution, is the problem of how soon the workers can be separated from the reformist, social-fascist leadership and brought to the revolutionary policy under the leadership of the Communist Party. This is a question that is determined by the quality of the work of our Party.

Let us examine a central problem in the struggle for the majority of the working class, in the preparation of the workers for the proletarian revolution. This is the problem of the struggle against fascism, which also requires the struggle against social-fascism.

What is the significance of fascism? It is of the most tremendous political importance for our movement today that our Party answer this question sharply and clearly, in such a way as to make the masses understand this question. The Thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum gives *four main characteristics of fascism*, which are essential to the understanding of this problem and which our Party must convey to the broadest masses in the U. S.

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF FASCISM

First, the growth of fascism means that the revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capital are growing. This is the answer to the basic point of the social-democracy, which sees in the rise of fascism the defeat of the revolution, which tries to discourage and demoralize the working class by picturing the rise of fascism as the defeat of the proletarian revolution. On the contrary, we must make clear that the rise of fascism is itself an indication of the deepening of the crisis of capitalism and a factor in that deepening, an indication of the rise of the indignation of the broad masses against capitalism.

Secondly, the growth of fascism shows that the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general. That is, the rise of fascism is itself realizing one of the basic pre-conditions of the revolutionary crisis. It is the realization of that condition which Lenin long ago pointed out to us as one of the pre-conditions for the struggle for power of the working class, that condition when the bourgeoisie is no longer able to rule by the old methods. Fascism is an expression of that condition.

Thirdly, that, moreover, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists both in their internal politics as well as in their foreign politics. That the policies of finance capital today require that the capitalists themselves carry through measures which destroy

the existing apparatus of control, which destroy the old social forms and relationships and introduce conditions of instability in every feature of life, and thereby destroy among the masses the authority and the influence of the parties and the institutions of democracy which have hitherto been their main instruments of rule.

And fourthly, that in view of these things the capitalists are compelled to pass over to open terroristic dictatorship within the country and unrestrained chauvinism in foreign politics which represent direct preparation for imperialist war.

From these main characteristics of fascism, which we must make clear to the broadest masses as the basic instruments of our political struggle against fascism, it becomes clear that fascism is born directly out of bourgeois democracy with the help of social-fascists. *The rise of fascist tendencies* on the part of the bourgeoisie is a sign of the passing of the crisis into a revolutionary crisis. is an inevitable phase of the revolutionary struggle. But on the other hand we must emphasize that the *victory* of fascism is *not* inevitable. Whether fascism is victorious or not depends upon the forces of the fighting working class and its allies; and the development of these fighting forces of the working class depends upon the defeat of the paralyzing influence of the social-democracy within the working class.

Therefore, the struggle against fascism, the rousing of the broadest masses for the struggle against fascism, is in the first place the struggle to defeat the social-democracy, to isolate the social-democratic leaders from the masses, to destroy their influence among the masses.

Let us examine the situation in Germany in the light of this analysis of fascism and answer some of the questions which are heard among the broad masses of workers, some questions which rise spontaneously in the minds of the politically uninstructed workers, and questions which are especially raised and cultivated by the renegades and the social-fascists.

First, let us again answer the question: Why, in Germany, did not the Communist Party seize power in the beginning of 1933? The answer to this question must be repeated again and again. The workers did not seize power in Germany under the leadership of the Communist Party because the influence of the social-democracy prevented the workers from developing the struggle against fascism. Social-democracy disarmed the working class and paved the way for Hitler to come to power. The working class can take power only when the majority of the working class, the decisive sections of the working class, are prepared for the revolu-

tionary struggle and accept revolutionary leadership. The German social-democracy still exercised a decisive influence over the majority of the German working class. The role of the social-democracy and of the trade union bureaucrats in Germany was decisive and predetermined the rise of Hitler to power. Hitler came to power not only through the financial assistance of the big capitalists of Germany, but above all, through the direct collaboration of the social-democracy and the trade union bureaucrats.

The question is then raised—agreeing this is so, was it not necessary that the Communist Party lead the revolutionary section of the German working class in insurrection, in armed struggle against the rise of fascism even though they were in a minority and even though the conditions for a successful struggle were not present? It is especially necessary to give a clear and sharp answer to this question because it has been raised even within the ranks of the Communist Parties and even in the leadership of the German Communist Party itself. This tendency within the German Communist Party was represented by Remmele and Neuman who came forward with the thesis that although it was impossible to take power, although defeat of such an attempt was pre-determined by the rule of the social-democracy and the trade union bureaucrats, and although all was lost, yet “honor” could still have been saved only by a last desperate armed struggle even though it was pre-determined to defeat.

This position, which in words sounds very revolutionary, is of course politically nothing but capitulation to the social-democracy. It is a complete acceptance of the social-democratic understanding of the significance of the rise of fascism and of Hitler. Along with it necessarily goes the view that the victory of Hitler inaugurates a protracted period of fascist reaction and long time defeat of the revolution. It is a point of view which denies the possibility of the development of the revolutionary forces within Germany, for the mobilization of the majority of the working class to overthrow Hitler. Its political essence is in no way to be distinguished from the position of the social-democracy and the renegades, especially the Trotskyites, that the rise of Hitler opens a new era of fascism.

First of all, this theory is based upon a false analogy between Hitler and Mussolini, between Germany and Italy, depends upon the comparison of the ten years of fascist rule in Italy with the perspectives of Hitler in Germany. This analogy completely ignores the different period in which these events occur. Italian fascism came to power at the end of the first post-war wave of wars and revolutions, at the beginning of the period of relative stabilization of

capitalism. Italian fascism was maintained in power not by the internal forces of fascism so much as by the assistance of a stabilizing capitalist world around Italy. German fascism comes to power in quite opposite circumstances. It rises at the end of capitalist stabilization, at a period when the capitalist world, far from being able to give help toward stabilizing German capitalism, is itself in the deepest crisis; is itself divided in a thousand sharpening conflicts and by which the rise of fascism in Germany itself becomes a central point in deepening all these conflicts and in the immediate development of a world war situation. There are further, the inner problems of Germany economy which are pre-determined by this world situation, the increasingly catastrophic conditions of German economy which are intensified by the rise of German fascism. Therefore, only one who deliberately wishes to mislead the working class can speak of the perspectives of a long time development of German fascism.

THE LESSONS OF THE HEROIC FIGHT OF THE GERMAN C. P.
AGAINST FASCISM

What is going on in Germany under the fascist rule? It is difficult to give detailed answer to all the questions involved in the inner situation in Germany because of the conditions of illegality, because of the extremely difficult conditions under which the German working class is gathering its forces today. One thing is quite clear, that the revolutionary forces of the German working class are consolidating themselves daily and weekly under the conditions of the Hitler terror. The German Communist Party has not been destroyed but has sunk its roots deeper than ever among the decisive masses of the German working class. The workers who continued under the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party a year ago, are now beginning to come over in large numbers to the German Communist Party.

There are such problems as this, for example, which typify the process which is going on. In some industrial localities in Germany we have social-democratic workers coming in organized groups to the Communist Party and requesting to be admitted into the Communist Party in such numbers that the local leadership of the Communist Party has hesitated to take them in on the grounds that the recruits from the Social-Democratic Party who outnumber the members of the old German Communist Party might endanger the Party line. The Party has had to conduct a campaign to overcome this hesitation to take in large masses of the social-democratic workers. Other considerable numbers of social-democratic workers, who are not yet ready to join the Communist Party, place them-

selves at the disposal of the Communist Party for revolutionary work, beg for directives, and accept the Communist Party as the only leader of the daily struggles. There is a further tendency among social-democratic workers, among some circles, to try to reconstitute the Social-Democratic Party upon an illegal basis, upon the basis of a united front program with the Communist Party and against their old leaders. This is a tendency which is quite dangerous, and which the German Communist Party has to struggle against, but which at the same time is one of the stages of the coming of the social-democratic workers to the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is more and more penetrating the factories and the fascist factory organizations. It is not necessary for me to give long, detailed examples. They have been reported in the *Inprecorr* and *Daily Worker*. I merely cite these things to characterize the process that is going on, the gathering of all revolutionary forces inside and around the German Communist Party.

The last question which must be answered with regard to the developments in Germany is, what has become of the Social-Democracy? Has it been destroyed? Is it still a danger? The Social-Democratic Party in Germany as an organization is shattered. But the political influence of the Social-Democracy still exists and is still the main social support of the Fascist dictatorship. The central problem of the German Communist Party still remains the liquidation of the influence of the Social-Democracy upon the German working class.

What we have said about Germany holds true for the entire Second International. The role of each of the different national sections of the social-fascists differs only in detail according to the alignments of its own national bourgeoisie.

Especially significant in this process of winning over the social-democratic workers in Germany and throughout the world is the problem of exposing the Social-Democracy and struggling against the "left" reformists,—"left" social-fascists. In every country, Social-Democracy endeavors to protect itself against the trend of the masses to Communism by setting up left wing groupings, by a certain division of labor, whereby they attempt to pacify their followers with left phrases while continuing essentially the same policies of their official parties. This is the problem in England of the struggle against the leaders of the I.L.P., who sabotage the decision for unity. This is the problem in the United States of the struggle against farmer-laborism and against those specialized sub-divisions of the farmer-labor party idea, the *Muste* group, the renegades, and the third party elements of the bourgeoisie.

DEEPENING OF GENERAL CRISIS IS MATURING DEVELOPMENT
OF REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

We have pointed out the main factors determining the character of this period as one of the deepening of the crisis and the passing over to the revolutionary crisis. There is one aspect of this problem that remains to be examined which is especially significant for the United States. This is, what part is played in this process by the rise or fall of *industrial production*, by the course of the business index. How is it possible, some comrades may say, that we can speak of the deepening of the crisis in a period in which there has been a recovery of production in the capitalist countries. There has been such an increase in production. It is true that this increase has been very uneven, irregular and spotty. But making all allowances for this and taking the whole capitalist world, the year 1933 witnessed a growth in general industrial production of some 20-30%. What is the significance of this feature and what part does it play in our analysis of the whole character of the whole situation? We are not interested in trying to explain away any facts that exist in the capitalist world. We want to face every fact fully and frankly to understand exactly what it means. We don't want to fool ourselves about anything. Therefore, we must give very clear answer as to whether this increase of capitalist industrial production signifies in any way an alleviation of the crisis. Does it signify that the crisis of capitalism, in the terminology of the bourgeois experts, "touched bottom," so that the perspective may now be recovery, either gradual or rapid? If we examine the character of this increase in industrial production, we must come to the conclusion that it has no such significance. This increase in production has taken place upon the basis of the extreme rapidity of the development of the international antagonisms, and the preparations for war. If we take the whole capitalist world, we find that the increase in production has, in the first place, been an increase in the production of materials for war. It has been an accumulation of stocks of war materials, munitions, weapons and supplies for the coming struggle, for the coming world war. In the second place, insofar as the increase in production goes beyond the limits of war preparations, it is mostly caused by inflation and the speculative market created by inflation. Now, it is clear that these two influences are truly characteristic of the increase in industry. All such increase in industrial production, based upon war preparations and upon inflationary, speculative markets, in no way contributes to a stabilizing of capitalism, in no way indicates that the bottom of the crisis has been reached. It only marks the passing

of the crisis into new forms. The crisis no longer can be measured by economic indices but has taken on political forms.

This is the analysis which we made already last summer of the significance of the Roosevelt New Deal, at the time of our Extraordinary Party Conference. It has been proved correct for the whole world situation.

It is not necessary for us to go over all that ground again, especially in view of the fact that experience since last July, when our Extraordinary Party Conference met, has completely confirmed our analysis. We have nothing to correct in the analysis that we made and we have very little to add to it. Certain new features have come forward in the New Deal since our Extraordinary Party Conference, which are further developments of the basic trends that we pointed out at that time. There is a much more concrete and rapid development of the inflationary program, there is an enormous expansion of the program of direct financial help to the giants of monopoly capitalism, even beyond anything that we envisaged at that time. The new budget that was just presented to Congress by Roosevelt carries these policies so far that if anyone predicted such a development six months ago, it would have seemed impossible, but now these facts are accepted as quite normal and everyday factors along with the tremendous tempo with which the crisis is developing.

Roosevelt has developed much sharper and drastically the policy which we pointed out at that time of cutting off unemployed relief, substituting of relief with forced labor projects, and so-called Public Works which are not Public Works, and complete rejection of any and every form of unemployment insurance. All these latest developments of the New Deal are merely the logical out-growth and development of the basic features which we analyzed at the Extraordinary Party Conference. They are all concrete examples of the general significance of the developments within capitalism all over the world.

SHIFTING OF IMPERIALIST RELATIONS SHOWS SHARPER WAR DANGER

The United States occupies no "exceptional" position, except that in many respects it represents the sharpest expression of all these tendencies of capitalist development throughout the world, that in many features it leads in a development of these policies for the rest of the world. But in the character of the measures that are adopted, in the direction of development and in the significance of these features as the passing over of the crisis into new and sharper forms, the analysis of the world situation applies exactly

the same to the United States as to the other capitalist countries. Especially is this true with regard to foreign policy, that is, war preparations. It is true, only in a lesser degree, with regard to the fascization of the political life within the country.

These two main features of world development, fascism and war, are developing in the United States as in other sections of the capitalist world. There are certain illusions, not only among the masses, but even within our own ranks, that the development by Roosevelt to a certain extent of new attitudes to some international questions, brings a certain pacifist trend into American foreign policy. These illusions, more or less, crystallize around the interpretation of the recognition of the Soviet Union as an effort towards peace on the part of the United States Government.

It is necessary for us to give a very clear answer to this question, as to the significance of the recognition of the Soviet Union and what part this plays in the drive towards war and especially towards the war of intervention against the Soviet Union by the whole imperialist world. In the first place, we must emphasize again what we said in the general section of the report about the meaning of the diplomatic victories of the Soviet Union in the past period. Those diplomatic victories have been the fruits of the growing power of the Soviet Union, and the growing support of its peace policy by the workers of the capitalist countries. And while we in no way want to detract from the credit for the achievements of these victories due the skilled diplomacy of the Soviet Union and particularly of Litvinoff, we must mention that these diplomatic victories were not the fruits of skilled diplomacy so much as of a change in the relations of power in favor of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has become doubly strong; first of all, upon the basis of consolidating the collective farming, the inclusion of agriculture in the structure of socialist economy; and second, by no means unimportant, the tremendous strengthening of the armed defenses of the Soviet Union, the development of the Red Army upon the basis of the successful industrialization, so that the Soviet Union can adequately defend itself in a military way.

These things have brought about a changed relation in world politics and in view of the extreme sharpening within the imperialist camp, the necessity of regroupings in the imperialist camp, created the possibility for the Soviet Union to strengthen its international position by utilizing some of these imperialist contradictions. Does this in any way indicate any change in the basic direction of American policies? By no means. It indicates a certain change in the imperialist relations at the moment, a sharpening in the first place of the struggle between the United States and Britain, a struggle

which for the past few years has been conducted in South America, in an armed struggle between the puppets of the two imperialist powers, and with the development of the currency war, becomes sharpened in every field where the two powers come face to face. At the same time it indicates the further sharpening of the contradictions between the United States and Japan due to the tremendous expansions of the Japanese monopolistic control of the Far Eastern markets at the expense, in the first place, of the United States, but also of England. It also reflects the fact that in the immediate preparations for war the other imperialist powers are more ready than the United States, that the United States needs more time for maneuvering for position before the outbreak of the general conflagration. Furthermore, it reflects, as one of the basic strategic situations of American imperialism, that American imperialism is playing for time as a factor weakening its enemies, figuring that the further development of the crisis will strike Japan and Great Britain harder than the United States.

There is no reorientation of American imperialist policy on all the main objectives of the drift towards war; and it is especially valuable for us at this time that we have a good statement of this fact from one of the leading figures in the American government itself. The comrades have called my attention to the issue of *Liberty* for January 6. In it, there is an article by Harry H. Woodring, the Assistant Secretary of War in the Roosevelt government. This article is entitled "The American Army Stands Ready". I am going to make some extended quotations from this article. I do this because it seems that Mr. Woodring must have been reading our thesis; he states completely the program of the Roosevelt administration as we have been describing it for the past eight, nine months. The thesis of the article is that the American army is the bulwark against social disorder and revolution at this moment, that it is being consciously prepared by the Roosevelt administration, not only for military duties, but for directing and running the entire country in every phase of life. Mr. Woodring says, the army "is our secret insurance against chaos". That is, if the army were not so well prepared, there would be chaos in the United States, or the immediate threat of chaos. This should be a very good answer to those who think that the policies of the New Deal are already stabilizing conditions in the United States. Conditions cannot be very stable when the army stands as the main insurance against chaos in the country. He says:

"Let me speak frankly! If this country should be threatened with foreign war, economic chaos, or social revolution, the Army has the training, the experience, the organization, and the men to

support the government and direct the country in the national interest."

In this quotation he starts out with the word "if", but later on, he shows that this "if" is not a very important word for him, because he declares directly that this same insurance is not against some general possibility that exists, but against an imminent danger that the country faces. He says in describing the Army: It

"... is essentially a self-contained nation within the nation, an authority able to work independently of the political and business conditions of the country, under the constitutional Commander-in-Chief, the President, assisted by the Secretary of War. . . ."

"... the Army is standing by loyally, ready and able not only to support the constituted authority but to organize the life of the country so as to defend the people from starvation and disorder."

This is the program of the army today, it is the preparation for the militarization of the entire country from top to bottom—the economic and social life of the country. With regard to the industries of the country, Mr. Woodring describes the preparations for industrial mobilization as looking beyond the scope of War Department activities, as including all plans requisite to government supervision and coordination of industry, transportation, labor, finance and similar matters in time of national emergency. Every factory in the country has its particular place in the plan, every factory in the country is a part of the war machine already engaged in this apparatus in such a way that the practical control and direction of industrial production can overnight be in the hands of the general staff of the Army.

NEW DEAL SHOWS ARMY TESTING ITS MACHINERY FOR WAR

Of equal significance is the method by which, in the first stages of the New Deal, the Army has carried through the testing of its machinery. You will remember how indignantly the liberals and Socialists met our accusation that the reforestation camps were measures of militarization. Mr. Woodring makes no bones about it. He says:

"I believe that history will record the successful carrying out of the Army's part of the reforestation program as one of its most notable peacetime achievements. The program was to be supervised by the Labor, Agriculture, War and Interior Departments. The Army, however, very soon proved that it was the only government agency which has the facilities and the trained personnel capable of performing a great majority of the tasks in connection with an undertaking of this nature. The selection of the men was accomplished by the Department of Labor. While actually at work the men are under the supervision of the technical experts from other de-

partments, mainly the Forestry Service of the Department of the Interior. The Army did the rest."

Further proposing the extension of this army administration of the activities of the New Deal, he says:

"It would not be too much to say that with proper constitutional authority the Army could take over and run them in the interest of the New Deal.

"It is my opinion that the Army *should* take over immediately some of the activities which are now being handled by some of the new executive agencies. Whether or not it is true, as many hold, that the CCC camps are the forerunners of the great civilian labor armies of the future, I believe that this activity should be expanded and put under the control of the Army.

"While unemployment is rapidly decreasing, there have always been large numbers of unemployed in this country. Despite prospects of improvement in the coming months, I prophesy that by next summer a million young men will be enrolled in the Civilian Conservation Corps.

"I should also like to see extended to every unemployed veteran of the World War who desires it an opportunity to enroll in this corps. I should like private industry this winter to adopt a rule by which one disabled veteran would be given a job for every hundred able-bodied workers, thus supplementing the present reduced federal outlay on pensions.

"I should like to see a physical education program developed in these camps that would not only make their members familiar with games but would give them such skill that when they return home they could be leaders in recreational programs among their own people. I should like to see them organize athletic associations like the German Turnvereins and the Sokols of Central Europe, which would result in raising the physical standards of our entire population.

"The lessons which the Army has learned from this experience will in themselves prove invaluable. Our young officers are receiving lessons in practical leadership; the Army's traditional 'hard-boiled' theories of discipline have had to be discarded in favor of force of character and natural leadership.

"The result in the American Army of the future will be better morale and better relations between officers and men.

"I believe, however, that of far greater importance at this time are the stabilizing effects that the carrying out of the program will exert upon the moral and social structure of the whole country.

"In my opinion, next year the individual CCC set-up should be eliminated in the interest of economy and efficiency and the whole program taken over by the Army as part of its regular duties. We do not desire to make soldiers out of the CCC boys against their will, but we do desire to help direct and develop this great experiment in long-range social economics and in physical training.

"In the same way, I believe that the Army should take over

the work of rationing the unemployed which is now being admirably performed by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. This is solely in the interest of efficiency and economy. I urge these basic reforms in no narrow spirit of selfishness on behalf of the Army, which is trained to do its duty without thought of public praise.

"If the Army were so directed, it could organize the veterans of the World War, the CCC men, and through them, the administration of the emergency relief, into a system of economic storm troops that could support the government's efforts to smash the depression. . . ."

In these few quotations you have every feature of the fascist program for the internal policy in the United States as a part of the preparation for international war, the complete fascization of the inner life by the war machinery of the country—and this is not from the thesis of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Communist International at Moscow. Neither is this an editorial from the *Daily Worker*. Let me remind you that this was written by the Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Harry H. Woodring, former Governor of the State of Kansas.

The Thirteenth Plenum thesis points out the main centers of the sharpening of the war danger, the first of these being the Pacific. In the Pacific are involved all the main contradictions of the capitalist world. There is the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the Soviet Union, between the metropolis and the revolutionary movement in the semi-colonial and colonial countries, especially sharply represented by the Soviet territories of China, the antagonisms between the imperialist giants of the world, between Japan and England, between Japan and the United States, between the United States and England, between France and the others. It is there also where the aggressive policy of all of the imperialist finds its most extensive concretization at the moment—Japan's seizure of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, the moving of French forces from Indo-China into the Province of Yunnan, by the extension of British occupation of parts of Sinkiang from its base in Tibet, by the exceptionally strong and persistent efforts of United States imperialism to make use of the government of Chang Kai Shek to strengthen its foothold on the Asiatic mainland.

PACIFIC IS CENTER OF WORLD IMPERIALIST CONFLICTS

In the Pacific, we have the sharpest and most immediate threat of war against the Soviet Union, complicated by the inner-imperialist antagonisms. It would be a mistake for us to think that the immediate danger of war in the Far East against the Soviet Union has been removed or softened by the latest developments in world

politics. Anything may happen in the Far East, and the strengthened position of the Soviet Union and its more favorable diplomatic situation have not removed the threat of Japanese initiation of such a war. There is a distinct possibility that the opposite may be the result. Japan is completely controlled by a semi-feudal military clique which bases itself on monopoly capital and landlord classes, which are closely interwoven. The policy of this dominant ruling group in Japan cannot in any way be forecast according to what we might consider "rational" politics for a ruling class. The very nature of the position of this ruling class, the extreme instability of its foundation, and the growing threat of revolutionary forces, compels this ruling group into a position of adventurism in politics. If the militarists consider the alternative to launching a war against the Soviet Union to be their own loss of power, then no matter what the prospects of eventual outcome of such a war, they will launch it. If they consider this war must come, the strengthening of the Soviet Union will not deter them, because they know everything that is going on in the Soviet Union, the Five-Year Plan, the construction of Socialism and the consolidation of the new collective agriculture, and they know that if the war is unfavorable for them now, in two years it will be twice as unfavorable. The very threat of United States action against their seizures in China is likely to decide the militarists to hasten the war with the Soviet Union. And we must not think that Roosevelt, who can exchange such nice felicitations with the Soviet fatherland, would be displeased if Japan would be weakened by a war with the Soviet Union, which at the same time would weaken the Socialist system, which is the greatest menace to world capitalism.

Our previous analysis of the Far Eastern policies of Hoover—that he was interested in precipitating war between Japan and the Soviet Union—remains true also of the Roosevelt policy, although his policy is much more complex.

On the Western front, that is, in Europe, the war danger is sharpening also in both respects—against the Soviet Union and among the imperialist powers. The rise of fascism in Germany has certainly not been a pacific influence. The ruling regime in Germany is offering the services of its entire war machinery, which is being rapidly increased, for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union; it is peddling its services to every war office in Europe and is at present conducting very serious conversations with Great Britain. The relations of Great Britain and Germany at the present time are revolving around the question of a war against the Soviet Union initiated by Hitler. At the same time, the rise of fascism has completely opened up the whole question of a re-division

of territory, revision of national frontiers throughout Europe, a question which can only be settled by armed conflict. The very opening of this question has so strained relations throughout Europe, that it is a commonplace for the capitalist press to speak of the European situation being more explosive than it was in 1914.

Aside from these two main centers of the sharp development of the war issues, there is the fact that British and American imperialism are preparing for a decisive struggle throughout the world for world hegemony, in the Atlantic and the Pacific.

With relation to the war danger, the developments of the past year have shown a further development of the social-democratic support of the war preparations, a more slavish reproduction of the policies of each imperialist bourgeoisie by its own Socialist party, and this, in itself, is an indication of the imminence of the war danger.

"BOURGEOISIE WANTS TO POSTPONE THE DOOM OF CAPITALISM BY A CRIMINAL IMPERIALIST WAR"

We have reviewed our tasks in the struggle against war many times. We have further elaborated the basic directives in the struggle against war which were laid down at the Sixth World Congress. Under the heading, "Immediate Tasks" we shall speak more about some special features of the struggle against war. What is new in the question is the immediacy of the war danger, which is much sharper than it has ever been. What is new is the necessity to combat the tendencies to relax the struggle against war, tendencies which rise out of a certain feeling of exultation over the victories of our socialist fatherland, the Soviet Union, and the feeling that because of these victories all is well, the danger is not so big. These victories are very great; these victories mean very much; these victories strengthen the opportunities for our transformation of the crisis into the proletarian revolution, but in no way do they lighten our tasks in the struggle, and in no way do they remove the dangers involved in the world situation.

To sum up this section, I repeat the paragraph of the thesis which points out:

"The bourgeoisie wants to postpone the doom of capitalism by a criminal imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the land of victorious socialism. The great historical task of international communism is to mobilize the broad masses against war, even before war has begun, and thereby hasten the doom of capitalism. Only a Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war, for the triumph of revolution, can assure the victory of the revolution that breaks out in connection with war."

We pass over to a brief consideration of the tasks of the Parties that flow out of this analysis of the world situation. The Thirteenth Plenum laid down that the central orientation of all tasks of the Parties is the development of mass indignation against fascism and war, the organization and strengthening of the struggle against fascism and war.

The first concretization of this general orientation is the fight against fascist ideology. The thesis points out that the Communists, the Communist Party, must daily and concretely expose every manifestation of chauvinism, expose this to the masses and oppose this by proletarian internationalism; that in the imperialist countries we must come out determinedly, systematically for the independence of the colonies, for the liberation of the oppressed nations from all national oppression. In the key points of international antagonisms, the Communists must resolutely take a stand against all ideas of imperialist occupation and imperialist solution of these territorial questions, counterposing the conception of self-determination of these areas, such as Upper Silesia, the Saar, Northern Bohemia, the Danzig Corridor, etc.; they must on the basis of the program of self-determination come out against the imperialist solution of these questions, against the incorporation of any of these disputed territories into the hangmen's government of Hitler fascism. They must popularize widely the solution of the national question in the USSR and the tremendous economic, social and cultural successes by the peoples formerly oppressed by the Czarist empire, as a result of their liberation by the October Revolution.

This whole phase of the fight against fascist ideology must become a matter not of resolutions only, nor of programmatic articles in the theoretical press, but must be made mass issues and a characteristic feature of the mass work of the Party.

Second is the fight against the fascization of the bourgeois governments and against war. In every so-called democratic country the process of fascization is speeding up. The tasks of the Communist Party, and this especially applies to the United States, must be first of all to brush aside the fatalist, defeatist conception of the inevitability of fascist dictatorship and of imperialist war, as well as the opportunist underestimation of the tempo of development of fascism and war. The careful explanation of the economic and political enslavement of the masses, that comes with a fascist dictatorship is the first task in the struggle against fascism and war. The popularization of this explanation, the bringing of this explanation to the workers in concrete terms of their everyday life, so that it can be readily grasped and understood, is the basic feature of this struggle.

Upon the basis of this broad popular explanation of all the concrete issues of fascization and war preparations, it is possible for us to arouse the masses to concrete actions, to weld a united movement, to build a united front of struggle against fascism and war, to draw into this struggle the broadest masses of workers from all organizations of the working class, and especially to win those workers who are in the reformist organizations, in the Socialist Party, in the A. F. of L., in all kinds of workers' clubs, mutual benefit societies, etc.

Upon that basis it is possible to bring them into demonstrations, into actions, into all kinds of expressions of opposition to fascism and to war, for the protection of their democratic rights, developing concrete struggles in the formation of strikes, control committees, etc., for the preventing of the shipments of munitions, etc.

In the fight against fascist dictatorship, the Communists have especially to concentrate upon a few main features of this struggle. First, always and everywhere take as the starting point the defense of the everyday economic and political needs of the masses. It is impossible to develop a mass struggle against fascism and war upon any other basis. Secondly, to penetrate the fascist mass organizations. This is becoming a practical problem for us in the U. S. also. Fascist mass organizations are springing up everywhere overnight, faster than we can keep track of them, and we have not yet seized the practical problem involved, of penetrating these mass organizations, with special attention to the growing company unions. This is our task, and without this we cannot successfully develop mass struggle against fascization in America. Especially is it necessary to penetrate the social-fascist mass organizations, and in the U. S., the American Federation of Labor. The recent developments in the U. S. which are specific for this country, the large recruitment of the A. F. of L., the special role assigned to the trade unions in the New Deal—emphasize for us the general directives of the Thirteenth Plenum. We cannot develop mass trade union work, economic struggles, nor the struggle against fascism and war unless we make much more serious penetration of the A. F. of L. and the other reformist social-fascist trade union organizations.

Third, the struggle against fascization requires very serious work among the agricultural population. It requires the exposure of the real significance for the broadest masses of toiling farmers of the policies pursued by fascism, and thus bring about the class differentiation between the poor and the middle farmers who are the potential allies of the working class, and the well-to-do farmers, who are the class allies of the bourgeoisie, a section of the bourgeoisie, who inevitably will try to direct the resentment of the agri-

cultural masses into a channel of fascism, unless we separate these agricultural masses from the well-to-do farmers. And in connection with this, the necessity for organizing the agricultural proletariat into independent trade union organizations becomes especially sharp.

Fourth, there must be the most consistent struggle to win the working youth, bringing them to political struggle against fascism and war, on the basis of the defense of all their everyday needs; the youth organizations must break out of their narrowness with the help and leadership of the Party.

In the development of the struggle against fascism and war, in the struggle for winning the majority of the working class from the reformist leadership and their influence, the tactic of the united front from below becomes more and more a central question. During the period since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. there have been accumulated tremendous experiences in the united front struggles. It is impossible to go into a detailed examination of all these international experiences, but we can sum them up by saying that the actions that have been carried through have proven to be essentially correct and of the most tremendous value for the international movement, that the Communists have improved in almost every country the application of the tactic of the united front and strengthened the revolutionary forces thereby.

IN STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR MUST WIN LEADERSHIP OF WORKERS FROM REFORMISTS

In the course of these experiences, we have learned very concretely the two main dangers that beset all this work. There is constantly the danger of transforming our united front efforts into a conciliation of the social-democratic leadership and ideology instead of a means of sharpening the struggle against them, further to separate the masses from them. This is the right danger, the main danger. We have experienced this danger in our work in the U. S. It has shown itself in very sharp forms in other countries. The British Party conducted a very valuable and fruitful united front campaign especially in connection with the Independent Labor Party in England. There also we saw some sharp examples of development of the right danger. Certain tendencies to orientate too much towards negotiations and maneuvers with the top leadership, not enough direct approach to the masses below and the winning of them to joint action on the basis of a class struggle program, and bringing about the disintegration of the influence of the social-fascist misleaders on top. We had examples of this especially in the Czecho-Slovakian Party where for a period after the Twelfth Plenum, the Party leadership began to orientate itself upon a wrong

estimation of the social-fascist leaders and to develop theories about the united front as a bloc with the social-fascist organizations, instead of the united front as a development of the united struggle from below to liquidate the influence of the social-fascist misleaders.

We felt the pressure of such tendencies in the United States, in the development of the united front actions in which we were involved with the Musteites. On the whole we can say that these activities which we carried through were valuable and that our line was correct. We have suffered greatly at times in the concrete application of these measures, especially in the localities where the comrades are not politically prepared for these tasks; we have suffered from the tendency to blur over and obscure the differences in principle between us and the reformist leaders, instead of sharply developing these differences on the concrete basis of struggle before the workers.

At the same time there exists the danger of failing to make serious united front efforts, of making them so rigid and mechanical in form as to condemn them to failure from the beginning. When we examine our own efforts in the United States to develop the united front struggle we see that in many of our Districts this is the most immediate problem of the united front. Many of our districts have not yet seriously taken up the question of using the united front tactic to engage actually in struggle together with us broad circles of workers in the A. F. of L., in the Socialist Party, in the Musteite organizations, in the various independent unions, in the unemployed and other mass organizations.

There is still in many of our districts a sectarian separation of ourselves from these workers. We oscillate back and forth between conciliation to the opportunist leaders, to the point of blurring over of the political struggle, and a sectarian separation of ourselves from the workers who are led by these social-fascist reformists.

The problem of developing the united front is one of constant struggle, constant alertness against these two dangers, of struggle on two fronts.

The Thirteenth Plenum resolution especially emphasizes the call upon all sections of the Communist International to fight persistently for the realization of the militant united front with the social-democratic workers in spite of the treacherous leaders.

The Thirteenth Plenum made a general review of the whole problem of mass work of the parties and came to the conclusion that it is necessary to call for a genuine reorganization of the whole of the mass work, a re-examination and overhauling of all phases of mass work of the parties, especially the work in the factories and the trade unions. The factories and the trade unions represent

the weakest sector of the parties in all capitalist countries. This is certainly true for us in the United States. The Open Letter which our Extraordinary Party Conference addressed to the Party concretized the whole problem for America. Our Open Letter can be taken as the chief directive for our Party in connection with the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. There is nothing to be changed in it at all in the light of the Thirteenth Plenum. The Thirteenth Plenum resolution puts further emphasis upon all directives contained in our Open Letter, chiefly on the need for concentrating upon the most important strata of the workers, the most important industries, the most important factories, and the creation of Party strongholds in the factories as the basis of all our work. To carry through this task, and with it the struggle against Right opportunism, as well as against Left deviations, the struggle for the line of the Party, is the basis of our activity. Our task is to gather the allies of the working class, organize the farmers and direct their struggles, to win the broad sections of the impoverished petty-bourgeoisie, to carry through these activities by the most concrete and energetic application of the united front tactic, especially to develop the revolutionary trade union movement in all its forms, the independent leadership of the economic struggles, the development of the struggles of the unemployed, as the basic features of the Party's work, as the object for which all of our concentration is carried through.

In our own experiences in the development of the united front we have signalized in the Open Letter, the danger of farmer-laborism. In our experiences we have found this danger becoming sharper. If we had been more alert and more active in the political struggle for the line of the Party and the development of our various united front activities, we should have been better prepared to counteract immediately the steps that are now being taken by the Musteites for the establishment of their "American Workers Party", which is one of the sub-divisions of the farmer labor tendencies in this country which will be an outstanding feature of social-fascism. The Socialist Party is going through a process of disintegration and re-orientation. It will in all probability merge with these other groups and tendencies into the farmer laborite movement in the United States. The degree to which this danger crystallizes on a mass scale will be determined by how badly or how well we work. We can win these workers directly to the Communist Party. They do not need to go through schools of reformism and social-fascism in order to come to us. By proper united front work, by proper penetration of all of the mass organizations, by a proper struggle

against opportunism, against leftist distortions, we can win these workers directly to us.

DANGER OF FARMER-LABORISM AND THE FIGHT AGAINST IT

The tactic of the united front applies especially to the development of the revolutionary trade union movement and the independent leadership of strike struggles. We have special features of this problem in the United States. We have been, in the past year, facing certain unsolved questions; but we are gradually moving towards their solution. These questions have revolved around the tendency we have seen in the United States of the springing up of independent unions which are against the American Federation of Labor, but are not prepared to identify themselves with the red unions of the Trade Union Unity League. We have been trying to make a very sharp turn in the development of the united front policy of our red unions and leadership in strike struggles and have sharply aroused the Party to the necessity of much more serious work in the building of revolutionary oppositions inside the American Federation of Labor. We have now reached the point where we can give more concrete answers to the question of how we can develop the next steps in the organization of a broader class-struggle trade union movement, and at the same time greatly intensify the opposition work inside the American Federation of Labor. We are prepared now to point out that we must take steps to insure against the possible crystallization of these independent unions into a separate central body not only outside the A. F. L., but also outside of our organized influence. To prevent such a possible development we must carry through boldly and carefully a struggle for the fusion of all class struggle trade union organizations outside the A. F. of L., both independent and T.U.U.L. in each particular industry, and to bring all such trade unions together into an independent federation of labor. This means, first of all, concentrating on each particular industry, laying solid foundations there, and then bringing together upon a federated basis, the various industrial unions thereby created. Such work can only be successful if, at the same time, there is a tenfold more serious development of work inside the American Federation of Labor, and the creation of a really serious opposition movement there.

This perspective that we unfold, for the development in the trade union field, has two dangers. The most immediate danger is that we will confine ourselves to phrases and pronouncements about it and go through the motions of reorganizing ourselves and, at last, find ourselves with exactly the same forces, under different names. But the proposals that we make in this respect are not

merely a re-shifting of the existing forces under different names. What we propose is to broaden the organized base of the class struggle trade union movement. When that is achieved and we begin to move forward we must be keenly conscious of the development of the other danger which is the chief danger; that we will submerge ourselves in a broad and undifferentiated movement, will tend to develop a trade unionism that will imitate the American Federation of Labor and thereby disarm the workers in the struggle against the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. We must find the way to achieve a much broader development of mass trade union organization on a class struggle basis. At the same time that we sharpen all the fundamental issues of struggle between us and the A. F. of L. We must create within the ranks of the A. F. of L. a strong movement closely allied with the independent revolutionary union movement. I speak only of the main outlines of this question. Other comrades will develop it in more detail.

BROADEN ORGANIZED BASE OF CLASS-STRUGGLE TRADE UNIONS

In connection with this general aspect of the trade union work it is especially necessary to mention two of our weakest features which must begin to receive more systematic and more serious development. The first of these is our Negro work. We have spoken of this many times. We have made certain beginnings in drawing the Negroes into the revolutionary trade union movement. If the figures compiled about eight weeks ago are correct, about 10% of the T.U.U.L. membership is Negro.

This growth of Negro membership is very spotty and confined almost entirely to the lightest of the light industries (with the exception of steel in Buffalo). This question is of the most profound importance, not only for the trade unions as such, but for every phase of our Negro work. We cannot give the proper proletarian direction to the Negro liberation movement until we have laid the foundation of Negro mass work in the basic industries. Comrades, we must orientate our trade union work on this question much more seriously than we have.

The second special question in the trade union field that we must emphasize is the serious organization of the agricultural workers. Here again, we have not merely the trade union question. Consideration of this question is of primary importance for us not only because of the fact that the agricultural workers number several millions in the United States and becomes increasingly important in the economy of the country, but also the fact that the organization of a mass trade union of agricultural workers is one of the

basic necessary instruments for giving revolutionary direction to the whole agricultural population.

What I have said concerning the trade unions, in all general aspects, applies also to the unemployed. We have already given a very clear program for the struggle for unity in the unemployed field. Our slogan is the fusion of all mass organizations of the unemployed into one unemployed organization. Our program is the program of the development of struggles. The united front of struggle demands unity in organization so that there may be unity in the struggle for immediate demands, the struggle for relief, the struggle for every feature of relief that can be pressed out of local, state and national government; and above all, the development of mass demands, the mass fight for social insurance which still remains the weakest phase of the unemployed work of the United States.

The demand for unemployed insurance becomes especially central now, when even relief measures are being abolished, and the whole treatment of the unemployed is being transferred over on the basis of forced labor to public work projects, labor camps, etc.

It is necessary to say a few words about developing the anti-war and anti-fascist movement. We have a beginning in the United States of organizational crystallization of a broad united front on these questions in the American League Against War and Fascism. This beginning that we have made is very promising and constitutes one of the most positive features of our mass work in the past year. But, comrades, we must say it has not been followed up seriously.

In connection with this also, we have a very serious lack of attention and indifference to the question of our relations to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, especially in Latin America and more particularly in the Caribbean. How can we differentiate ourselves from the social-fascists, if in these everyday issues of the political development of the colonies, of American imperialism, we deal with them only when we are writing the resolutions or Manifestos of the Central Committee?

MOBILIZE U. S. WORKERS TO SUPPORT CUBAN REVOLUTION

What actions have we carried through in support of the tremendous revolutionary upheaval of the Cuban workers, right at our door? How have we mobilized the workers in support of the Cuban revolution? We can say that we have made a very good journalistic campaign in the *Daily Worker*. How far have we gone beyond that? And especially on the issue of support to Soviet China, in which American imperialism is directly financing and sup-

porting in all ways, politically and materially, the armed expeditions against Soviet China, what have we done to expose this activity of American imperialism? Here we are weak even on the journalistic side, not to speak of organizing mass protest with regard to these issues.

These matters must become a more serious part of the everyday life of our Party, and that does not mean only in the columns of the *Daily Worker*. It means in the activity, in the planned work of our sections and district committees. Our sections and district committees are a most important part of the leadership of our Party because they are the part that conducts the work closest to the masses, reaching the broadest masses of workers, and the development of this activity on a section and district scale as well as directly by the units, becomes the secret of the whole future development of our Party.

It is necessary to say a few words about the most general aspect of the struggle for Negro liberation and the efforts to give this struggle organizational form in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. I have said several times that we can make no advance in this work unless we first create a solid proletarian base in our trade unions and in the unemployed movement. It is necessary to give first place also to the development of such organizations as the Share-Croppers Union. But the necessity for emphasis upon these basic forms of organization in no way relieves us of the duty of organizing the general liberation movement of the Negroes, as we have outlined these proposals for the building of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and its paper, *The Liberator*. This is one of the tasks of the day for the entire Party organization. That means, developing mass activities, not leaving it on paper, not leaving it in the realm of abstract propaganda but developing tasks for the local organizations upon the basis of the general program laid down. (Interjection by Patterson: And intensifying the fight against chauvinism.)

This is a part of the struggle for the line of the Party, and here as in all other phases of the fight for the line of the Party, it is a fight on two fronts. In the Negro field, the main danger is white chauvinism, the sharpest and most specific expression of opportunism in the Negro work. The other front is the resistance against the penetration of petty-bourgeois nationalist tendencies, an influence especially dangerous in the ranks of our Negro comrades, sometimes influencing white comrades also, and which at moments in the development of the work becomes a very difficult obstacle in the reaching of the masses with revolutionary leadership, sometimes

creating a distinct danger of the movement getting into the hands of our class enemies.

STRUGGLE FOR BUILDING PARTY IS STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP
OF MASSES

All of this work can be accomplished only by building the Party. We have made a certain progress in the past year in building the Party. Our dues paying membership is growing, slowly as yet, but growing. Dues payments in December, I think, were over 23,000 average. This is still a small growth. We are making some progress in the crystallization of the development of our cadres, in the building of the Party organization, and in activizing Party fractions; but, comrades, this growth still is so small that it is entirely out of proportion to the tremendous growth of our tasks and our possibilities. If we should judge by the objective situation, the speed of development of the crisis of capitalism and the breakdown of all the old influences in the minds of the workers, the doors that are open for us, then we would have to say that in the year 1934 our task is to become a Party of 100,000 to 150,000 members. And how can we think in such terms when we grow a few here and there, and the fluctuation is so great, that we lose 60 per cent of what we gain? How can we become a mass Party when we approach the building of the Party in such a careless manner?

The problem is not a simple one. It is not simply a matter of recruiting like recruiting into an army. The problem of building the Party is in the first place a problem of a struggle for the Party line among the masses. If our recruiting power is weak, then it is weak because of the weaknesses of our struggle for the line of the Party among the masses.

We have had the development of mass trade unions in the last year from which we have not recruited one per cent into the Party. What does that mean? It means that in that mass union where we did not recruit into the Party, we had no struggle for the Party line; and that means that our leadership in that union is very weak and precarious and we may lose it at any moment. The struggle for the building of the Party is the struggle for the leadership of the mass movement, the struggle for the line of the Party among the masses; and that means also, planned work, concentration work, Party discipline, the development of the activity of the Party, the bringing of the Party members directly into the mass work, the bringing of the mass of our Party members into the trade unions where they are not yet. Most of them are not yet in the trade unions, and not even in the unemployed councils.

It means making every Communist a leader of the non-Party masses. You cannot recruit workers into the Party until you first have won some degree of leadership over them, and the weaknesses of our Party recruiting, the weaknesses of the mass work of each individual member of the Party, is the weak work of our leading committees, sections, fractions and districts and we cannot separate these problems.

If we are going to build our Party it means that we must make a very decisive effort to involve the entire Party in mass work, fixing the concrete problems of mass work, learning what it means to fight on two fronts against deviations, and developing a discipline on the basis of the policies, developing concentration on the basis of planned concrete work, a real task that you can see and put your fingers on. And this means developing Party cadres, Bolshevizing the cadres of the Party, giving them systematic preparation for their task, giving them systematic political directives and instructions, giving them the opportunities to master Bolshevik theory; which means, in the first place, explaining and understanding the tasks of the daily work, and in the second place, systematic study of theory. All of these things are the concrete features of building the Party.

The act of recruitment is a very essential but subordinate part of the whole thing, a part which incidentally is often neglected. Very often we do, to some degree, make all of the other preparations for building the Party, but fail in the final act of inviting the worker to come in and opening the door for him. This must be more systematically done; we must have a recruiting campaign, comrades.

How many workers have been brought into our Party in the last year? Approximately the same number as in 1932, maybe a little more or a little less. If we take the last part of the year it has brought the average up. In the first part of the year we fell far below 1932, which simply means we did not systematically take up the questions of recruitment as a special task. Recruiting in 1934 has got to be on a scale which we never dreamed of before. If we come out to the end of this year without multiplying our membership by three or four or five times after making an allowance for all fluctuations, we will have failed in our task, in our duty under the present situation. This means also more conscious work through the instruments of the building of the Party. And here I speak about the main instrument for reaching the non-Party masses, that is, literature, the printed word. Our Party literature, and in the first place, the *Daily Worker*, are the main instruments of mass agitation in the direct contact of the Party with the masses. It is the most systematic, the most reliable, the most effective.

We have made certain progress, especially with the *Daily Worker*, in transforming it into a mass paper. We must make it much more of a leading organ, the instrument of the Party leadership for mass contact than it is yet. The progress that we have already made proves the tremendous possibilities of using this paper for the building of the Party, for the building of the mass organizations.

It is not possible to develop a mass paper if we allow the circulation to grow only spontaneously, by itself. Nothing happens spontaneously. Or if it does happen spontaneously it is so inadequate that it doesn't fit the situation at all. The *Daily Worker* circulation is growing now as we might expect it to grow spontaneously; but we must realize how many workers are ready to take the *Daily Worker* gladly as their paper; and the only reason they don't is because they do not know there is a *Daily Worker*, have never seen it, nobody has ever brought it to their attention; and they never will see it until they pick one up on the street or we in an organized, systematic, stubborn way, over a period, develop the new contacts for the *Daily Worker* among those circles that are ready for the *Daily Worker*. This is a primary task for the Party; and all the other tasks that we have spoken about depend upon carrying out this task.

SHOP PAPERS AS ORGANS OF THE PARTY STRONGHOLDS IN THE SHOPS

Then another feature of the same thing—shop papers. Why is it we seem to have periods in our Party when something is fashionable, then it goes out of fashion and everybody forgets about it? Shop papers used to be very fashionable in our Party. I can remember when no D. O. would get up in a Party meeting without saying how many shop papers he had and what their names were, and now when we are especially concentrating upon shop work, no one ever talks about shop papers. We are going to penetrate the shops of the United States, but we are going to forget all about shop papers while we do it! Now we have another problem. We are not only penetrating the shops, but we are also greatly emphasizing the trade union work; so that when anybody does think of a shop paper now, well, it must be a trade union shop paper; so Party shop papers are being systematically liquidated, even where a few exist.

What does this mean? How are we going to build the stronghold of the Party in the shops if in the first place we ignore and neglect shop papers, and in the second place when they are there we silently agree or actively assist in transforming them into trade union organs, when they should be Party organs. It is not so very necessary to have trade union organs in the shop right now. The

time may come when that will be very important. The trade union press is important, but the place to develop the trade union press now is through the general trade union papers. And the only organization which can properly develop a system and network of shop papers is the Party organization. We must insist that shop papers become an important point on the order of business in every section and in every district as well as in the central office of the Party. And to the degree to which we recover our line on this weak sector of the front, and begin to really establish a battery of shop papers worthy of the name, we begin to perform this tremendous task we have set ourselves of establishing the Party strongholds in the shops.

A word about our language press. Our press is becoming not of less but of greater importance for us. It is more important than ever before. The more we Americanize our Party and develop the English press, the *Daily Worker*, trade union press and shop papers, the more influential and effective our language press is becoming among those sections of the population which still read their original language. So it is not a question of the development of the *Daily Worker* and our English press making the *Freiheit* and *Elore* and all other language papers less important for us; rather they come to a new high stage of effectiveness as our Party grows and we become more effective as a Party. This is true, however, only if the editorial quality, the political quality of these papers improve at the same time and keep pace to some degree with the development of the Party and the whole movement. On the whole we can say this quality is improving; but on the other hand we must say it lags even behind the *Daily Worker* in becoming a Bolshevik mass weapon, and we must state as one of the tasks of our language buros, that a decisive improvement of the political influence among the masses, of the language papers, is necessary.

A word on the problems created for our Party on the expected and possible government repression against our movement, problems of illegality for our Party. To a certain extent semi-legality exists in some sections, as in the South, and there is a possibility we may have a very sudden change in the situation in America, and almost overnight we might be faced with a condition of illegality for our Party. In such a world situation in which we live at the present time, such things are possibilities and probabilities for which we must prepare. The whole problem of the systematic development of our cadres is a basic thing—the testing and knowledge of our cadres and their development. Besides this, there are all of the special

features of organization for the quick possibility of illegality of our work.

THE EIGHTH CONVENTION OF OUR PARTY IS NOW
ON THE ORDER OF THE DAY

All of these features of the tasks of the Party are foundations on which must be developed the whole Party program. All issues lead directly to the struggle for power which is on the order of the day for the international proletariat. All the problems of the struggle for power must be raised and clarified before the working class today. In clarifying these issues on the basis of the development of the immediate struggles, we must give more concrete answers to the workers as to what is the alternative of the capitalist way out of the crisis, how do the Communists propose to reorganize the world, how such reorganization must be brought about and what it will mean in the life of the workers. Here we must make use of the lessons of the Soviet Union on the basis of American conditions and experiences, making use of all of the special features of American life which contribute to an explanation of all the problems of the Socialist reorganization of society, which is in a material way better prepared in America than anywhere else in the world.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. has issued the call for preparations for the Seventh World Congress. This will be held in the latter part of 1934. The agenda and the reports will be published about the first of June and until that time our Party and the other parties have the duty of making whatever proposals we have in mind for the agenda, and for the general preparations for the Congress. At the coming Convention of our Party we will also have to make arrangements for the selection of the American delegates to the World Congress.

The Eighth Convention of our Party is now on the order of the day. The Political Committee has already sent to all members of the Central Committee proposals for this convention, proposing the date for April 3rd. We have proposals from some of the districts that the place be Cleveland. The detailed problems of organizing the convention will be dealt with separately with a special report by Comrade Stachel. Here I only want to raise the question in its connection with the whole task of the Party; to emphasize that the Convention and all of the activities, discussions, meetings and elections that take place around it, are to be used as instruments for carrying through and popularizing the resolutions and decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Open Letter of our Extraordinary Party Conference, the control tasks which we have

set ourselves—that is, the carrying through of the decisive turn to the development of a mass movement, mass organizations, and mass struggles in the United States under the leadership of the Communist Party, to consolidate a strong mass Bolshevik Party in the United States to face the tasks which arise in this country, and to prepare the American workers for the seizure of power.

Tasks of Our Party for Winning the Majority of the Working Class

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, C. P. U.S.A., JAN. 16, 1934, ACCEPTING AND ENDORSING THE THESIS OF THE 13th PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

1. The 18th meeting of the Central Committee C.P.U.S.A. fully accepts and endorses the analysis of the present world situation and the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2. The Central Committee expresses its full agreement with the stand of the E.C.C.I. on the situation in Germany, and the perspectives for a new revolutionary upsurge of the German proletariat against fascism under the leadership of the heroic German Communist Party. The German Communist Party, led by Comrade Thaelmann, correctly worked both before and since the ascent of Hitler to power to tear the masses from the treacherous leadership of the German social-democracy, the main social support for fascism, and to win the majority of the working class and the toiling masses for the revolutionary seizure of power for proletarian dictatorship for a Soviet Germany. This position, the touchstone in determining a real Bolshevik attitude, must be widely popularized in the struggle against the social-fascists and renegades.

The failure of the Hitler regime to solve any of the problems of German capitalism, the continuous lowering of the living standards of the toiling masses, the extreme aggressiveness of Hitler's foreign policy, especially against the Soviet Union, making German fascism one of the main threats to world peace, all increase the class antagonisms within Germany, shatter the workers' illusions in the demagogic promises of Hitler, lead to a rapid disintegration of social-democracy, which the masses are beginning to see as the force chiefly responsible for the fascist victory, and bring the masses in increasing numbers to the Communist Party. The tireless revolutionary work of the German Communist Party assures the victory of the German proletariat.

3. The analysis of the world situation and the tasks set for the various Communist Parties by the Thirteenth Plenum apply fully to the United States. The policies of the Wall Street financial

oligarchy, as expressed by the Roosevelt regime, have failed to overcome the crisis. The New Deal, with the N.R.A. as its keystone, has led to a further impoverishment of the toiling masses. The character of the New Deal as preparations for war, and development towards fascism becomes daily more apparent. The direct inflation policy now inaugurated by Roosevelt becomes still another factor deepening the crisis for American capitalism and still further sharpens the attacks on the masses and increases the antagonisms between U. S. imperialism and its foreign rivals, particularly Great Britain, France, and Japan, bringing closer the danger of war.

The peace talk of Roosevelt, his demagogy about non-interference in foreign affairs, serve only as a pacifist cover for the feverish preparations for war which today are the predominant concern of the Roosevelt regime. The recognition of the Soviet Union, dictated by the growing power of the land of socialism, is used by Roosevelt to support this pacifist illusion, but, in reality, is another indication of the imminence of war.

The masses are beginning to overcome the great illusions which they had in the New Deal and which were furthered and greatly strengthened by the support given to Roosevelt by A. F. of L., social-fascist and liberal leaders. A new strike wave is maturing throughout the country on the very heels of the strike wave of the past year. Already the strike wave of 1933 showed a clearly defined political character, throwing the workers into struggle against the N.R.A. In the developing strike wave, this political character, as directed against the N.R.A. and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, is already much more pronounced, and will still further develop. Great struggles of the poor farmers and the unemployed are also maturing.

Clearly, Roosevelt's program, with its fascist and war objectives, is also leading to the sharpening of all class antagonisms throughout the country, and is placing on the agenda, here also, the problem of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the revolutionary seizure of power by the toiling masses, the proletarian revolution. The objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis are maturing.

4. This places before our Party the task of energetically and speedily carrying through the decisive turn to serious mass work, as demanded by the Open Letter of the Extraordinary Party Conference. The most determined efforts must be made to arouse the initiative of all Party units, sections, and districts, and of every Party member to insure the taking of every possible step to establish Communist leadership in the sharp class struggles now maturing.

Particularly, the most serious efforts must be made to raise the

political understanding of the membership, to prepare them to stand firm against all attacks and solve all the problems with which the present situation confronts them. Through the Party press, particularly, but also through the regular political discussions with the membership, and through Party schools, and classes, the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum must be widely popularized and developments within the country examined in the light of these decisions, with the objective of making a thorough understanding of these decisions the property of every member.

At the same time, the popularization of the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum, and the preparations for the Eighth Convention of our Party must be made the occasion for a renewed and more sustained drive to realize the objectives set for the Party by the Open Letter. This means, in the first place, a strengthening of the efforts to penetrate the big factories of the most decisive industries, building there on the basis of closest attention to the day-to-day needs of the workers, units of the Communist Party, and of the Young Communist League, and department and factory committees of the revolutionary trade unions, and, in cases where the A. F. of L. is established, of the trade union opposition. Decisive and systematic work must be undertaken to win the working youth, including the unemployed who have never had an opportunity to work in the factories, and to transform the Y.C.L. into a broad mass organization.

Every district, section, and unit is particularly charged with the task of strengthening all phases of our mass trade union work. This includes both the building of the revolutionary trade unions, and especially the overcoming of all underestimation of serious work in the A. F. of L. and independent unions, developing the broadest united front from below. In this connection, the Political Bureau and the District Bureaus are charged with responsibility for the carrying through of a drive in the Party to bring every Party member into a trade union.

The campaign for social and unemployed insurance must be seriously undertaken, with an effort to draw in both the employed and unemployed workers. The present serious weaknesses in the work among the unemployed make it particularly necessary to emphasize the need for decisively taking up this task in every district and section.

The organization of CWA, and PWA workers must receive still greater attention. The announced cut in wages on CWA jobs presents the most favorable situation for organization and struggle. At the same time the work among the greater mass of the unemployed, who are still without jobs and on greatly reduced

relief rations, must receive much greater attention than heretofore.

The proposal of the government to force 1,000,000 boys into the CCC's and the millions of single unemployed into forced labor camps, must be met with intensive agitational and organizational work and the carrying through of struggle.

The work among the Negro masses, particularly the bringing of the Negro workers into the revolutionary trade unions and into the unemployed movement, must receive much more serious attention. While deepening the struggle against all white chauvinist tendencies both in the Party and the trade unions, and for equal rights for the Negro people, it is necessary to give much more attention than heretofore to the discrimination against the Negro masses in the factories, on the CWA and PWA jobs, and at the relief bureaus.

The struggle against the development of fascism requires much more attention to the struggle against discrimination and for the unity of the Negro and white toilers.

The work among the agricultural proletariat and the poor farmers assumes much greater importance in view of the developments towards fascism and war. The work in the rural districts must henceforth receive the attention of the Party in every district.

Each district and particularly the concentration districts (Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh) are charged with the responsibility of immediately checking up on the control tasks set by the District Bureau and of taking steps to realize these control tasks before the Party Convention.

The fight against all right opportunist tendencies, as the main danger, and against all "left" deviations, must be carried on not only more firmly in the Party ranks, but among the masses.

Particularly is it necessary to expose before the broadest masses the dictatorial character of bourgeois democracy, the rapid transformation of bourgeois democracy into fascism, and the feverish preparations for war.

On the basis of the most determined struggles for the burning demands of the masses and the struggle against war and fascism, it is necessary now to boldly bring forward the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the proletarian seizure of power, the proletarian dictatorship, a Soviet America.

The bold putting forward of the revolutionary objectives of the Communist Party, popularizing these among the broadest masses, stressing the most serious work in the factories, in the trade unions, and among the unemployed, in an effort to win the day-to-day demands of the workers. This is the road toward winning the decisive majority of the American proletariat.

The New Deal and the Old Deal

MUSTEISM A "LEFT" COVER FOR GREEN

By ALEX BITTELMAN

(Continued from last month)

IT is in the light of this slogan of Green ("No other labor movement in the U. S. but the A. F. of L.") that we must now evaluate the opposition of Muste & Co. to the class struggle unions of the T.U.U.L. Certainly no member of the Muste group can object to joining and building the T.U.U.L. unions on the ground that the T.U.U.L. *program* is no good. The members of the Muste group desire class struggle unions? Then this is what the T.U.U.L. stands for. Muste himself claims to be standing on the platform of the class struggle and in opposition to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. Nonetheless, the leaders of the Muste group oppose the building of T.U.U.L. unions, such, for instance, as in the steel industry. The argument is that the T.U.U.L. union is not a mass organization and that the workers are afraid of its "red" coloring. But this is more a pretext than a serious argument. A nationwide and genuine mass union in such an industry as steel is not to be expected to be born overnight, and the steel union of the T.U.U.L. is comparatively very young. The duty, the inescapable duty of all class-conscious and revolutionary elements in the industry is to step in and help make it a mass union. Can it be done? Young as the steel union is, it has already proved its ability to organize and lead the workers in struggle wherever a serious and concentrated effort was made to that end. Are the objective conditions for the building of this union getting more favorable or less? The only possible answer is that the objective conditions are becoming more favorable. And this does not mean at all that we overlook the growing fascization of the government and of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and that this means brutal terror and the persecution of all militant and class-conscious elements in the working class. But, on the other hand, the favorable conditions are increasing at a much faster tempo. The need of the workers for class struggle unions is, with the development of the New Deal, becoming stronger, not weaker. It is precisely in response to this feeling that wide masses of workers are seeking trade union organization. And are they all going to the

A. F. of L. unions everywhere in preference to the T.U.U.L. unions? No, not at all. Where there is a union of the T.U.U.L., working boldly and correctly among the masses and meeting the "red scare" frankly and courageously, it is winning masses into its organization and is becoming a factor in the class struggle. To refuse, in the face of these increasingly more favorable circumstances, to build the unions of the T.U.U.L., is to capitulate to Green's fascist slogan of "no other labor movement", is to be guilty of objectively supporting the fascization of the unions under the N.R.A.

That this is so can be seen also from another angle. Instead of building the T.U.U.L., the Muste policy is to build oppositions in the A. F. of L. unions or, where the rank and file is actually breaking away from the A. F. of L. (as in Illinois coal), to build independent unions of a "paler red" than the T.U.U.L. Now, what have been the practical results of this policy? The oppositions in the A. F. of L. that the Muste policy favors are for the most part *loyal* oppositions, loyal to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, as Comrade Foster has aptly characterized them, and such oppositions are not a help but a hindrance to the class struggle of the workers. For what is the test of real class struggle opposition to the bureaucracy in the A. F. of L. unions? It is the persistent exposure of the social-fascist character of this bureaucracy and the initiation and leadership of the daily economic struggles of the workers *against* the sabotage and treachery of the bureaucrats. No other opposition is of any use to the workers at the present time, especially under the N.R.A. Furthermore, any loyal opposition in the A. F. of L. is bound to become a "left" camouflage for the fascist deeds of the bureaucracy, and this is what the Muste policy in the A. F. of L. leads to in practice. Similarly with respect to the Muste policies in the building of "less red" independent unions. What has become of this policy in the Progressive Miners in Illinois? It has resulted in bringing to the top a leadership that is in no way distinguishable from the Lewis bureaucracy. The Trotskyite counter-revolutionists have contributed their "bit" to this end. The unwillingness of the Muste policy to carry on a revolutionary fight against the Lewis bureaucracy, capitulation to the "red scare", a theory of creating a labor movement "less red" than the Communists, maneuvering between the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the revolutionary oppositions in the A. F. of L. unions with a distinct leaning towards the former, and opposition to the building of the T.U.U.L. unions—all this combined to strengthen the social-fascist elements in the Progressive Miners' leadership and to cheat the rank and file of a real class-struggle union for which they struggled so bravely and with so much self-sacrifice. All this proves that the

Muste policy, both inside the A. F. of L. and outside, leads to capitulation to Green's fascist slogan of "no other labor movement", creates a "left" cover for the fascization of the trade unions.

It is clear to all that have the interests of the American proletariat truly at heart that never, since 1927, were the need and opportunity for the unions of the T.U.U.L. greater than they are today. And the fact that large masses of workers are coming into the unions of the A. F. of L. imposes upon us the task, now more than ever, to build the revolutionary oppositions in the A. F. of L. and to correlate this work with the building of the T.U.U.L. unions in the closest possible way. In actual life there is no contradiction between the building of T.U.U.L. unions and oppositions in the reformist unions—A. F. of L. and independent. The "contradiction" exists in the heads of opportunists and confusionists. In the class struggle the two activities—class struggle unions and revolutionary oppositions—constitute one basic line of work for the revolutionization of the working class. The tactical line of the Communist Party of organizing the unorganized, *as a rule*, into the T.U.U.L. unions and of building revolutionary oppositions in the A. F. of L. and independent unions has proved to be the only correct line for every honest worker in the United States. This correct line has till recently not produced the even, uniform and desired mass results; the T.U.U.L. unions (and revolutionary oppositions) have suffered in the past many setbacks *after promising and successful beginnings for the organization and leadership of mass struggles*; the T.U.U.L. unions (and revolutionary oppositions) have not everywhere succeeded in the past in holding and consolidating organizationally *the truly important and some great mass struggles which they have led*; the reasons for all this are to be found in the Right and "left" deviations, but mainly Right, from the correct tactical line, with sectarian twists common to both deviations, aggravating a bad condition. But the Party is strenuously fighting these deviations and sectarian twists. The Party membership, and with them all fighting elements in the working class, are learning to apply the Party line with ever greater effectiveness. Setbacks there will undoubtedly be (the road to working-class victory is not as smooth as a well paved automobile road), but if we hold on to our correct line and apply it skillfully these setbacks will be fewer in number and less serious in consequence than was the case in the past.

Green's slogan for the fascization of the trade unions—the slogan of "no other labor movement but the A. F. of L."—is also the slogan of the renegades from Communism, the Trotsky-Cannon and Lovestone-Brandler outfits. These renegades, especially

the counter-revolutionary Trotsky-Cannon outfit, are "activizing" themselves to hysterics to help Green put across his N.R.A. line. This, of course, they do not do under N.R.A. banners. Nor does Thomas and the Socialist Party, for that matter. And even Green reserves a few criticisms for the N.R.A., such as insufficient labor representation on its boards. As to Muste & Co., they will certainly appear outraged by our charge that their policies, in effect, provide a "left" cover for Green's fascization of the unions. Thus, small wonder that the renegades who operate especially among the circles close to the Communist Party also parade as opponents of the New Deal. But that is only camouflage to hide the decisive fact that now, more than before, they are serving Green & Co. and by this token they are helping American imperialism to make the turn towards fascism and war. In fact, the renegades, just because they are renegades, display phenomenal viciousness in their efforts to hamper the growing united front from below, and the greater their failures the more vicious they become. Realizing that the T.U.U.L. unions, and the revolutionary oppositions in the reformist unions, have now especially favorable conditions for growth, and that the united front activities of the Communist Party are beginning to bring good results, the renegades have made their especial business to bark at these two activities. And whom does this work for? It works for Green, Thomas, Roosevelt and the N.R.A. Green decrees: "no other labor movement but the A. F. of L.," and the renegades answer in chorus: We accept and obey. The united front from below under Communist leadership is no good, say the renegades and counter revolutionists, it is "Stalinism". But a "united front" under Green & Co.—that is good, that is genuine Trotskyism or Brandlerism. The Right danger in our midst, to which the Central Committee resolution draws especial attention, and the crassest expression of which is the tendency to waver and even capitulate before the "red scare", derives considerably from the counter-revolutionary "ideology" of the renegades and must be fought, concretely and day by day, as the chief danger among us. The success of this fight demands the persistent struggle against the "left" opportunism and the sectarian traits of all sorts.

THE NEW DEAL FOR THE COLONIES

The Extraordinary Party Conference and the Open Letter (July, 1933) emphasized the special need of building up and strengthening the party's base among the proletariat of the basic industries as the chief foundation of the party, in order to enable the proletariat and its party to rally around itself more effectively all non-proletarian oppressed masses and lead their common struggles

against the New Deal. Likewise, the party has directed the attention of the masses in the U. S. to the special and new tasks that arise before them as a result of the new deal of American imperialism for the colonial and dependent peoples, chiefly in the Caribbean and in South America. The struggle of the masses against the native landlords and bourgeoisie and against foreign imperialism is growing at a rapid pace. But what is especially significant is the coming forward of the working class as the leader of these struggles, the maturing of the revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants under the hegemony of the proletariat and the leadership of the Communist Parties. These struggles are rising to the level of revolutionary movements for the establishment of Workers' and Peasants' Soviet governments and for complete national independence.

Under these conditions, which are rapidly though unevenly maturing in the Caribbean and South America, the danger of imperialist intervention to suppress violently these movements and to foist upon the masses new puppet bourgeois-landlord governments that will do the bidding of foreign imperialism, is becoming more acute than heretofore. We are confronted with such a condition right now in Cuba where Yankee intervention is unfolding itself in its economic, political and military aspects, ready to pass over to actual war whenever Wall Street sees fit. Hence, the Party's activities to arouse and organize the masses in the United States to fight against imperialist intervention, especially of our "own" imperialist government and in our "own" colonies and dependencies, and to offer all possible help to the revolutionary movements of these countries.

Green and Thomas are found here on the side of monopoly capital and imperialist oppression: the first openly, the second more or less covered. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy does it with a good deal of open chauvinistic and jingoistic incitement, while the Socialist Party sweetens its dish with a heavy sprinkling of pacifism. Green's "partnership" of labor in the N.R.A. openly paves the way for the mobilization of the workers for war. For, if the workers have become "partners" in the "nation's" industries under the supervision of a benevolent government, do they not owe a "duty" to help find new markets for these industries? And since the N.R.A. and the New Deal set out to find such markets by war and colonial aggrandizement—there being no other effective ways—does it not follow again that the workers must submit to the war preparations and that they must help keep Cuba and the other dependencies of American imperialism under the heel of Wall Street? In short, Green's theory of the N.R.A. and his daily practice are a most intense mobilization of American labor in support of colonial oppression, intervention and war. And as to Thomas, all

he can see is that "it is all too likely that State capitalism to maintain itself in America will need the heady wine of jingoism to distract the workers". This aims to whitewash both the New Deal and the old deal. For can it be truthfully said that the old deal was free from jingoism, militarism, chauvinism and war preparations? And can it be denied that the New Deal not only carries over these "noble" traits but intensifies them manifoldly, making war and intervention the order of the day?

THE NEGROES AND THE N.R.A.

— That the lot of the Negro masses has become much worse with the inauguration of the new deal cannot be disputed. And this is no accident. Every attack of the capitalist class against the workers and toiling farmers will hit the Negro masses hardest because of the national oppression under which they suffer. It would be, therefore, very curious to hear Thomas say something on the "unquestionable opportunities" that the N.R.A. has brought to the Negroes; and at the same time make him explain the sabotage and opposition of the Socialist Party to the united front struggles for Negro equality, against lynchings and for national self-determination of the Black Belt—struggles initiated and led by the Communist Party. As for the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, it is using the N.R.A. and its minimum wage provisions which become maximum as a new weapon for a more brazen policy of splitting up the working class into white and black, skilled and unskilled, regions of higher wage scales and lower wage scales, etc. In the case of the Negroes, the treachery of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy under the N.R.A. is assuming gigantic proportions with the result that the standard of living of the white worker is being reduced to the level formerly held by the Negro and the standards of the Negro are pressed down still lower with a tendency in some places to displace the Negro workers from industry either partly or wholly. In other words, by betraying the Negro workers the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is betraying also the bulk of the white workers, it is betraying the entire working class.

Similarly with the effect of the new deal upon the Negro farmers. The timely warning issued by the Communist Party that the new deal and the A.A.A. will not better but worsen the conditions of the toiling farmers is already being confirmed by actual events. And in this worsening lot of the toiling farmers, the Negro farmers once more are the worst sufferers. Since most of them are Southern tenant farmers and sharecroppers, the reduction of acreage and the crop destruction of cotton, the chief policies of the new deal, are falling as a crushing burden upon them. Add to this the virtual slavery of the Negro masses in the South, the inhuman

brutality of the white landlords and capitalists, the complete suppression of all Negro rights, a regime of terroristic national domination of white exploiters, and you have a condition of veritable hell.

The program of the Communist Party for the struggle against the new deal bases itself upon these conditions, out of which a deeper and wider radicalization of the Negro masses is arising. Hence the program calls for more intensive organization of the Negro proletariat into the trade unions and of the Negro farmers into farmer organizations, a wider mobilization of the Negro masses to struggle for equal rights and national liberation, a rallying of the white workers for the active support of the Negro struggles, a fusing of all exploited for the revolutionary fight against the new deal. And the sharper this struggle becomes, as it is bound to, the more dangerous are the vacillations of the national-reformist elements among the Negroes. While it is forced to become more outspoken and sharp in criticism of various new manifestations of white oppression, Negro national-reformism, which is a bourgeois ideology, devotes its main energies not to helping the revolutionary struggles of the Negro masses against the white exploiters but to attacking and hampering these struggles, seeking above all to "save" the Negro masses from Communism. It is obvious that this slogan of national-reformism to "save" the Negro masses from Communism is a slogan of counter-revolution. Its true meaning is to save white landlord and capitalist domination from destruction, to perpetuate the slavery of the Negro masses. To expose the true nature of this and similar slogans of Negro national-reformism, to show that its vacillations between capitulation before the white ruling class and half-hearted support of the struggling Negro masses help the former and hurt the latter, to win the Negro masses for the revolutionary struggle, are basic conditions for the successful struggle against the new deal.

THE A.A.A. AND THE TOILING FARMERS

Among the toiling farmers generally we are seeing a new upsurge of mass struggles as a result of the new deal and the A.A.A. Of these the resolution of the Central Committee of the Party says (Oct. 14-15): "The Agricultural Adjustment Act has left the basic masses of the farmers in worse conditions than it found them, increasing prices of the things they must buy over twice as much as the increase in prices of the things they sell". The Party had foreseen and foretold these results at its Extraordinary Conference in July at which there was also worked out the program of struggle against the new deal for the farmers. The toiling farmer is plagued by various attacks from the trusts, speculators and the government.

These are debts, taxes, foreclosures and evictions, low prices for what he sells and high prices for what he buys, etc. The small tenant and the sharecropper have to bear the additional heavy burdens of landlord rapacity and exploitation. All of these the new deal has intensified immeasurably.

The capitalist-agrarian politicians (Norris, La Follette, etc.), the spokesmen of the rich farmer and smaller independent capitalist, have made the demand for inflation the chief plank in their program, at the same time exerting all their influence to check the mass struggles of the toiling farmers. Milo Reno & Co. show themselves to be working as the instrument of these politicians to demoralize and break the farmers' mass struggles from the inside. The struggle in the ranks of the bourgeoisie around the question of inflation has a tendency to disorient the toiling masses. The question is, who wants inflation and who is against it? Whom will it benefit and whom will it hurt? But before these questions can be answered correctly it must be understood (as was pointed out by the Party in its first analysis of the new deal) that a policy of inflation was part and parcel of the new deal and that the Roosevelt administration has been carrying out and expanding this policy continually. The main stress of Roosevelt's inflationary drive lies in the double-edged attempt to cheapen prices of American commodities on the foreign markets and to raise them at home. Now, what was the result of this? It, together with the legalized price-fixing under the N.R.A. and A.A.A., did help to raise prices at home, but again in such a way as further to rob the workers and toiling farmers of their incomes, since wages lag behind rising prices and the prices that the toiling farmer receives for his products continue to lag behind the products of industry. In other words, the inflationary policies of the new deal work out as further deflation for the toiling masses. As to the effect of these policies on the foreign market, this much can be said with certainty: they have not helped to increase American foreign trade to any appreciable extent but they did precipitate open economic warfare with the imperialist rivals of the U.S., especially with England, compelling the Roosevelt administration to resort to additional and sharper measures (the new stage in the struggle for the world's gold reserves) of a political and military character in preparation for the violent war to redivide the world.

All these inflationary policies are put into effect by the Roosevelt administration at the behest of monopoly capital and in its interests. However, there are several things involved in inflation that monopoly capital is rather afraid of at the present time. It does not want inflation (whether of credit or currency) to be manipulated in such a way as would favor too much the independent smaller capitalist

and rich farmer, and it is afraid (at the present time, it must be emphasized) that inflation may "get out of hand" and upset the very precarious financial structure. These fears take the form of opposition to a policy of "fiat" money since such a policy, under present conditions, would depreciate the capital value of the monopolies with a tendency to favor the rich farmer and smaller independent capitalist. It is precisely for this reason that these latter groups clamor for extreme forms of currency inflation.

When Green and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy oppose inflation they do not oppose any of the inflationary measures involved in the new deal. On the contrary, they support these measures and thereby, in addition to supporting the open and direct robbery of the workers and toiling farmers, they support also the indirect and masked robbery of the masses. What they oppose is the extreme inflation of the currency, "fiat" money, and this is precisely the position of monopoly capital and the Roosevelt administration. Green & Co. are pulling the strings of the monopolies on the question of inflation, just as the "agrarian" senators and Milo Reno & Co. are pulling the strings of the rich farmer and independent capitalist. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy stands on this question, as on many others, not even with the small capitalists but with the biggest, which does not prevent the bureaucracy from being in general "sympathy" with the "just" demands of the farmers. And as the radicalization of the toiling farmers and of the working class, whose simultaneous development constitutes a very important angle of the present situation, continues to grow, thereby "threatening" to produce a worker-farmer alliance under proletarian leadership, and in order to combat such a development, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy may yet veer around to collaboration with the farmers, even to participation in some form of "farmer-labor" movement. It will find a "bridge" for such a transition in the farmer "affinities" of the bureaucracy of the Railroad Brotherhoods. But this would only signify the adoption by the social-fascists of new methods of serving monopoly capital consistent with the new needs of capitalism under a higher phase of the class struggle.

FARMER-LABORISM AND SOCIAL-FASCISM

Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party are already anticipating these needs. They are now paying more attention to the farmers than heretofore, not, of course, in order to assist the mass struggles of the toiling farmers against the monopolies and the new deal but for the contrary purpose of checking these movements by trying to divert the radicalization of the farmer-masses into the "safe and sound" channels of reformist parliamentarism, preferably under Socialist Party auspices. But this last point is not a matter of "principle" with the Socialist Party. Certainly, not with Thomas who,

in distinction from the late Hillquit, is more willing to accommodate a third party movement if it shows some popular strength. Now, with the death of Hillquit, the Thomas "tendency" will naturally become strengthened and so will the maneuvers of the Socialist Party with various "farmer-labor" and third party groups. That this will and certain groups of independent capitalists. The main stress serve to expose still further the social-fascist nature of the S.P. and of the Thomas "tendency" before the eyes of the proletarian members and followers of the Socialist Party is beyond any doubt.

The nature of some of the more recent maneuvers of the Socialist Party in the field of third party movement could be glimpsed from its so-called Continental Congresses and from its attitude toward the independent political actionists (Dewey group). It is a strategy of checking the crystallization of the worker-farmer alliance under working-class hegemony for which the Communist Party is fighting. The tactics of the Socialist Party are not so definite and final, that is, the extent to which the Socialist Party would be willing to give up its "name" and organization in a new third party alignment, this being one of the issues between the Thomas and Hillquit groups. But it is certain that the growth of the worker-farmer alliance under Communist leadership will tend to make the Socialist Party ever more willing to "sacrifice" itself on the altar of a new petty-bourgeois bulwark against the revolutionary advance of the masses. And it is also certain, as was pointed out in the Open Letter, that if the Communist Party continues to lag behind the mass movements of the workers and toiling farmers, if it does not succeed rapidly enough to strengthen its base among the decisive sections of the industrial proletariat, farmer-laborism may become a serious obstacle on the road of the worker-farmer alliance under proletarian hegemony.

Muste's Labor Party policy leads inevitably into the morass of farmer-laborism. Just as the Musteite trade union policies, especially its opposition to building the T.U.U.L., work out in practice as a "left" cover for Green's fascization of the unions, so the Musteite Labor Party policy works out as a "left" cover for farmer-laborism. And it certainly does not need much argument to show that such a petty-bourgeois outfit, based upon the political subordination of the working class to the bourgeoisie, can be nothing else but a social-fascist weapon against the revolutionary advance of the masses under proletarian leadership. This has been proved both theoretically and practically. Collaboration between the workers and toiling farmers will serve the interests of their common struggle against the monopolies and the capitalist dictatorship only when the working class and its revolutionary vanguard are at the head of

these common struggles; otherwise such collaboration must inevitably degenerate, if it is not so to begin with, into petty-bourgeois domination of the movement, reformism, collaboration with the capitalist class and in the present epoch—into social-fascism. The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota shows us farmer-laborism in practice. Musteism may be having grand dreams of playing the true left in such a combination, of strengthening the “labor end” of the partnership, but these are only petty-bourgeois dreams. The practice already shows that wherever Muste’s Labor Party propaganda and policies are effective they tend to introduce an element of hesitation and uncertainty into the minds of those workers who are about to support or join the only working-class party in the country, the Communist Party. And whom does this hesitation and uncertainty help? At “best” it produces political passivity (wait for the Labor Party), at worst it pushes the worker back to the “non-partisan” politics of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy or to the S.P. The net result is what? It helps social-fascism and capitalism. It provides a “left” cover for social-fascism. The renegades carry out the same policies, only with more viciousness and abandon.

The building of the Communist Party into a genuine mass party becomes of crucial importance at the present moment. The new deal is becoming exposed ever more as a sharper turn of American imperialism to fascism and war. It has not checked the crisis. Ever wider masses of workers, toiling farmers, Negroes and other oppressed groups enter the struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and its new deal. Social-fascism, especially its “left” coloring, becomes more active against the revolutionary advance, but this also helps the Communists to expose it as the main social support of imperialism among the workers. Under these conditions the working class of the United States must and will develop the Communist Party into a mass party, into the leader against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Manifesto — A Programmatic Document of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

By O. KUUSINEN

(Continued from December issue)

THE problem of the attitude to imperialism, with the steadily growing tenseness of the international situation, forced itself with ever greater persistence as the burning question of the day before every workers' party. Lenin gave a very clear diagnosis of the positions of the social classes in relation to this question:

"The proletariat is struggling for the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie, while the petty bourgeoisie is struggling for a reformistic 'perfection' of imperialism, for adapting itself to it, while being subservient to it."

The *right* social-democrats, such as Cunow, acted as open social-imperialists, but, of course, they too made use of pseudo-Marxian sophistry to justify their policy. "Cunow", writes Lenin, "argues clumsily and cynically: Imperialism is contemporary capitalism; but the development of capitalism is both inevitable and progressive; hence imperialism is progressive; hence, we must cringe before imperialism and glorify it."

Centrists, such as Kautsky, strove particularly to cover up the contradictions of imperialism. Imperialism, generally speaking, is not a new phase of capitalism, according to Kautsky, but an unreasonable policy of expansion on the part of industrial nations. Instead of this imperialistic policy the bourgeoisie could carry through with equal and even greater success a different and much wiser policy of expansion, "The tendencies of capital to expand," wrote Kautsky literally, "can be realized best of all not by the violent methods of imperialism, but by peaceful democracy."

And he was deceiving the workers with illusions of permanently peaceful "ultra-imperialism".

"*There will be no more crises!*", announced the professors of economics, themselves hirelings of the cartels; and the chorus of social-democratic theoreticians would joyously take up the refrain: "Yes, no more; the cartels are in a position to eliminate crises". And only the crises themselves were rudely destroying the harmony of the soloists and the chorus: the crisis of 1900 in Germany and in Russia; the crisis of 1903 in the United States; the crisis of 1907 again in the United States, and in some other countries.

Each crisis confirmed the theory of crises of Marx and Lenin. Each crisis was a reminder of what had been foretold in the *Communist Manifesto*:

"How does the bourgeoisie overcome these crises? On the one hand by the compulsory annihilation of a quantity of the productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets and the more thorough exploitation of old ones. With what results? The results are that the way is paved for more wide-spread and more disastrous crises and that the capacity for averting such crises is lessened."

"There will be no more wars!", proclaimed the cabinet ministers who managed the affairs of the financial oligarchy; and a chorus of petty bourgeois Kautskyists would take up the tune: "Yes, no more! Finance capital together with the wise governments will somehow eliminate the war danger through the 'Peaceful Democracy' of a perfected imperialism."

But wars themselves were destroying without any ceremony this delightful harmony: the Spanish-American war of 1898; the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902; the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905; the Balkan wars of 1912-1913; and finally the imperialist *World War* of 1914-1918.

Each war loudly proclaimed that Kautsky's theory of harmony is nothing more than a delusion of the masses, that Lenin is perfectly correct in insisting that imperialism leads unavoidably to bandit wars for the purpose of a new redivision of colonies and of other spheres of exploitation, to violent clashes among the biggest imperialist powers for world hegemony; and that peace agreements between imperialist powers are merely respites between wars and preparations for new ones.

The struggle of Bolshevism against international Menshevism was concentrated primarily around three great problems of the international movement, which remain to this day in the center of daily struggles: 1. The question of the party. 2. The attitude towards imperialist war. 3. The dictatorship of the proletariat. In the solution of each of these problems Lenin was able to find much direct support in the *Communist Manifesto*.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The epoch of imperialism is an epoch of open clashes between classes, of direct preparations by the working class for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and of proletarian revolutions. Such an epoch places the working class face to face with historic problems of great importance, with problems which it cannot solve without the leadership of a truly revolutionary Communist party.

The *Communist Manifesto* came to life in a period already fraught with revolutionary class struggles. Already at that time Marx and Engels understood the urgent need for a highly class-conscious party, in order that "the proletariat may be sufficiently strong to win during the decisive days". They wrote the *Communist Manifesto* as a theoretical and practical "party program". It was actually named *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* (*Communist Manifesto* is merely an abbreviation).

At the same time Marx and Engels were busy organizing the Communist Party. For several years they were busy recruiting adherents in France, Belgium, Germany, and England, uniting them into party groups, educating and instructing them in accordance with the unfolding of events. In 1847, they reorganized the international "League of the Just", originally founded by German emigrés, into the "League of Communists", and took upon themselves the task of its political leadership.

The conscious Communists of that time constituted a small group, while major revolutionary battles were in the offing. Could the Communists then hope to be able to organize the working class in that short period and to rally them around their program to such an extent that the Communist Party should be able to supplant major proletarian mass organizations, such as the Chartist movement in England? No. The political development of the masses of workers was inadequate for such a task. Had the Communists taken such a course, they would have merely isolated themselves without having aided the development of the revolutionary movement.

Marx and Engels were absolutely against such a sectarian approach. Their line of action consisted of the following: To start by building a unified Communist Party, led by a single Central Committee, out of these Communist groups already organized by them in a few countries, and out of the local organizations of the "Union". The reorganized "League of Communists" was to become that Communist Party, which was to be an *international* party. Each country was to be divided into a certain number of districts and all districts of a given country were to be subordinated to its national center. This party, which under the

prevailing conditions could everywhere maintain but an illegal existence, and which was as yet numerically very weak, was not to endeavor artificially to shape in accordance with academically worked out "special principles" those labor mass organizations which were being formed in different countries. This was the way Marx and Engels approached the problem in 1847: the "League of Communists" will not put itself in opposition to other working class parties, which may arise in various forms depending upon the concrete circumstances, but will rather direct them forward along the road of revolutionary class struggle through the work of its members within these parties.

This first bold attempt to build a Communist Party failed as a result of the defeat of the revolutionary movement of 1848-9 and of the ensuing reaction, and was pushed to the background for a long time. With the founding of the First International (1864) the task was not to organize actual Communist parties, but rather "to unite into one great army all the fighting forces of Europe and America". This International, therefore, could not base itself upon the principles expounded in the *Manifesto*. It had "to adopt a program that would leave the door open to the English trade-unionists; to the French, Belgian, Italian, Spanish Proudhonists; and the German Lassalleans" (Engels). But during the period of the First International, as well as later, Marx and Engels were doing everything possible to educate the socialist parties of the various countries in the spirit of uncompromising class struggle as well as in the spirit of the Communist program. Thus, the First International was organizationally the great forerunner and prototype of the Communist International.

However, the objective conditions immediately after the collapse of the First International did not favor the building of Communist parties. On the contrary, there followed a prolonged period of more or less peaceful development, when the immediate task called for rather slow organizational and propaganda efforts. It is well known that during all these stages of the labor movement, Marx and Engels conducted a systematic struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences upon the labor movement, both against the so-called "conservative socialism" and anarchism. But the development of the Western European movement, particularly since the founding of the Second International, while growing broadly, was directed ever more one-sidedly along the path of social-democratic parliamentarism.

With the advent of the epoch of imperialism, problems quite different from parliamentary ones began pressing for solution. Large scale revolutionary struggles were looming once again, the same as

at the end of the forties, hence again the possibility and necessity of a genuine *Communist Party*.

The new epoch placed before the proletariat new tasks, namely:

“The rebuilding of the entire Party work along new revolutionary lines; the education of the workers in the spirit of revolutionary struggle for power; preparation and consolidation of reserves; union with proletarians of neighboring countries; establishing of solid and enduring contacts with the movements for liberation in the colonies and dependent countries; etc., etc. To think that the forces of the old social-democratic parties, trained in the peaceful ways of parliamentarism, will be able to solve all these problems is to doom oneself to hopeless despair and to an unavoidable defeat.” (Stalin)

The typical parties of the Second International, of the character of which we have already spoken, were poles apart from that type of party which would correspond to the revolutionary workers' party conceived by Marx.

In the first place, they were not the conscious *vanguard* of the working class. The *Communist Manifesto*, speaking of Communists, presents them as the actual vanguard of the proletariat:

“Thus, in actual practice, Communists form the most resolute and persistently progressive section of the working class parties of all lands whilst, as far as theory is concerned, being in advance of the general mass of the proletariat, they have come to understand the determinants of the proletarian movement and how to foresee its course and its general results.”

But the social-democratic parties enjoyed neither of these two advantages. There were no lines of demarcation between the party and the class and frequently not even between the party and the mass movement of the petty bourgeoisie. In general, it was not even considered necessary to raise the question about these dividing lines, until Lenin raised that issue in the Russian movement.

The attitude of social-democratic parties to the masses at that time was one of “tailism”. Even the left social-democrats were completely off the track in this respect with their theory of spontaneity, by failing to understand the leading role of the party. The entire structure of the *Communist Manifesto* cannot be reconciled with either tailism or sectarianism. Communists must not isolate themselves from the masses, neither must they reduce themselves to the level of the non-class-conscious masses; they must rather educate the masses and lift them to the level of the vanguard. They must not place themselves in opposition to mass move-

ments of the workers; on the contrary, they must participate in all these movements, they must fight in the front line and must guide the movement towards the historical aims of the working class.

“Communists fight on behalf of the immediate aims and interests of the working class, but in the present movement they are also defending the future of the movement.”

Such is the setting of the *Communist Manifesto*.

In the second place, social-democratic parties were not the *organized* vanguard of the working class. Many of these parties were a conglomerate, based not on an individual membership, but on a collective one. Instead of a constant centralized leadership of the party organization by its higher and lower organs, there appeared in these parties, just as in a bourgeois state, a deep-seated duality; a rift between the bureaucracy and a passive membership. Their main political organization was not the party but its parliamentary fraction. Party discipline counted for nothing.

The “League of Communists”, after its reorganization by Marx and Engels, was a totally different type of party. In accordance with the statutes of the “League of Communists”, signed by Engels in the capacity of secretary, each member of the League had to subscribe to the following conditions: “faith in the tenets of Communism”; adherence to the rules and regulations of the “League”; admission by unanimous vote to a lower party unit; and, aside from that, “a revolutionary energy and zeal in propaganda work”. And it was underscored that, “He who ceases to conform to these conditions is to be expelled”. In general, on the one hand, these statutes are a prototype of the statutes of a present-day underground Communist Party, and, on the other hand, the prototype of the Statutes of the Communist International.

In the third place, a typical social-democratic party was not a *leading* organization with respect to *trade unions* and other proletarian mass organizations. Even where the trade unions were collectively affiliated with the party, they were considered independent of it. Neither the party nor the trade unions entertained any desire that the party members inside the trade unions should make an effort, under the direction of the party, to insure unity of political line in the decisions of the trade unions. On the contrary, there prevailed the conception of “independence” and “neutrality” of the non-partisan organizations, a conception—“breeding *independent* parliamentarians and activists of the press, *torn away* from the party; breeding narrow-minded professionals and petty-bourgeoisified co-operators” (Stalin).

The *Communist Manifesto* contains no directives that might

be applied straight to the problem of the relationship between the party and the trade unions, which, as mass organizations, were as yet non-existent at that time. There was, however, a mass labor party in England, the Chartist movement, and Marx assumed then, that similar revolutionary movements of parties may appear in other countries, too. To such labor parties are applied the following words of the *Communist Manifesto*:

“The Communists do not form a separate party conflicting with other working-class parties.”

This, however, did not mean that in general the Communists must not form their own party. No, this phrase may be correctly understood taking in consideration the conditions under which the “League of Communists” was working, and of which we already spoke at the beginning of this article. This phrase meant that, in individual countries, the Communists were not supposed to put their party *in opposition* to such revolutionary working-class parties as the Chartist movement, but to enter such mass organizations and to work in their ranks as “the most resolute section of the working-class parties, that section which pushes forward all others”.

In 1920 Lenin recommended similar tactics, though in different circumstances, to the English Communists with regard to the Labor Party of England, at the time when the latter did not yet forbid the Communists to conduct unrestrained agitational work in its ranks. It is, however, much more important that Lenin insisted from the very beginning of the imperialist epoch upon the work of Party members in the ranks of non-Party mass organizations along directives from Party organizations in order to bring about the realization of a political guidance by the Party of all other forms of organizations of the proletariat. Lenin taught that the Party is the highest form of class unity of proletarians.

In the fourth place, the social-democratic parties were not the means for attaining the *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.

It is stated in the *Manifesto* that the “immediate objective” of a Communist, as well as of “all other proletarian parties” (*i. e.*, parties similar to the Chartist organization in England) is:

“Organization of the proletariat on a class basis; destruction of bourgeois supremacy; conquest of political power by the proletariat.”

The epoch of imperialism made this basic problem a burning issue of the day. It was necessary to proceed immediately with the task of training the working class for struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the social-democratic parties had turned into

a tool for the preservation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

"Hence the urgent need for a new party, a fighting party, a revolutionary party; a party sufficiently daring to lead the proletarians into struggle for power; a party experienced enough to orientate itself under the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation and flexible enough to avoid all and sundry pitfalls on the road to its goal." (Stalin)

Marx took into consideration the lessons of the Paris Commune in dealing with the problems of the Party. This found a clear expression in the resolution of the London Conference of delegates of the First International (September, 1871) where it was emphasized that it was necessary "*to form the proletariat into a political party in order to insure the victory of the social revolution and of its highest goal—the abolition of classes*". Here the idea is already given for the teachings of Lenin on the Party as a weapon in the hands of the proletariat for consolidating and broadening the dictatorship after having wrested power.

In the fifth place, the parties of the Second International of that period did not represent a *unity of will*. Their doors were wide open for all sorts of ideological quacks, priests and political careerists. The very name of the party ("Social-Democratic") was utilized for that purpose, a name first adopted in Germany despite Marx's strongest objections to it. The program of the party and the resolutions of congresses were looked upon as mere propaganda literature implying no obligations upon either the leadership or the membership of the party. The example afforded by the "League of Communists" was wholly forgotten. In line with the traditions of bourgeois liberalism, there prevailed in the ranks of the social-democratic party a free competition of the most diversified currents of thought, of groups, and of factions. And they never even imagined that it ought to be otherwise until Lenin demanded something entirely different—a monolithic party, which "knows how to conduct its affairs and is not afraid of difficulties" (Stalin); which sets a firm line of action in accordance with the changes of the situation and then actually carries out that line; which fights everywhere as an entity for an identical platform; which is capable of mass struggles, is trained for such struggles and can, therefore, maintain an iron discipline within its ranks.

Was there a practical possibility of creating such a truly revolutionary Marxian party under the conditions of the labor movement of those (the pre-war) days? Yes, there was, but only along one road. Engels expressed it back in 1885, when he wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht about the social-democratic party of Germany:

“The petty-bourgeois element within the party is gaining the upper hand ever more and more. If this will continue, you may rest assured that there will be a *split* in the ranks of the party.”

A split of the social-democracy—such is the road. There was actually no other way ahead under the conditions of those days. The *Bolsheviks*, under the leadership of Lenin, were not afraid to proceed along that road (in 1903). Without its struggle against Menshevism, the Party could not have been trained for the solution of the impending historical tasks. And that became possible only because Lenin put the question of that struggle *squarely* without retreating even before an imminent split.

In many countries there were left elements in the ranks of the social-democratic parties. Almost nowhere did they follow the example of the Bolsheviks during the pre-war days. Their struggles against opportunism were half-hearted. They themselves were partly infected with opportunism which blossomed out luxuriantly within the Second International. The German Lefts were also guilty of the same fault.

The Centrists were the main champions of unity within the old social-democratic parties, resolutely fighting against tendencies toward a split. Therein lies one of the greatest evils of centrism.

Even the lefts failed to understand that “*the party is strengthened by cleansing itself from opportunistic elements*” (Stalin). This premise is also one of the very basic features of the Leninist Party. The Centrists viewed the strengthening of the Party exclusively from the point of view of electoral chances. Nor were the lefts free from that one-sidedness.

We have formulated the problem of the Party in the above discussion from the viewpoint of Comrade Stalin’s six basic points, which he formulated, in his lectures on the foundations of Leninism, as features peculiar to the Party of Lenin; and with respect to almost every one of those points we were able to establish the presence, both in the *Communist Manifesto* as well as in the “League of Communists”, of definite roots of Lenin’s teachings on the Party. Exactly because of its loyalty to the principles of Marxism did the party of Lenin, the C.P.S.U., become not merely a model for the revolutionary labor parties of all countries, but also the *leading vanguard of the international labor movement*.

The Bolsheviks are true internationalists. Theirs has always been the policy of true Communists, as expressed in the *Communist Manifesto*:

“On the one hand, in the various national struggles of the proletarians, they emphasize and champion the interests of the proletariat

as a whole, those proletarian interests that are independent of nationality; and, on the other hand, in the various phases of evolution through which the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie passes, they always advocate the interests of the movement as a whole."

Russian Bolshevism, thanks to its correct tactics and organization, which were justified by the greatest successes and victories.

"...became a *world-wide* Bolshevism; it brought forth the idea, the theory, the program and the tactics which distinguish it concretely and practically from social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. Bolshevism killed the old, rotten International of the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, of the Renaudels and the Longuets, of the Hendersons and the MacDonalDs. . . Bolshevism created the ideological and tactical bases of the Third International—the truly proletarian and Communist International, which takes into consideration both the conquests of the peaceful epoch and the experiences of the revolutionary epoch into which we are entering."

Lenin wrote those words a few months before the constituent congress of the Communist International. Ever since then the Communist International, under the guidance of the C.P.S.U., grew up into a sturdy world Party of the revolutionary proletariat. There is no country in the world without an organization of the Communist International. The Comintern has already been tried and tempered in countless fierce battles. To it belongs the future.

THE IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR TURNING IT INTO A PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

When the imperialist war broke out in August, 1914, all social-democratic parties betrayed socialism openly. The Second International suffered an ignominious crash. The majority of social-democratic leaders, parliamentarists, and newspapers went over openly to the side of their respective governments. "The Fatherland is in danger—all out to protect the Fatherland!"—such was the slogan of the Russian, German, French, English and other social-chauvinists. Such was the slogan in numerous fatherlands.

And what was proclaimed in the *Communist Manifesto*?

"*The workers have no country. No one can take from them what they have not got.*"

The socialists have been repeating this truth from the *Communist Manifesto* thousands of times as their principle. And now? Today, when the social-democratic parties find themselves face to face with the acid test of history to determine whether or not they will practice what they preach, today—a complete betrayal.

Only one party—the party of Lenin—fully passed this historic test. In other countries only left-wing groups conducted struggles against their respective imperialist governments. The heroic struggle of Karl Liebknecht in Germany was particularly outstanding.

The Kautskyists in Germany, the Longuetists in France, the “Independents” in England, the Mensheviks—“internationalists”—in Russia, and other centrists were playing the role of pacifists. In words they were not for war, and, just like the right social-democrats, they were for universal peace. But in fact this meant only one thing: the maintenance of peace with one’s own government engaged in war and with the openly chauvinistic social-democrats.

It is important even in these days not to forget the particular *pacifistic sophistry of the wartime centrists* (because history is sure to repeat itself in one form or another). They were swearing and vowing, as Lenin said, that they are Marxists and Internationalists, that they are for exerting every possible “pressure” upon their governments for the cause of peace. They “condemned” the attack on Belgium by Germany, the war Russia was waging upon German soil, the tendencies for annexation of territory exhibited by this or that government, the “start” of the war by this or that government, but they would not hear or know of one thing: *the class character of the imperialist war.*

They knew perfectly well that, according to the *Communist Manifesto*, the abolition of “exploitation of one nation by the other” is connected with the abolition of “exploitation of one individual by the other”; but they were loth to derive therefrom the conclusion that is given in the *Communist Manifesto*:

“In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another comes to an end, the exploitation of one nation by another will come to an end.

“The ending of class oppositions within the nations will end the mutual hostility of the nations.”

The centrist sophists turned the question upside down: first, remove the hostility between nations and then it will be possible to start thinking what is to be done to remove class antagonisms.

Lenin explained to the workers that:

“... the character of a war (be it a revolutionary or a reactionary one) does not depend upon who was the aggressor nor upon the question of whose territory is occupied by the ‘enemy’, but it depends upon *the class of society which wages that war* and what policy is being promulgated by that war. If that war is a reactionary, imperialistic one, waged by two sets of imperialistic, oppressing, predatory and reactionary bourgeoisie then every bourgeoisie (even of a small country) is turned into a participant in this looting and

it is my task, the task of a representative of the revolutionary proletariat, to prepare *the world proletarian revolution*, as the *only* salvation from the horrors of the world war."

And that was the true internationalism with respect to the war. The Leninist party did not forget in this case what was so strongly emphasized by Marx in the *Communist Manifesto*:

"The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie."

The Bolsheviks were not afraid to come out for the defeat of their own governments in the war. That is true of Karl Liebknecht. "*The main enemy is within one's own country,*" such is the correct principle for action by a revolutionary workers' party. "*Turning the imperialist war into a civil war,*" such is the correct slogan.

"Imperialism is the epoch of wars, but at the same time it is also *the epoch of proletarian revolutions,*" declared Lenin. The imperialist war showed that the world bourgeoisie in this epoch can only hasten its downfall even with its own monstrous crimes. Millions upon millions of men were sent by the imperialist bourgeoisie to the front to fight for its piratical policy, to fight, to shed their blood and to die. And what was the outcome? Was it merely senseless destruction, as the pacifists claim? No. Was it merely rich spoils and conquest for which the imperialists hoped? No. Only a few of the imperialists have amassed a booty of other peoples' goods and lands. Russian Czarism broke its neck, Austria-Hungary followed suit, and German imperialism came out of the war very much crippled. Such results were of doubtful benefit for the cause of the world bourgeoisie. Rather the contrary—it was an acceleration of the world proletarian revolution.

The war gathered all the contradictions of imperialism into one knot, writes Comrade Stalin, and "threw them unto the scales, thus hastening and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat. In other words, imperialism brought about a situation which made the revolution not only a practical necessity, but also created favorable conditions for a frontal attack upon the very strongholds of capitalism."

A revolutionary situation was created on a European scale. The Bolsheviks drew from it the true Marxian conclusion: since we are faced with a revolutionary situation, we have to take up the question of revolution as a practical problem. And they did. They did not wait for the revolution to break out everywhere. Lenin said:

"To wait until the working class will accomplish the revolution on a world scale implies that we all congeal while waiting."

Russia was the focal point of imperialist contradictions.

“...not only because these contradictions were particularly apparent in Russia due to their particularly stupid and unbearable character; not only because Russia was the most important mainstay of Western imperialism, serving as the connecting link between the finance capital of the West and the colonies of the East, but also due to the fact that only in Russia there existed that particular and real power, which was able to solve the contradictions of capitalism in a revolutionary way.” (Stalin)

That power was the most revolutionary proletariat in the world, headed by the party of Lenin, and having at its disposal such an important ally as the revolutionary peasantry of Russia.

Objective conditions for a proletarian revolution were ripe and favorable in many other European countries at the end of the imperialist war. But the Centrist “also-Marxists” did not want a revolution against their governments. They were *afraid* of a revolution. That is *the crux* of the matter. And because of that did they embark upon inventing all sorts of “Marxist” sounding excuses to justify their evasion of the revolution.

The Bolsheviks, however, with an eye to the final objective, were busily preparing the proletariat of Russia for the revolution, and they led the proletariat to victory and to power.

The great October Revolution has given the working class a fatherland, for the first time in the history of mankind. It freed the workers and all the oppressed nations of the former Russian Empire. It started a new era in the world history—the era of *world proletarian revolution*.

Soon after that, proletarian revolutions broke out in a number of countries, where the proletariat seized power temporarily, but was unable to retain it. And why? Because the labor parties at the head of the revolution were not Bolshevik parties. This was the main reason for the defeat of the revolution in Finland, for instance, and, some time later, in Bavaria and Hungary. Another reason was that in 1918 the German bourgeoisie sent troops into Finland, into the Baltic countries and into the Ukraine in order to strangle the revolution. Not without reason did Karl Liebknecht and the Spartacides accuse the German Social-Democracy of betrayal. In full agreement with this accusation, Lenin wrote:

“This accusation expresses a *clear cognizance* of the fact that the German proletariat betrayed the Russian (and the international) revolution in strangling Finland, the Ukraine, Latvia and Estonia. But this accusation is directed first and foremost not against the *masses*, which are downtrodden everywhere, but against those *leaders*, who, like Scheidemann and Kautsky, failed in their duty of revolutionary agitation, revolutionary propaganda, and revolutionary work among the masses to counteract their backwardness; who, as a matter of fact, acted *contrary* to the revolutionary instincts

and aspirations which are ever smoldering in the depths of the masses of an oppressed class."

The revolution broke out in Germany in November, 1918. The German bourgeoisie admitted the social-democratic parties to power. And it knew what it was doing. The "Socialist" rulers—Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, Haase, and Company—saved their bourgeoisie. Very skillfully they deceived, disorganized, and broke up the revolutionary movement of the German working class. At that time the Communist Party of Germany was only in the process of formation. In the same manner and in many other countries, the social-democracy was busy saving its bourgeoisie from ruin.

Is it possible that those exploits of the social-democratic leaders are merely a record of days gone by? He is mistaken who thinks so. Is it possible that the social-democratic politicians have given up befogging the minds with their pacifist sophistry? Not at all. As recently as February, 1932, the Second International burst forth again into one of its typical appeals for peace. In what respect is this any worse than the Basel Manifesto of 1912? What is to hinder the Second International from declaring itself as an "instrument of peace" in case of war, true to its sharp practices?

Or did the social-democratic leaders perchance turn left? Oh, no! They were very much "left" in 1919-1920 when it was necessary to charm the masses with radical phrases. At that time the French Socialist Party, the German National Socialist Party, the English independents and others were even passing resolutions in favor of joining the Comintern! Many leaders of these parties, including Ramsay MacDonald, suddenly declared themselves adherents of the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat! In Germany, however, Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, Haase, and Company first played the role of "people's plenipotentiaries," elected by the councils of workers' and soldiers' deputies (in November 1918), and nine months later—that of the happy fathers of the Weimar Constitution. In the meantime Noske succeeded, in the course of six days, in shooting down workers on the streets of Berlin and in organizing the treacherous murder of the best leaders of the German proletariat—Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Do you realize now, you social-democratic workers, why Lenin demanded a change in the name of the Russian labor party, which up to 1917 also was called "social-democratic"? And why he uttered the words, which we, Communists, repeat to you today:

"It is high time to cast off the dirty shirt, it is time to put on clean clothes."

It is high time to throw the social-democratic party off your shoulders!

How to Apply the Open Letter

By J. A. ZACK

NOTE: Comrade Zack raises in the following article a question that affects centrally the task of rooting the Party in the factories. If Comrade Zack desires to stress the necessity for issuing shop papers that really reflect the life and the problems of the workers, there can, of course, be no quarrel with him. The conclusion one must draw from bad instances of shop paper work is that such shop papers should be improved. But it seems to us, from his article, that Comrade Zack does not understand the necessity for developing our papers in every shop where the Party has a nucleus or sufficient contacts with the workers. We repeat: first in importance is the shop paper of the Party. The counterposing of Party shop papers to trade union papers is not permissible and constitutes an opportunist underestimation of the role of the Party in the shop. Where the situation demands it, a union paper can also be issued, but never at the expense of the shop paper issued by the Party.—Editor.

THOSE of our Party members who have been most active for the last few years in trade union work are most satisfied with the Open Letter, since it is possible now, much more than ever before, to throw the entire strength of the movement behind the realization of our main line—to organize the workers in the basic industries.

The Letter states that “the progress made in various activities amongst the proletariat . . . is not basic as long as we do not make progress along the main line, the main strategic line, which is to penetrate the factory proletariat”.

Now, this does not mean that we are going to give up working along all other fronts such as among the unemployed, the small home owners, farmers, I.W.O., etc., but it does mean that we should utilize the bases we have established among the workers in these types of organizations for the purpose of realizing our main line, in the course of which we shall also transform these organizations so that they will grow on a new foundation.

The bourgeoisie of this country is now making certain maneuvers that particularly affect the factory workers, and it is possible

for us to utilize these maneuvers in order to realize our main strategic line in the factories. It is now possible for us, due to the fact that every factory worker is deeply concerned with the measures of the government as expressed in the Recovery Act, to carry on a tremendous campaign, a uniform campaign, against the government—the government that is trying to impose upon every worker a lower wage scale and has already succeeded in imposing higher prices for food and living. Until now we have had to expose each boss separately in every factory. Now, by exposing these measures of the government, we expose the general capitalist program as embodied in the N.R.A., and through such exposures, entrench ourselves among the workers.

This necessitates the re-examination of many of our old methods of work and their adaptation to this new situation. We have been too much in the habit of thinking that merely agitating for our program means leadership. We know from the unemployed movement that simply formulating a program and putting down demands does not constitute leadership. And those of us who are active in organizing factory workers know from long experience that agitating for a program is barely the first step. Methods of work, tactics, forms of organization, strategy, problems met in the course of concrete work—these are the things that put life into the program and, taken together, constitute leadership.

CONCENTRATION

Before I touch on the question of our methods, I want to say a word on concentration. According to the Letter, our entire movement, every unit, section, and organization now under our influence, is to concentrate upon the main strategic task, that is, to tackle a factory, or to organize the unemployed, or both, around a specific factory or neighborhood. The internal life of the unit and its whole development is to be shaped on the basis of what it can do and how it can fulfill the task of organizing a factory and building the Party inside of it.

But within this general line of organizing the factory workers, we are to concentrate particularly on certain basic industries—steel, metal, transport; in this District (Ohio), also rubber, coal, etc. In the course of our work among all categories of workers, we must concentrate politically against labor fakers of all varieties. Without such political concentration we cannot bring to effective fruition any of our work; the labor fakers will muddle and confuse the workers and take them away from us. This means also the build-

ing of oppositions inside the A. F. of L. and other organizations; not only agitating, but organizing to bring the workers into effective independent action.

Now, if we understand concentration in this sense, that is, that we must take all necessary organizational measures to realize that concentration, put the entire movement behind it—*not only leading committees*, but every Party member and every sympathizer, through our fractions in the mass organizations—then there is something to do for everybody in all of our organizations.

In the past, we have attempted many schemes of concentration, according to which so and so many were to concentrate (10 or 15 members, or a member of the Section or District Buro), and, of course, even this kind of narrow concentration was not carried out properly. But the Open Letter directs us clearly to concentrate our entire forces on realizing our main task; that is, the organizing of the workers in the factories, and at a given factory strategically selected.

The question is, therefore, how to mobilize for this task.

OUR WORK AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED

The unemployed organizations, particularly in a district like Ohio, have many contacts with factory workers. We must utilize these forces, developed in our unemployed work, which know about organizing, and have become tacticians in the course of the struggle, for organizing the factory workers. Here is an opportunity for us to utilize the experienced forces in the Party and those we have developed among the unemployed, in order to realize our main strategic task.

In connection with our work among the unemployed, it will be necessary for us to adjust our methods to the present conditions created by the N.R.A.

The workers now on relief jobs who want to get cash pay or more pay to meet the increased cost of living under the N.R.A., must be led by us, jointly with the factory workers, into strike struggles for better conditions. There is a greater degree of intertwining now possible between employed and unemployed because of temporary fluctuations in employment, which can be utilized to develop economic struggles both among the employed and the unemployed.

HOW TO INVOLVE PARTY MEMBERS

Mechanical resolutions will not help, even after we make an ideological campaign, nor will registrations of members according

to industrial occupation. Usually this produces only so much paper. The way to get the members of the various organizations mobilized for factory work is by organizing them where they work. On this basis, also, we can get them to join the respective trade union to which they should belong.

If we line them up in this way, we shall succeed, not only in forming them into organizing groups, but in holding them as well. The result of this type of approach will be to spread out tremendously the organizing movement, already started on a very small scale, and to enlist the total of our forces, step by step, unit by unit, organization by organization.

MORE AUDACITY—FASTER!

As to the question of tempo, we have been educated and have, in turn, educated all our Party members to a sort of slow motion; to secret, double secret, underground factory organization tactics. While a great deal of this was essentially correct a year ago, today it is no longer correct. Why? Because the masses of workers are now thinking about organization. The increasing cost of living is impressing the need of organization upon them. They are moving at a faster tempo than they were six months ago in organizing themselves. If we do not adjust our tactics to these new moods of the masses, we will simply remain behind, and the labor fakery, who now are using very open tactics, will be the ones who will get a hold on these moving masses. Therefore, the question of how to increase our tempo of organization inside the factories, of being bolder on the question of strikes, is now one of our key problems.

Here, in Cleveland, we have had various kinds of spontaneous strikes. How were they called? Usually by a group of workers in one department organizing themselves and walking out. The sentiment in the factories was such that in most cases, after one department walked out and placed a picket line in front of the plant, the rest of the factory walked out. It proved that, despite the fact that the workers had very little organization inside, they were able spontaneously to stop the entire plant in most of the cases. The lesson we should draw from this is that we must re-educate ourselves on the question of tactics and methods to proceed more openly and aggressively.

FIRST STEPS IN FACTORY POLITICS

The question of first steps is very important. Even assuming that a unit picks out a point of concentration, or a language organ-

ization picks out a factory in order to recruit from among its nationality in the factory, very serious errors may be made. What is the customary idea about first steps? To hold a gate meeting, and distribute leaflets in the name of the T.U.U.L. or the S.M.W. I.U.; and to keep on distributing leaflets and holding gate meetings. This is the agitational method. Well, what do you think the reaction of the workers will be? In most cases they will be afraid that our actions are premature. If the boss exerts pressure, they will not attend these meetings in mass, since they have no feeling yet of strength. They will walk past, or perhaps listen for a few minutes. A worker figures these things out on a practical basis. So far as joining or signing up at the gate, practically none will do so. Maybe some "stool" who has been attending will sign up with some workers. *The tendency of the workers, when agitation of this kind is used, is to organize on the sly.* The workers want to organize in such fashion that the boss does not know exactly what they are doing until they feel strong enough. The boss may know all about it, but they want to believe that it is hard for the boss to get at it. They want to surprise the boss with a certain degree of organization. They want to feel that they are putting something over on him.

If we do not take this mood into consideration, then we shall never organize them, even if they work for 10c an hour and 15 hours a day. The point I wish to make is this: Don't feel so sure that street corner methods are the only methods to organize factory workers. When you get a group of workers, listen to their suggestions on organization. They may not be able to express them well, but they often have valuable ideas. Utilize them, and you will get organization. I am not speaking theoretically. I am speaking on the basis of experiences we have had right here, and on this basis we have been able to sign up almost 3,000 workers to date.

In some cases we have to be bolder, where the workers are "raring" to go. As a rule they will not make counter-motions in meetings; but, unless convinced of the practicability of our proposals, they will sit back and do nothing. We shall be leaders only when we have learned to know in practice how and when to make a bold frontal attack, and when to make side maneuvers or preparatory steps when the workers are not ready for more direct action. Flexible methods of organization which keep the workers on the move, and methods which appeal to them as practical, are what make for leadership and solid ties with the masses.

Here in Cleveland we have not called a single open meeting until we have been reasonably certain that the workers were ready to come to it.

THE UNION IS NOT THE PARTY

On the question of how to unite the workers in economic struggles and organization, it is clear that we must start with the workers as they are, no matter how backward, or what conceptions they have. The workers, for the most part, are Democrats, Republicans, Catholics, Presbyterians, and what not. Some of our union books, with their preambles on organization, presuppose too high a degree of class consciousness, and are more a hindrance than an aid. Often these workers, because of their political backwardness, are very much impressed by the "red scare"; they do not trust us politically because the T.U.U.L. has been painted as the C. P. in industry. We must make them feel that the T.U.U.L., as a class struggle union, can include all workers.

The bosses' "red scare" is at times effective, not only because of the general political backwardness of the workers in many industries, but also because of our sectarian, unpopular approach. The boss wants to divide the workers with the "red scare" into camps of radicals and conservatives. If he must recognize a union, it must be one without Communists, and with "his boys" leading it, if possible. This, too, is the idea of the A. F. of L. leaders, who play the bosses' game.

There are two ways of meeting the "red scare". One is to retreat, which leads to capitulation before the enemy. The other is to meet it head-on, in a popular fashion. Tell the workers what the boss is aiming at, that he wants to eliminate the more experienced, radical element in order to render the strike impotent and to demoralize the organization, and that we stand for unity irrespective of political views, color, or religion in the union; that we are for workers' democracy and equality in the union. Different political views can and should be discussed inside the union to clarify the workers, but each can vote according to his views so long as all stick together to protect the workers' interests against the boss. Here I am discussing this question only generally. In practice each situation has its variations. In some cases, due to the "red scare", or the insufficient confidence of the workers, we cannot get them to affiliate with the T.U.U.L., in which case we must be flexible enough to remain with them, even if they organize into an independent union, and we must continue to work for affiliation.

NO "CIRCULAR" LEADERSHIP

We must use flexibility in organizing workers in industry. *Uniformity and "circular" leadership* do not work. Whatever flexibility

we adopt should be for the purpose of leading workers in struggle. Our methods must be mass methods. Thus we can get organization among factory workers, make them class conscious, and bring them step by step into the Party.

Demands are important in uniting workers in factories. You can put up many demands that are perfectly correct; you can justify them and say that the workers are entitled to them; but, if the workers do not consider these demands reasonable and practical, you will not get a united struggle for them. Sometimes, when the more radicalized workers are present at the meeting, you can get them to vote for practically the whole program. But in order to unite the workers, no matter what their prejudices are, the demands must be of such a nature as to induce practically all to fight for them; otherwise, you will fail.

Now, as to the question of how to settle strikes. Workers will usually put up higher demands than they can get, because they know the boss will beat them down. But if the boss accedes to half of what they ask for or a little bit more, then there will be an entirely different reaction among the workers. When they get half or three-fourths of their demands, they say: "Let us take the bird we have in hand, rather than chase the one in the bush. Let us take this; later we can come back for more." If we do not pay attention to this change of mood after waging a successful struggle, we may create a split among the workers and may lose the demands we have won. Leaders, therefore, must sense these changes, for the workers do not offer resolutions or debates on such attitudes. They may let us know through personal talk or through the reception the matter gets from the majority. In one way or another we, as leaders, must know what is what, and not wait for theses. We must know what the average worker is ready to fight for, and at the same time try to attract and draw the more radical workers closer to us, to transmit to them more of our program and strategy. This we may do by forming groups of actives, radical groups, or a class on organization with them, drawing them into leadership in the union, and at the same time, preparing them for membership in the Party.

BUILDING THE PARTY

This brings us to the question of building the Party. I have been speaking here as a union organizer and of methods of organizing average workers. This is very important, but we should not transform ourselves into merely trade union organizers. The political work of the Party, while of course not disassociated from all

of these union methods, is much more than just that. We must bring it in, in a way that will help us build both union and Party factory organizations. In Ohio, at least 75 per cent of our members are unemployed. There are practically no Party members in any of the plants where we have union organization. We have some sympathizers, but not Party members. The Party strength, as far as industry is concerned, is next to nothing. We know, however, that where we organize a union in a plant, unless we politicize the workers and organize a Party group inside to counteract the enemy forces, we shall not maintain our position.

THE UNION IS THE BRIDGE TO THE MASSES

One of our major difficulties is that, on the whole, most of our leading functionaries do not consider the union as the great bridge to the masses in industry. They somehow hold to the theory that the Party must be built first in the factory, then the union. This assumption presupposes that the masses will join the Party first as a result of a mass of theoretical agitational activity around the factory and not as a result of the development and organization of every-day activity and economic struggles. *Thus the concept develops that the Party is built, not in the struggle, but on the side of it.* We, as the vanguard, interpret the events for the masses and draw for them doctoral and professional conclusions, thus forming "theoretical" groups on an utterly sectarian conception, and such groups as have been built, stand in this utterly sectarian conception. Thus has the mass of the Party's factory work been done in the past. As a result of this policy, hundreds of factory units and factory papers have gone on the rocks, thereby retarding the building of both the Party and the union.

The problem is how to build the Party, not apart from, but in the course of building mass struggles and mass organization in industry. This can be done without in any way confusing or submerging the identity of the Party into the union, or that of the union into the Party.

Take the case of the N.R.A. The workers had many illusions about it in the beginning. The union, therefore, could not speak the same language as the Party without isolating itself from the workers. Here the clear leading voice of the Party should have been heard in the form of mass agitation showing *our* way out of the crisis. Such work by the Party, as a Party, carried on week by week in the factory, in the midst of the economic struggle, together with the more elementary mass work of the union, will draw and attract

the more aggressive, alert elements of the workers into the Party and help the union to raise the struggle to a higher level, which the union alone, without this Party work, can not do.

A party that cannot penetrate into the basic factories and organize the union there is not a Bolshevik Party. It is a mere philosophizing sect that shirks (as opportunists do) the hard work of bucking up against monopoly capital. A party incapable of making even the first essential steps to the decisive sections of the working class. Many are the "left" apologies made not to do this work. One of them is that the union cannot be organized in the plant until we have a Party there, "double secret"; and the way to get the Party is to get out a Party factory paper first. The result of this sectarian opportunist conception and approach conceived in isolation from the masses is that both the Party paper and the Party groups turn out to be very much of a miscarriage. Experience bears out the fact that it is the union which is the mass bridge to the Party politically and *organizationally*, and that the building of the union is the best mass approach to the building of the Party, and the method of uniting the masses for the struggle to defend their immediate interests and raise and secure their political development.

PROCEDURE IS IMPORTANT

One more question on the problem of trade union organization. Too often comrades handle a trade union like a Party unit, with all the informalities of the Party unit meeting. Everybody speaks without any specified order. There is no such thing as a Chairman or Rules of Order, or any organizational details which the average worker considers very important. In trade union work we have to proceed with methods which workers, by tradition, are most ready to accept. Unless we do that, they do not recognize it as a union. The constant propaganda of the bourgeoisie and the A. F. of L. that these are not trade unions, but the Communist Party in disguise, affects the workers deeply. Unless we pay attention to these details, workers who are not familiar with our organizational methods will be repelled. Such matters as formal procedure, taking minutes, electing a chairman, making and seconding of motions, rendering financial reports, and maintaining formal system and order in the organization, are important. When the meeting is announced for eight o'clock, it should not be held at half-past eight or nine. Union meetings must start on time. Besides promptness, there must be such things as charters, a regular dues system, etc., or the workers will not look upon the union as a union.

We must also pay attention to headquarters in order to attract

workers who are not politically developed. If we establish headquarters or union offices in the hall of some of the non-Party organizations, it is politically important that these headquarters be fixed up so that the average worker will feel at home and will not think that the organization he is joining is only a pretense. These things go against the grain of some of our comrades, and they went against the grain with me some years ago, too. I, too, was impatient with all these things; but in order to penetrate the masses we have to consider them as they are, work with them as they are, giving them constantly our Communist guidance and leadership. Therefore, all the organizational details must be based on this recognition.

THE OPEN LETTER—THE ROAD TO A REAL MASS PARTY

On the basis of the Open Letter, we can now really build the Party. We are going to have units that will not be dependent on circular letter leadership. The unit which has to solve practical problems in the shop and neighborhood upon which it is concentrating can not get much help from a circular letter. The circular letter is good only when it is sent for internal organizational information, but the moment we have units that tackle the problems of the American Steel & Wire, Sheet & Tube, Firestone, etc., circular letters are worse than useless as a substitute for guidance.

In order that the Party may really lead, it has to know what the next steps must be. This means personal leadership. It means *discussing the problems with the Party members, and adopting methods that these Party comrades think they can carry through at the proper time*. This means that much of the total character of our work will change; and to make a change of this kind is really a tremendous thing in our Party. Those comrades who belittle this Letter, saying that we have had other resolutions, letters, etc., are either politically illiterate or have not read the Letter. The Open Letter points clearly to the tremendous tasks and the tremendous changes we have before us. On the basis of this Letter, we are moving towards organizing the kind of party we have always been striving for but have not achieved.

The type of cadres will also be different. Whom do we have now as a unit leader? The type of person who can do organizational inside work. But if we carry out the Open Letter, we shall bring forward those comrades in the unit and section who will be able to give leadership on the concrete every-day problems that our Party members and the workers face in the factories, and those

who will distinguish themselves by their ability to keep that leadership. Many of those who are now not that type, will probably themselves change as a result of this.

Concerning fractions: Our fractions in the mass organizations will have as their job, not only problems of a cultural nature, not only the keeping of the records straight on sick and death benefits as in the I.W.O., but also the job of recruiting new members from the factories, concentrating on some factory, educating the workers for struggle for the improvement of their conditions.

As a result of the total process of applying the line embodied in the Open Letter, on the basis of which every unit is to judge its problems and political development, every section is to take up the question of what factories to concentrate its forces on, where every unit is to start, how it is to proceed from step to step; we shall be moving forward to the type of mass Party the workers want, to the type of Party which will connect with the decisive sections of the working class and raise the struggle to a higher level. On this basis we will develop a new internal life with real political mass work among the masses for the building of a mass Bolshevik Party.

Figures on the American Economic Crisis

AS OF DECEMBER, 1933

By JOHN IRVING and PHIL MAYER

(*Labor Research Association*)

THE generous response of the comrades with criticisms and suggestions concerning the construction and contents of the statistical tables bearing on the American economic crisis, which were first published in the December *Communist*, has resulted, we believe, in a more usable set-up of figures, which follow. Limitation of space, however, makes it impossible to include in these tables many other items for which some comrades have asked. This time, however, we add a chart comprising several curves which should at least partly satisfy these demands and should greatly facilitate the reading and understanding of the figures given in the tables. We add also some brief interpretive notes on these tables. Further comments and criticism by comrades using the tables will be deeply appreciated.

Table 1, *Employment*; Table 3, *Payrolls*; Table 4, *Weekly Earnings*: It has by now become a well-known fact that the production spurt of last midsummer was in no way paralleled by a corresponding rise in employment and payrolls. But the indexes that are available on this question are dangerously misleading. According to these indexes, the rise of 53% in production was accompanied by a rise of 34% in employment and 60% (!) in payrolls.

In the first place, it should be remembered that the increase in total payrolls was due to the increase in the number of work days the workers were employed during the production spurt. The way the index of employment is computed, *anyone on the payroll of a plant* is considered as "employed" no matter whether he works one day or six days a week. An increase in the number of work days per week, unless new employees are added, will not show up as an increase in the employment index. On the other hand, the payroll index will show an increase under such circumstances.

Secondly, it should be noted that those percentages, 53%, 34%, 60%, represent changes from vitally different original bases. The rise of 53% in the production index measures a rise of 31 points from the base, a rise from the index 58.5 to that of 89.5; the 34% rise in the employment index measures a rise of 19 points,

from 55 to 74; while the 60% rise in the payrolls index represents a rise of 20 points (!) from 33.4 to 53.3.

Finally, when comparison is made between concurrent changes in the indexes of production and payrolls, the fact should never be overlooked that while that of payrolls represents *dollar values*, the index of production is based on *physical volume*. During the same month that production index increased by over 53%, wholesale prices increased about 20% and retail prices increased about 30%. (The highs and lows of the three indexes did not exactly coincide in time, but fall fairly closely within the same production cycle.) Thus looked at, we find that while during a period in which the value production of output increased some 83% at wholesale and nearly 100% at retail, the total payrolls increased 60%.

And now that a new pace has been set to the speed-up and prices have been boosted 30%, weekly per capita earnings are declining. Between October and November average weekly earnings in the manufacturing industries declined from \$18.81 to \$18.02, a decrease of 5% in one month. This, for all industries combined. For such industries as men's and women's clothing, for boots and shoes, and for anthracite mining the drop has been even more severe. (See Table 4.)

Table 2, Production: The production index, the *Annalist* index of business, turned up slightly between November and December, and in the latter month stood nearly 11 points, or some 19%, above the lowest index registered for the crisis, that of last March. During the summer boomlet, ending in July (see chart), the index had risen 31 points or almost 53% above the March low. Thus, between July and December industrial production lost two-thirds of the four months' rise—the steepest rise in the history of the index.

Table 5. Commodity Prices and Cost of Living: Commodity prices are so much entangled in the Roosevelt attempts at inflation that a clear picture cannot be drawn from the figures here given, or, for that matter, from any other figures available. From all appearances, the boost to prices that was effected by his first inflationary measures could not be long sustained by those measures alone. More drastic measures, ending finally with the printing presses turning out greenbacks, will have to be used in the frantic Roosevelt program to keep up a fictitious price level for the benefit of the profit-taking class. This will mean a steady drop in *real wages*.

Table 6. Consumption: Decline in the several consumption indexes in Table 6 is much more serious as an indicator of the curtailment of mass consumption than the figures would seem to convey. These figures are in terms of retail prices, and retail prices have moved *up!* (See Table 5.) In terms of *physical volume*,

mass consumption has been decreasing drastically, in spite of the shrieks of the NRA "blue eagle". The growing impoverishment of the working masses is here reflected in all its starvation nakedness.

Table 7. *Domestic Commodity Stocks*: A most damaging lie is given the New Deal propaganda by the figures of Table 7. Commodity stocks on hand, both raw and manufactured, have been accumulating in recent months so that for some of them the index is as high as or even higher now than at any time during the crisis. "All" domestic stocks in November (the latest available figures) were highest on record. So were also manufactured textiles and "all" raw materials. But both manufactured and raw foodstuffs have declined, as have also iron and steel manufactures. War orders are taking up the slack in the steel trade.

TABLE 1—EMPLOYMENT¹

THE FIELD	Nov.	December		Highest ²		Lowest ²	
	1933	1933	1932	Index	Date	Index	Date
A. Mfg. Industries (1926=100)							
Gen. Index (89 Ind.)	71.4	70.1	58.3	110.9	6 23	55.1	3 33
Slaught. and meat pkg.	107.8	106.8	86.2	132.6	12 23	82.5	3 33
Cotton goods	98.8	95.9	75.2	128.2	3 23	55.5	6 32
Knit goods	92.4	86.8	85.2	(²)	—	(²)	—
Silk and rayon goods	65.3	61.6	59.7	(²)	—	(²)	—
Wool & worsted gds. ²	88.4	84.9	71.5	98.5	10 29	49.2	6 32
Men's clothing	71.3	67.1	65.0	126.6	3 23	55.9	6 32
Women's clothing	63.0	56.6	63.8	140.4	3 23	45.4	7 32
Iron and steel	73.8	72.9	52.1	108.5	3 24	50.1	3 33
Elec. machinery, apparatus and supplies	62.6	61.7	48.6	127.3	9 29	45.3	3 33
Foundry and machine-shop products	59.4	58.2	44.1	120.5	7 23	40.8	3 33
Automobiles	51.3	59.9	46.2	134.5	4 29	38.2	10 32
Steam rail. rep. shops	49.8	48.6	48.2	127.5	8 23	38.2	10 32
Boots and shoes ²	71.8	70.8	69.0	99.2	9 29	68.2	11 31
Gen. Index (1929=100) ³	73.5	72.2	60.0	114.2	6 23	56.8	3 33
B. Non-Mfg. Industries (1929=100)							
Anthracite mining	61.0	54.5	62.3	107.1	12 29	39.5	6 33
Bituminous mining	74.8	75.4	70.0	107.7	2 29	58.6	7 32
Telephone and teleg ² ph	68.9	69.4	74.8	103.7	8 29	68.1	8 33
Power and light	82.6	81.8	78.4	106.4	8 30	76.9	1933 ⁴
Retail trade	91.6	105.4	95.2	126.2	12 29	71.4	3 33
St. r ² l ² ds (1926=100)	55.9	—	54.8	109.4	8 23	51.5	3 33

(¹) Compiled by U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, except Steam Railroads (non-mfg.) which is compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

(²) The highest and lowest indexes for any month for manufacturing industries since 1923, except for knit goods, and silk and rayon goods, for which there are no comparable figures prior to 1932, and for woolen and worsted goods, and boots and shoes, since 1929. All non-manufacturing industries since 1929; steam railroads since 1923.

(³) Converted from 1926=100 to 1929=100. (⁴) Same index for March, April and May, 1933.

TABLE 2—PRODUCTION¹

THE FIELD	Nov.	December		Highest ²		Lowest ²	
	1933	1933	1932	Index	Date	Index	Date
General Index	68.4	69.8	64.8	116.7	7 29 ³	58.5	3 33 ³
Steel ingot production.	41.9	54.3	25.8	145.8	6 29	19.5	3 33
Pig iron production . .	37.2	41.9	19.8	151.5	7 23	16.8	3 33
Automobile production	29.9	41.6	52.8	172.6	12 23	17.5	10 32
Lumber production ² . .	48.3	56.0	37.0	145.9	4 29	34.0	2 33
Cement production ² . .	33.9	—	41.5	136.9	1 28	34.4	9 33
Cotton consumption . .	83.8	68.5	84.2	140.3	6 33	60.5	12 20

(¹) The *Annalist* Index of Business Activity. "Normal," that is the computed long-time trend, with the seasonal variations eliminated, equals 100%. The indexes given here should be thought of as percentages of this "normal."

(²) The highest and lowest indexes for any month since 1919; for lumber and cement, since 1920.

(³) Date figures in this and other tables are abbreviated by numbering months (7|29, for example, means July, 1929, etc.).

TABLE 3—PAYROLLS¹

THE FIELD	Nov.	December		Highest ¹		Lowest ¹	
	1933	1933	1932	Index	Date	Index	Date
A. Mfg. Industries (1926=100)							
Gen. Index (89 Ind.) . .	50.3	49.8	37.7	109.4	5 23	33.4	3 33
Slaught. and meat pkg.	85.7	91.8	68.1	129.7	12 23	61.4	3 33
Cotton goods	81.4	77.1	49.9	135.9	5 23	32.9	7 32
Knit goods	74.9	66.5	59.3	(¹)	—	(¹)	—
Silk and rayon goods.	49.3	45.5	38.5	(¹)	—	(¹)	—
Wool. & worsted gds. ¹	66.0	65.4	51.7	100.7	10 29	32.6	6 32
Men's clothing	46.2	39.2	30.7	143.0	3 23	25.9	6 32
Women's clothing	40.4	35.8	36.0	155.6	3 23	25.6	7 32
Iron and steel	43.6	44.4	21.9	110.2	3 24	19.5	8 32
Elec. machinery, apparatus and supplies . .	46.6	44.9	32.5	130.8	9 29	28.9	3 33
Foundry and machine-shop products	36.5	35.1	23.3	118.8	6 23	19.4	3 33
Automobiles	36.3	42.2	31.1	147.8	4 29	21.6	9 32
Steam rail. rep. shops.	41.4	40.0	37.8	128.2	10 23	31.3	8 32
Boots and shoes ¹	46.5	46.6	37.2	102.4	8 29	37.2	11 32
Gen. Ind. (1929=100) ¹	50.1	49.6	36.9	109.0	5 23	33.3	3 33
B. Non-Mfg. Industries (1929=100)							
Anthracite mining	47.8	44.3	56.2	137.2	12 29	30.0	5 33
Bituminous mining	50.7	50.8	37.7	116.6	2 29	24.4	7 32
Telephone and teleg ¹ ph	67.7	67.7	73.5	106.6	7 30	64.6	9 33
Power and light	74.5	74.4	73.2	107.8	6 30	69.4	4 33
Retail trade	72.6	80.3	73.6	120.6	12 29	55.1	3 33
Steam railroads ¹ (millions of dollars) . .	—	—	119.8	271.0	10 23	108.5	2 33

(1) See footnotes for Employment, Table 1.

TABLE 4—PER CAPITA WEEKLY EARNINGS¹

THE FIELD	Nov.	1933				
	1932	Nov.	Oct.	Sept.	Aug.	July
A. Mfg. Industries						
All (89 Industries) . . .	\$17.08	\$18.02	\$18.81	\$18.67	\$18.93	\$18.04
Slaught. and meat pkg.	19.89	19.86	19.72	19.65	19.78	20.15
Cotton goods	10.67	12.64	13.09	13.11	13.22	11.37
Knit goods	14.08	15.46	15.80	15.24	14.97	12.54
Silk and rayon goods.	12.92	14.29	15.01	14.40	15.26	13.36
Wool. and worsted gds.	15.45	16.12	17.03	17.54	17.52	16.99
Men's clothing	13.04	15.39	17.21	17.11	16.10	14.57
Women's clothing	16.71	16.92	20.12	22.39	15.68	14.83
Iron and steel	13.00	17.20	19.71	19.19	21.94	19.19
Elec. machinery, appa- ratus and supplies . . .	19.69	20.47	20.25	20.61	20.79	20.27
Foundry and machine- shop products	15.83	18.57	19.05	18.45	18.74	18.50
Automobiles	19.64	20.11	20.95	21.60	23.72	21.74
Steam rail. rep. shops . .	22.61	23.55	25.49	23.33	24.47	21.89
Boots and shoes	12.70	14.95	16.61	17.87	17.42	16.56
B. Non-Mfg. Industries						
Anthracite mining	23.67	22.80	31.49	31.09	28.41	25.34
Bituminous mining	14.51	17.39	16.67	15.78	16.37	13.85
Telephone and telegraph	26.38	26.61	26.40	25.60	26.32	26.32
Power and light	29.01	28.40	29.27	28.18	28.26	28.39
Retail trade	19.71	19.19	19.64	19.56	19.48	18.94
Steam railroads ²	118.6	—	123.9	110.5	125.3	122.5

(¹) Compiled by U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, except steam railroads (non-mfg.) which is computed from figures of Interstate Commerce Commission.

(²) Per capita monthly earnings.

TABLE 5—COMMODITY PRICES AND COST OF LIVING

THE FIELD	Nov.	December		Highest ⁵		Lowest ⁵	
	1933	1933	1932	Index	Date	Index	Date
A. Wholesale Prices							
All (784) Com'm'dities ¹	71.1	70.8	62.6	167.2	5 20	59.8	2 33
B. Retail Prices							
Food ¹	66.3	65.8	61.4	135.9	7 20	55.8	4 33
Combined Index ²	88.0	88.0	71.8	98.1	1 31	69.4	4 33
C. Cost of Living³							
Cost of Living ³	74.7	74.4	72.2	118.9	7 20	68.8	4 33
D. Agricultural⁴							
Farm Prices	52.5	50.3	38.5	105.8	8 29	36.3	2 33
Prices paid by farmers	76.0	76.7	67.0	99.4	2 29	65.7	3 33

(¹) Wholesale prices and retail food prices compiled by U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics; retail food prices converted from 1913=100 to 1926=100.

(²) Fairchild's combined index of department store articles (Dec. 1930=100) including infants', men's and women's apparel, home furnishings and piece goods.

(³) Cost of living compiled by National Industrial Conference Board; converted from 1923=100 to 1926=100.

(⁴) Items under agriculture compiled by U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics; converted from Aug. 1909-July 1914=100 to 1926=100.

(⁵) The highest and lowest indexes for any month since 1919, except for combined index since 1931; cost of living since 1920; agriculture since 1929.

TABLE 6—CONSUMPTION¹

THE FIELD	Oct.	November		Highest ²		Lowest ²	
	1933	1933	1932	Index	Date	Index	Date
Dept. store sales ³	70.0	65.0	63.0	114.0	9 29	57.0	3 33
Dept. store stocks ³	70.0	69.0	61.0	113.0	8 20	53.0	4 33
Chain store sales ³	84.0	83.0	80.0	(⁴)	—	(⁴)	—
Mail ord. and store sales (millions of dollars)	53.6	52.0	41.3	90.0	12 29	15.0	7 21
Exports, inc. re-exports (millions of dollars)	194.0	184.3	138.8	928.4	6 19	105.2	4 33
Imports (mil. dollars)	146.7	128.5	104.5	552.6	6 20	79.4	7 32

(¹) Compiled by U. S. Department of Commerce.

(²) The highest and lowest figures for any month since 1919, except for chain stores (19 companies) for which there are no comparable data prior to 1932.

(³) Index based on dollar value; 1923-25=100.

(⁴) Index based on dollar value; average same month 1929-31=100.

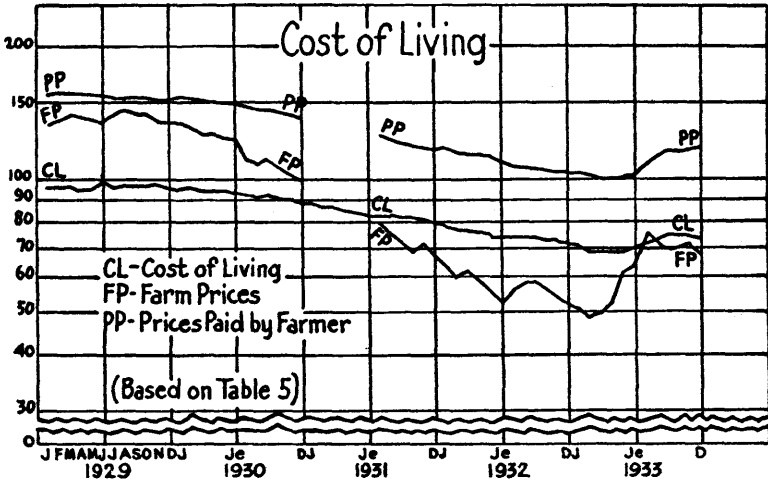
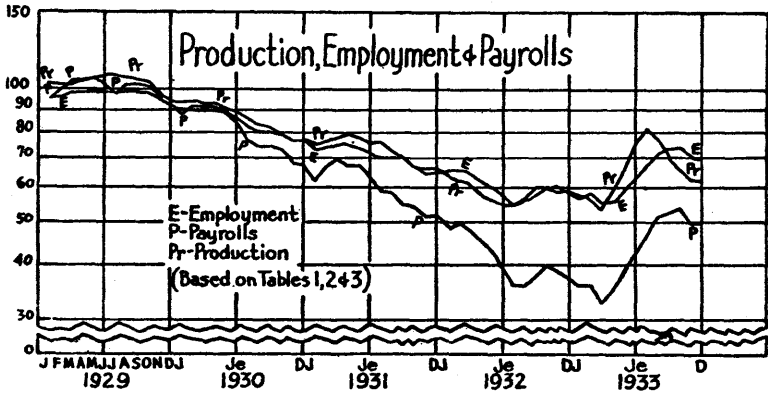
TABLE 7—COMMODITY STOCKS ON HAND¹

(1923-25 = 100)

THE FIELD	Oct.	November		Highest ²		Lowest ²	
	1933	1933	1932	Index	Date	Index	Date
<i>Domestic (All)</i>	167	171	157	171	11 33	72.7	8 20
<i>Manufactures</i>	109	110	98	128	2 30	68.6	11 19
Iron and steel	99	96	85	158	2 30	38.9	12 19
Textiles ²	177	183	82	183	11 33	67.4	3 29
Food products	105	101	67	144.7	1 19	66.0	10 31
<i>Raw Materials (All)</i>	209	215	199	215	11 33	67.7	7 19
Foodstuffs	224	218	185	230	10 29	60.8	6 20
Metals	122	124	106	167	11 31	50.9	4 19
Textile Materials ²	270	294	287	294	11 33	43	7 24
<i>World</i>							
Cotton	225	216	239	268	8 32	75	6 23

(¹) Compiled by U. S. Department of Commerce.

(²) The highest and lowest indexes for any month since 1919; for textile manufactures, since 1921, and for textile raw materials, since 1920; cotton, since 1920.



NOTE ON CHART

This is a "ratio" or "logarithmic" chart. On it distances measure differences in per cent rather than in absolute values. Thus, on a regular chart a change of, say, 5 points will cover the same distance whether it represents an increase or a decrease, and whether it is a change of, let us say, from 25 to 30 or from 50 to 55. On a ratio chart an increase covers a smaller distance than a decrease (an increase of five, from 20 to 25, is an increase of 25 per cent, a decrease of 5, from 25 to 20 is a decrease of 20 per cent). And the same amount of change from a higher level covers less distance than from a lower level. (A rise of 5, from 25 to 30, is a rise of 20 per cent; a rise of 5 from 50 to 55 is only 10 per cent). The ratio chart is preferable for our purposes because we are using curves representing different classes of data for which the concurrent rates of change rather than corresponding absolute amounts of change are significant.

The *Annalist* Combined Index of Production has been converted to 1926=100, and Farm Prices and Prices Paid by Farmers are on their original base of August 1909-July 1914=100. The break in the curves of the latter two items between December, 1930 and July, 1931, was necessitated by our inability to obtain the indexes for that period.—L.R.A.

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