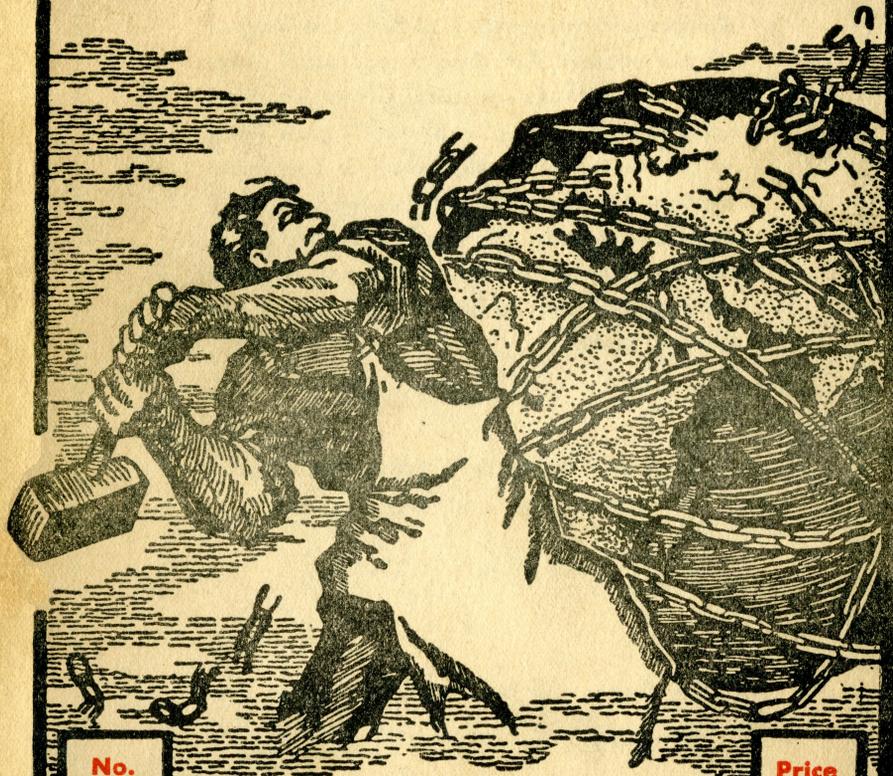


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# In Memoriam of Two Fiery Revolutionaries and Old Members of the Chinese Communist Party

COMRADES CHU CHIU-PO (STRACHOV) AND HO SU-HSIN

ACCORDING to information printed in the Kuomintang press, Comrade Chu chiu-po, who was very ill with tuberculosis, was seized while being transported from the territory evacuated by the Red Army to the Soviet region, and executed on order from Chiang Kai-shek. The same newspapers report that Comrade Ho Su-hsin (sixty years old) who, remaining with the partisans after the evacuation of the main forces of the Red Army westwards, was killed while resisting arrest.

The deaths of Comrades Chu Chiu-po and Ho Su-hsin, and the arrests of Comrades Fan Chih-min (member of the Central Committee of the Party and of the Central Executive Committee of Soviet China, chairman of the Soviet Government of the Soviet District in North-eastern Kiangsi), Lu Tao-sin (commander of the military district of this province) and Wang Tzu-chi (commander of the Tenth Corps), are the biggest losses which the Chinese Communist Party suffered during the sixth drive of the Kuomintang. Old, tested cadres are most valuable for the Party and the revolution.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po or Chu Vi-to (Russian pseudonym—Strachov) was formerly a Chinese journalist. He was born in a family of ruined intellectuals.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po studied in the Literature Faculty in the Russian Institute in Peking. In 1920 Comrade Chu Chiu-po was sent to Soviet Russia as correspondent of the Peking bourgeois newspaper, *Chen Pao*. The civil war in Russia took place right before his eyes.

From the very first days of his arrival in Russia he warmly sympathized with the cause of the Russian workers and peasants. The revolutionary wave of the first post-October years drew Comrade Chu Chiu-po to the side of Communism and he joined the ranks of the Communist Party. At that time a stormy anti-imperialist movement developed in China, a movement for a "new culture".

The Chinese youth and Chinese intellectuals displayed tremendous interest in the events taking place in Russia, expressed their sympathy towards the Soviet government and especially greeted the national question pursued by the Bolsheviks.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po, having broken the ring of lies and slanders of the bourgeois press, gave the whole truth regarding the Russian revolution. His articles, dispatches, and notes were printed on the pages of the Chinese radical journals and newspapers. Comrade Chu Chiu-po's book on Soviet Russia was almost the only material available for the

study of Soviet Russia at that time. Comrade Chu Chiu-po was very popular among the representatives of Chinese public opinion. The Chinese intellectuals and Chinese youth knew Comrade Chu Chiu-po as a well-known Marxist, a literary man, and a political worker, an authority on the social sciences, Chinese and foreign literature, and as one of the initiators of the reform of the Chinese written language (latinization). In the name of the Chinese revolutionary organizations, he actively participated in the Congress of the Peoples of the Far East in Moscow in 1922. Comrade Lenin knew him personally. Comrade Chu Chiu-po also attended the Second Congress of the Comintern.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po returned to China in 1923. At the Third Congress of the Party he was elected to the Central Committee, and since then was regularly elected a member of the Central Committee. Most of his work in the Party was of an organizational and propagandist character. He was editor of the Party journal *The Advance Guard*; was member of the editorial board of the *Hsian Tao* (central organ of the Communist Party of China); was organizer and manager of semi-Party schools; was dean of the faculty of social sciences in a Shanghai university where, at that time, the best of the revolutionary youth were educated. Comrade Chu Chiu-po actively participated in the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Congresses of the Communist Party of China.

At the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China he was elected delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, where he was co-reporter on the national and colonial questions and was elected member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

After the Sixth Congress Comrade Chu Chiu-po was the representative of the Communist Party of China to the E.C.C.I.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po carried on a fight against Chentushuism and Trotskyism. However, he himself also was not free from Right and "Left" mistakes especially in regard to conciliation and Li-Li-sanism, for which he was removed from membership of the Political Bureau at the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party. However, Comrade Chu Chiu-po acknowledged his mistakes and corrected them.

In spite of the fact that Comrade Chu Chiu-po's health was completely shattered (he was ill with tuberculosis), he carried on Party work under the most difficult underground conditions.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po, an outstanding political figure in the Chinese Soviet Republic, occupied the post of Commissar of Education. A big cultural revolution took place in Soviet China under his leadership. The percentage of illiterates throughout China is more than 60 per cent. In Soviet China in the three provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien, Kwantung-Kiangsi there are 2,932 villages in which 80,710 people are studying in 3,052 Leninist schools; 94,517 attend 6,402 evening schools and 32,388 illiteracy liquidation centers. The province of Fukien, where 155,371 study, is not included in these figures. There are 1,656 clubs with a membership of 49,688. During the reign of the Kuomintang about 10 per cent of the children studied in the district of Hsinkuo, but

under the Soviet Power this figure was raised to 60 per cent. The cultural level of the women has been raised. Previously the majority of women, especially in the village, were illiterate, but now in Soviet China the women study on equal terms with the men. (These facts are taken from the official report of the Soviet government at the Second Congress of the Soviets.)

Because of this cultural-educational work, because he fought against imperialism for the liberation and the national independence of his native land, for the territorial unity of China, the Koumintang hangmen murdered him.



Comrade Ho Su-hsin was born in 1874 in the province of Hunan in a small peasant family. From his childhood he worked on the farm, was a shepherd. Then he worked for eight years as teacher in an elementary school in the village. Due to his exceptional determination and strivings towards knowledge, he was successful in receiving the first mandarin degree (Hsui-tsai) under the Tsing dynasty, but he became disgusted with the treacherous petty officialdom and abandoned his career as petty official and joined the revolutionary movement.

In 1919 Comrade Ho Su-hsin was one of the most important leaders in the anti-Japanese movement in Hunan. At that time, together with Comrade Mao Tze-tung, he organized the first Communist circle in the province of Hunan. In 1921 both were representatives of the Hunan organization to the First Congress of the Communist Party of China, where Comrade Ho Su-hsin was elected to the Central Committee.

Comrade Ho Su-hsin returned to Hunan after the Congress and made the preparation of revolutionary cadres his main task. With this aim, he organized a pedagogical institute in Hunan and was its director. He selected the most revolutionary youth of this school and educated them in a revolutionary spirit. At the same time, he was secretary of the Hunan District Committee of the Party and was member of the Hunan Committee of the I.L.D.

Comrade Ho Su-hsin led the revolutionary movement in Hunan during the revolution of 1925-27. He was compelled to leave Hunan illegally for Shanghai after the fall of the Wuhan government. He worked as secretary of a special nucleus of the Shansi district committee.

Comrade Ho Su-hsin participated in the Third Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, held in the summer of 1928. In spite of his advanced age, he so deeply felt the urge towards Marxist-Leninist knowledge, to master the Bolshevik experience of work, that he asked to be sent to study in a Communist university in Moscow. And there, Comrade Ho Su-hsin, along with the youth, actively, determinedly, and in a disciplined manner, worked to master Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Ho Su-hsin was a consistent and active Party member. He distinguished himself by his modesty, and did not disdain any work. Thus, while studying in the university, he even worked on transcribing materials for a Chinese wall newspaper.

The Cleansing Commission of 1929 characterized him as a consistent and disciplined Bolshevik, as a model revolutionist.

After finishing his studies, Comrade Ho Su-hsin returned to Shanghai and worked in the Central Organ of the Communist Party of China under the most underground conditions.

Comrade Ho Su-hsin left for the Soviet district of China in 1931. He was elected to the Central Executive Committee at the First Congress of Soviets and occupied the post of the Peoples' Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

Comrade Ho Su-hsin has shown himself to be a determined, irreconcilable fighter for the Soviet revolution. He fought against the attempts of the class enemies who tried to sneak into the organs of the Soviet power. Comrade Ho Su-hsin did very much to develop Soviet state institutions in China. In the recent period, as Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Chinese Soviet Republic, he carried on a tireless struggle against counter-revolution, in defense of revolutionary law. In spite of his complete shattered health and extreme age, he actively and tirelessly worked at his Party and revolutionary posts. He was especially indignant against the imperialist occupation and the treacherous policy of the Kuomintang on the national question. He died at his revolutionary post for the cause of his country, for the cause of the people.

He was an irreconcilable, determined fighter against opportunism, in defense of the general line of the Party.

After the evacuation of the main forces of the Chinese Red Army he remained together with the partisans and continued on revolutionary work. He died at his fighting post under the blows of the Kuomintang imperialist hangmen.

The loss of Comrades Chu Chiu-po and Ho Su-hsin is a great loss, not only for the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Revolution, but for the proletariat of the entire world.

Comrades Chu Chiu-po and Ho Su-hsin, by their activities, set an example to the Chinese revolutionists on how to carry on a fearless fight for the national and social liberation of the Chinese people.

Hundreds and thousands of Chinese Communists will rise to take the place of Comrades Chu Chiu-po and Ho Su-hsin. Let the imperialist robbers and Kuomintang Chiang Kai-shek traitors and executioners rage. The cause of the Chinese Soviet revolution is invincible.

WANG MIN, KAN-SIN  
AND A GROUP OF CHINESE COMRADES.

\* \* \* \*

Yet another hero has been taken from our ranks.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has been executed.

He and other heroic comrades were foully tormented by the hangman, Chiang Kai-shek, the miserable tool of British imperialism in China.

The bloody White terror in China, supported previously by Great Britain with its warships, war supplies and money, has deprived us of yet another leader of the heroically fighting toiling masses.

The workers and peasants of China, and their glorious Red Army led by the heroic Communist Party, will take vengeance for the murder of Comrade Chu Chiu-po and the comrades executed along with him. We, on our part, undertake further to still increase our struggle in defense of the Soviet Regions in China.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

\* \* \* \*

Comrade Chu Chiu-po, one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in China has been brutally murdered by Chiang Kai-shek, the agent of the Japanese imperialist military clique.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po was one of the outstanding leaders of the Chinese revolutionary movement and at the same time one of the leaders of the revolution in the Far East.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po worked in the conditions of the fierce Asiatic terror carried through by the hangman, Chiang Kai-shek, the lackey of Japanese imperialism. The activity of Comrade Chu Chiu-po can serve as an example of heroism for the world revolutionary movement.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po was one of the organizers of the Communist Party of China, was an important revolutionary worker, who raised aloft the banner of the Soviets in China.

Comrade Chu Chiu-po firmly defended the Red Banner of the Marxist-Leninist International. He fought against jingoism and nationalism, and under the banner of internationalism fought for the liberation of the four hundred millions of the starving, toiling people of China from exploitation and the terror of the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek and the imperialists of all lands.

He was one of the initiators of the liberation movement of the four hundred millions of Chinese people.

He fell at the hands of the hangman, Chiang Kai-shek, but the Red banner for which he fought floats proudly over Chinese territory.

Our Chu Chiu-po!

We vow that the cause which you have left us will be carried to the end by the joint struggle of the workers of Japan and China. The Japanese workers know that the Japanese military clique participated in your murder. Your blood will be a landmark which will show the Japanese and Chinese workers the road to revolution.

Sleep in peace, our dear leader, Comrade Chu Chiu-po.

FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN,  
TANAKA.

# Seventh World Congress of the Communist International

**T**HE Seventh Congress of the World Communist Party is coming together at a time when Socialism has been victorious in the U.S.S.R., at a time when a new revolutionary crisis is coming to a head in the capitalist world, and when the severe intensification of all the internal and external antagonistic contradictions of imperialism are unloosening a new, second round of revolutions and wars.

Seven years have passed since the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. The events that have taken place in this period are a splendid confirmation of the correctness of all the programmatic, strategical and tactical decisions, adopted by the Sixth Congress.

A year after the Sixth Congress a *very sharp and most profound economic crisis* burst throughout the whole of the capitalist world, one out of which the bourgeoisie *have not succeeded in finding a way, up to the present day*. The crisis confirmed the correctness of the analysis made by the Sixth Congress to the effect that the third period of the general crisis of capitalism was leading through a further sharpening of capitalist contradictions to the *further shattering of the relative stabilization of capitalism*. The Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which took place a year after the Sixth Congress, was in a position, on the basis of the revolutionary struggles taking place in Europe and also in Asia (primarily in China), to note the development of a *new rise of the revolutionary working class movement*.

In their efforts to find a way out of the economic crisis, and preparing at top speed for a new imperialist blood bath, and for a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. as *preventive* measures against the maturing revolutionary crisis, the bourgeoisie have established open fascist dictatorship in a number of countries (Germany, Austria, etc.), and are more and more taking the path of abolishing the remnants of parliamentarism and of bourgeois democracy in all the remaining capitalist countries.

The Plenums of the E.C.C.I. that followed, especially the twelfth and thirteenth, were already in a position to declare that the relative stabilization of capitalism had come to an end; that the advent of fascism to power in a number of countries as a result of the *split* in the ranks of the working class, a split due to the treacherous policy pursued by Social-Democracy, takes place *in circumstances where capitalism is being shattered* and is a sign of the *weakness of the bourgeoisie* who are unable to rule by the old bourgeois-democratic methods; that the establishment of fascist dictatorship not only places *new* difficulties in the way of revolutionary development, not only retards the process of the revolutionization of the masses but speeds it up; that a world revolutionary crisis is maturing; and that the capitalist world is approaching a new round of revolutions and wars.

Altogether, in the period following the Sixth Congress, *the relation of class forces throughout the world has changed to the advantage of the revolution.* This is confirmed by the following world historic events.

*First*, Socialism is victorious in the U.S.S.R. as a result of the Bolshevik policy of industrialization, collectivization, and the destruction of classes, carried through by the C.P.S.U. under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the genius who leads the international proletariat. Socialism is victorious, finally and irrevocably, over one-sixth of the globe. In its world historic importance, this event is second to the great Socialist Revolution of October, 1917, the mighty victory of the international proletariat over world capitalism.

*Second*, for the first time in history, in a semi-colonial country in the center of Asia, in the heart of China, a number of Soviet regions were established in 1930, and they created their own workers' and peasants' Red Army. In the five years that have passed, the Chinese Soviets and the Chinese Red Army have beaten off numerous interventionist campaigns conducted by the counter-revolutionary Chinese bourgeoisie and landowners and supported by all the imperialist states, and have shown that they are an *invincible force*, which is growing and gathering strength with every year that passes. The victories won by the Chinese Soviet revolution show *in deeds* that not only is it possible for Soviets to be victorious in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, but they point out to all the peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies that as far as they are concerned the Soviets are *the only way* out of imperialist oppression, colonial slavery, poverty and the deprivation of their rights. The banner of the Communist International is the *only* banner bringing real liberation to the colonial and dependent countries.

*Third*, *the rise of the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries.* In face of the capitalist offensive, fascism, and the menace of war, on the one hand, and the victories of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, in face of bankruptcy of the Social-Democratic policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a *great turn* is taking place among the millions of toilers, and primarily among the Social-Democratic workers *towards the united front with the Communists.* The Social-Democratic workers along with the Communists are passing to methods of armed struggle against the offensive of fascism (the February battles in 1934 in Austria, the October battles in Spain in 1934), to the methods of the *general political strike* in the struggle against fascism and the capitalist offensive (in France, in 1934). In the U.S.A., the citadel of capitalism, the most powerful strike movement since 1919 developed in the period of the crisis and the special kind of depression. *In all capitalist countries, in spite of all the obstacles set up by the leaders of the Second International, an irrepressible movement of the masses for the united proletarian fighting front is developing. All this is witness to a process of the advance of the masses of the capitalist countries to revolution, the most powerful since the period of the first round of revolutions and wars.*

*Fourth*, there is a political crisis in a number of capitalist countries,

which has had clear expression in the armed struggle of the workers in Austria and Spain, and in the powerful anti-fascist movement in France.

*Fifth*, the period that has passed since the Sixth Congress has been a *culminating* period in the development of the Communist International, in the Bolshevization of the Sections of the Comintern. After the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and Zinovievites were crushed and driven out of their ranks, after the Right opportunists, conciliators and "Left" opportunists were isolated and crushed, the Sections of the Comintern became consolidated, and factions and opposition groupings were completely liquidated, and the Parties rallied as never before around the *Communist International*. The Second International is undergoing a process of disintegration. The present crisis of the Second International, which is taking place in the period of the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy, is more profound than what it was during the period of the first round of revolutions and wars. The most important parties of the Second International, German Social-Democracy and the "Left" reformist Austrian Social-Democracy, have become bankrupt, have fallen to pieces organizationally and politically. Within the parties of the Second International a struggle is being developed by the Left opposition which is in favor of the united front with the Communists, a process of differentiation between the upper ranks and the rank and file who are becoming revolutionized is developing, and a struggle is developing between the various parties of the Second International, reflecting the interests of the imperialists of the different countries. At the same time, the world party of the revolutionary proletariat, the new type of world party, the World Party of Communism, has become united and monolithic as never before.

Such are the five most important factors that *have altered the entire international situation in favor of the proletarian revolution* in the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Communist International, and *have led to a situation where the general crisis of capitalism is passing into a period of revolutionary crisis in a whole number of countries.*

In these circumstances, exceptional importance is assumed by the views expressed by Lenin at the Second Congress of the Comintern regarding the revolutionary crisis, when he declared that it was erroneous to prove in advance that as far as the bourgeoisie were concerned the crisis was absolutely hopeless.

"We must now 'prove,'" he stated, "by the practical work of the revolutionary parties that they are sufficiently class conscious, organized and able to utilize this crisis for a successful, victorious revolution" (Lenin, Vol. XXV, pp. 340-1, Russian ed.).

It is not for nothing that at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Comrade Stalin considered it necessary to remind the Communists of these prophetic words of Lenin.

It depends on the Communist Parties, on their ability to carry on *really mass revolutionary work*, on their ability to bring about the broad united fighting front of the proletariat, and on this basis to organize the

people's anti-fascist front; it depends on the revolutionary courage, initiative and flexibility of the Communist Parties, *on their ability* to overcome all defects and mistakes in their *mass* work, on their ability to lead the masses of the toilers, in their millions into the struggle and stand at the head of them, on their ability to organize victory and consolidate it; in a word, it depends on the work of the Communist Parties as to whether the Parties will succeed, in the oncoming revolutionary events, in transforming the possibility that exists of the victory of the proletarian revolution into a reality.

This is why the report of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Seventh Congress, and the discussion that will follow on this report, will not only contain a precise analysis of the entire international situation, will not only indicate clear perspectives and precise tasks for the future, will not only indicate the successes and achievements made by the Communist Parties, but will also subject to *Bolshevik self-criticism* the work of the Communist Parties done in the period following the Sixth Congress, and will openly and with Bolshevik directness display the defects, faults and errors committed by us in the period under review. Irreconcilable war will be declared against "Left" sectarianism, which is a serious obstacle preventing the Communist Parties making their way to the masses, and also against the Right opportunist danger which is expressed in the penetration of the remnants of Social-Democratism into our ranks, in disparaging and underestimating the role of the Communist Parties and first and foremost in a reliance on *spontaneity* in the development of the revolutionary movement.

*The Seventh Congress will be carried through under the flag of Bolshevik self-criticism and this is a sign of the growing power and strength of the Communist International.*

\* \* \*

The center of the attention of the Seventh Congress will be held by the question of the maturing revolutionary crisis, and of the struggle against the fascist offensive, and to bring about unity of action by the proletariat on a wide scale.

A revolutionary crisis is maturing throughout the capitalist world. The bourgeoisie are no longer able to rule by the old methods, and are therefore in every possible way doing away with or reducing to nothing the last remnants of parliamentarism or of democratic liberties. In a number of countries (Germany, Austria) the bourgeoisie made use of the split in the ranks of the working class, made use of the fact that the Communist Parties had not yet succeeded in winning the majority of the working class, before the moment of the decisive turn of the masses to the revolution, to secure the support of the dissatisfied petty bourgeoisie in town and country, and establish open fascist dictatorship. The menace of fascism is growing in all capitalist countries. But the mass struggle of the proletariat and the toilers against the fascist offensive is also growing.

Millions of proletarians are becoming convinced on the basis of their own bitter experience, which the Communist Parties are helping them

assimilate, *how wrong was the path along which Social-Democracy led them*. They are becoming convinced that the Social-Democratic road of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, which holds the masses back from the class struggle against the offensive of fascism, the path of so-called peaceful development through bourgeois democracy to Socialism, as taught by Social-Democracy, has led in fact to a situation where a bloody fascist dictatorship has grown organically out of bourgeois democracy. The masses in their millions are becoming convinced on the basis of their own bitter experience, clarified by the Communist Parties, of the correctness of the estimate of fascism given by the Comintern, to the effect that fascism is the open dictatorship of monopolist capital, or more exactly, the terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most jingoistic and most imperialistic groups in the ranks of finance capital. The bloody fascist dictatorship destroys all organizations of the workers set up by entire generations of workers, and at the same time disbands the Social-Democratic mass organizations and the reformist trade unions, and physically exterminates the best sons of the working class, in its effort to reduce the proletariat of the imperialist countries to a condition of open political and economic slavery, as ferocious and merciless as in the colonies. The masses are becoming convinced on the basis of the experience of the U.S.S.R., that the path taken by the Bolsheviks is the path leading to the victory of the working class, the path leading to the final victory of Socialism.

The masses, including the masses of the toiling petty bourgeoisie, are seeing that in Germany prior to the advent of Hitler to power, and now in the conditions of Hitler fascism, in Austria during the February battles, and now in the underground fascist conditions there, in France during the February battles of 1934, and during the battles that followed on them, in Spain, Poland, England and America, the Communists have everywhere and at all times been in the *front ranks* of the fight against fascism, and are the most devoted and self-sacrificing, the most advanced and courageous fighters against fascism, against the capitalist offensive and against the threat of war. The courageous behavior of the proletarian revolutionary, Comrade Dimitroff, at the Leipzig trial, who transformed this fascist court into a tribune against fascism, served as a powerful stimulant to the realization of the united front of the international proletariat against fascism.

The battles of February, 1934, in France, were of exceptional importance. They showed the masses that the *united front can beat off the attack of fascism*. All these reasons explain the steadfastly growing movement of the broad masses of proletarians, and primarily of the Social-Democratic workers, towards joint struggle with the Communists against fascism. This explains why it is that the masses are *now* seizing on the *initiative of the Communists* regarding the establishment of the united front between the Communist and Socialist Parties. Under the pressure of this growing desire of the masses for unity of action, the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties in a number of countries have been compelled to conclude united front pacts with the Communists.

The year 1934 was a culminating year as regards *bringing about the*

*united front* on a broad scale in a number of countries. The Seventh Congress will sum up the *rich experience* of the Communist Party of France, which has achieved *great successes in bringing about a broad united front, and in establishing a people's anti-fascist front*. The Congress will also sum up the results of the operation of the united front in other countries of bourgeois democracy, in countries where there is an open fascist dictatorship (primarily the experience of the Communist Parties of Austria and Germany), the experience of the operation of the united front in those fascist countries where the Communist Parties are underground and the Social-Democratic Parties are legal (primarily the experience of the operation of the united front by the Communist Party of Poland); it will take account of the experience of the struggle for trade union unity; it will take account of the experience of the struggle of the Communist Party of China and of the Communist Parties of the countries of Latin America as regards the establishment of the united anti-imperialist national front. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International will take into account the new features in the united front tactics and elaborate concrete lines for extending, deepening and consolidating them organizationally (united front committees in the localities) in those places where pacts have already been concluded between the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties, and in establishing the united front in those countries where it has not yet been brought about, and primarily in the lands of fascist dictatorship, so as to carry on work in the mass fascist organizations and so to smash the fascist dictatorship from within and without.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern will play a tremendous role in establishing the united front of *the international proletariat*, in establishing *trade union unity on an international scale, in establishing the anti-fascist people's front, and the anti-imperialist national front in the colonial and semi-colonial countries*.

Basing themselves on the growing desire of the workers for the unification of the Social-Democratic Party with the Communist Party, the Communists must take the initiative in connection with the question of establishing a united revolutionary mass party of the proletariat and in this regard explain to the workers that unification is only possible on definite conditions. The Seventh Congress will answer the question as to the conditions on which a united revolutionary party of the working class can be established.

The Seventh Congress will make use of the experience of the united front carried through by the Communist Party of France to work out a program of demands of a transitory character, which will raise the widest masses to undertake fighting action, demands directed against the bourgeoisie (taxation of the capitalists), and which will immediately ease the conditions of the toiling masses and strengthen the positions they hold, demands which will disorganize fascism (disarmament and disbandment of the fascist organizations, the arrest of their leaders, etc.), demands which will undermine the apparatus of bourgeois domination and tone down the sharpness of the war danger.

Fascism which came onto the scene in the period of the decline of

capitalism, is not in a position to withdraw capitalism from the crisis. Fascism leads to a still further sharpening and deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, to an accumulation, among the masses of the people, of tremendous class hatred towards fascism and towards the whole capitalist class. It unloosens civil war, and shows the masses that the only way to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie is that of armed uprising. Fascism establishes the political monopoly of one fascist party, and *temporarily strengthens the power of the bourgeoisie*, but at the same time endows all the contradictions existing within the ranks of the bourgeoisie with a sharp violent character (June 30 in Germany, etc.). Fascism sharpens the relations between the states to the extreme, and kindles the flames of a new world blood bath.

In the struggle against every underestimation of the danger of fascism, against the theory of the automatic collapse of capitalism, against every underestimation of the need to work inside the fascist organizations, against every underestimation of the necessity to expose the ideology of fascism and its social demagoguery, the Communists will at the same time declare merciless war against the Right opportunistic view that fascism is an inevitable stage in the development of all capitalist countries, that the victory of fascism is inevitable.

Experience has shown that the united fighting front strengthens the forces and the fighting power of the proletariat and their allies, that the united fighting front can hold back and hinder the further advance of fascism.

Experience has shown that a united proletarian front, and the people's anti-fascist front based on it, are the main and decisive weapons at the present historic period in leading the masses to the struggle for power.

\* \* \*

All the capitalist countries are arming themselves at a ferocious speed. In all the capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie are preparing a new war and are infecting the broad masses with the poison of jingoism. The pioneers in this connection, the main instigators of war, and primarily of counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R., who are openly raising the question of the need for a new redivision of the globe, and for the seizure of territory in the Soviet Union, are fascist Germany and military fascist Japan, who are allied to fascist Poland supported by leading circles in the ranks of the British bourgeoisie. Fascism is openly raising the question of a world war to bring about a new redivision of the globe (military fascist Japan, which is waging war in the Far East, has begun the division of China, the effort to seize the whole of China; German national-socialism which is the most aggressive form of fascism is striving to alter the boundaries in Europe by means of war, and is openly demanding the return of her colonies; Polish fascism, allied to the main instigators of war, is striving to extend its territory at the expense of the Soviet Union and the Baltic States; Italian fascism is turning to the open robber seizure of Abyssinia, in its effort to secure a new redivision of the colonies.)

*The contradictions of post-war imperialism have reached such a*

*point of intensity and sharpness that the danger of a new war is greater at the present period than it was on the eve of the war of 1914.* And it is only thanks to the fact that, as distinct from August, 1914, the Soviet Union now exists, thanks to its economic might and political power, thanks to its heroic and invincible Red Army, and the fact that it is carrying through a consistent peace policy, that the provocative efforts of the imperialists to set a new world conflagration alight has been undermined; it is only thanks to the fact that, as distinct from the period which existed prior to the war of 1914-18, a monolithic world Communist Party has been established, which is leading the masses in the struggle for peace and against the war danger, and which is preparing these masses to transform this war, in case imperialist war should nonetheless begin, into a civil war; it is only for these reasons that the instigators of war, the fascists and the bourgeois military cliques have not succeeded in driving the world once again into the bloody abyss of war.

The most important Parties of the Comintern, with all the defects and weaknesses which still exist in their anti-war activity, have shown examples of the correct struggle against the menace of war by going against the stream of jingoism, by remaining true to the demands of proletarian internationalism, by fighting for the defense of the U.S.S.R. and of its peace policy, and by rallying the broad masses to support the non-aggression pacts and the mutual assistance pacts. The Communist Parties of France and Czechoslovakia, in their correct struggle to translate into life the mutual assistance pacts with the U.S.S.R. concluded by the governments of these countries, in their struggle for a broad united front against the menace of war, absolutely correctly raised a number of demands of a transitory character before the masses, by calling for the struggle to cleanse the army of fascist generals and officers, to extend electoral rights to cover soldiers, and for complete liberty to conduct anti-fascist propaganda in the army and propaganda in favor of friendly relations with the U.S.S.R., in favor of providing soldiers with the right to elect their trusted representatives in the army, in favor of bringing the army closer to the toiling people, and in favor of organizing friendly contacts between the soldiers of their countries and the Red Army.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern will sum up the rich experience of the Sections of the Comintern, and will provide a reply to the questions of the basic tasks facing the Communist Parties in the struggle for peace and in defense of the U.S.S.R., against the anti-Soviet warmongers, in defense of the independence of the small peoples, against the menace of imperialist war, in preparing the masses for the struggle to transform the imperialist war into civil war, and for the defeat of their own bourgeoisie in an imperialist war. *The central task facing the Communist Parties is the struggle for peace.* The Seventh Congress will attribute exceptional importance to the question of the organization of a broad united front of the proletariat and of a powerful people's front in the struggle for peace, and against the war danger. In the struggle at the head of the masses against war, the Communists

will do everything to ensure that, in the case of counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R., *the proletariat and the toiling masses of the capitalist countries will fight with all their might for the victory of the U.S.S.R., for the victory of the Red Army.*

\* \* \*

The concluding phase of the work of the Seventh Congress will be a discussion of *the results of the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* Whereas in the old, capitalist world, the transition from the lowest point of the economic crisis to the special kind of depression does not lead to a new advance, but to a further decay of capitalist economy, whereas in the majority of countries the tendencies are clearly predominant for the special kind of depression to be further protracted, in the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, in the new, Socialist world, where crises are impossible, the Second Five-Year Plan is being victoriously fulfilled and Socialist economy is catching up and in some branches of industry is already overtaking the highest level achieved by capitalist economy.

*In the old, capitalist world*, a ferocious offensive is taking place on the wages of the workers, on the standard of living of the toiling masses, while tens of millions of unemployed are doomed to hunger and extinction (and now the unemployed army is two to three times bigger than it was prior to the crisis).

*In the new Socialist world*, in the U.S.S.R. unemployment has been abolished. The number of workers and office employees employed is growing, the total wage bill and social insurance expenditure are increasing, difficulties connected with food supplies have been overcome (the abolition of the bread cards), a speedy rise is taking place in the cultural level of the toilers, and all this represents but a beginning on the path to tremendous improvements in the conditions of the masses and in their all-round well-being.

*In the old, capitalist world*, an agrarian crisis is raging, the mass pauperization of the toiling peasants is taking place, and the crisis is continuing in the colonies on which the imperialists have placed a tremendous part of the burden of the crisis.

*In the U.S.S.R.*, thanks to the collectivization of agriculture, and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class brought about on its basis, poverty and pauperization in the village have vanished forever, and the collective farm peasants are unswervingly advancing towards a cultured and prosperous life. The peoples, who were formerly oppressed and enslaved by tsardom, are in the Soviet Union advancing along a path where their culture is flourishing, a culture national in form and socialist in content; they are advancing along the path of unheard-of economic progress.

*In the old, capitalist world*, the bourgeoisie are assiduously destroying and doing away with the last remnants of bourgeois democratic liberties, are increasing the burden of the parasitism of the state apparatus, while an ever greater portion of the national income goes towards the preparation of war, for a new redivision of the globe.

In the U.S.S.R., in the new, Socialist world, the further development of proletarian Soviet democracy is being carried through so as to ensure

that the masses of the people play a still greater and more active part in the affairs of state and in Socialist construction. *The U.S.S.R. is the bulwark of the toiling masses of all lands in their struggle against world reaction.* The U.S.S.R. has now developed into such a serious international force as *alters the international situation in the interests of the toilers*, by carrying on the struggle against war and for the preservation of peace. *The U.S.S.R. is the bulwark of the toiling masses in all countries in their struggle against the menace of war.*

The U.S.S.R. is the prototype of the Socialist reconstruction of the entire world.

The Seventh Congress will be a mighty demonstration of the monolithic character of the ranks of the Communist International, a demonstration of the fact that all the Sections of the Communist International are true to the Leninist policy pursued by the leaders of the Communist International, a demonstration of the fact that the Communists throughout the world stand solidly around their leader, Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin has taught the Communists the following:

“There is not and there cannot be any ‘middle line’ in questions of a principle character. Some principles or other must be placed at the basis of the work of the party. A ‘middle line’ on questions of principle is a line to confuse heads, a ‘line’ to smooth down disagreements, a ‘line’ of ideological degeneration, a ‘line’ of ideological death for a party. . . . The policy of a ‘middle line’ of principle is the policy of parties which are withering and degenerating. Such a policy cannot but lead to transforming the party into an empty bureaucratic apparatus, revolving in the air, and isolated from the masses of the workers. This path is not ours.” (Stalin, *“Once More About the Social-Democratic Deviation of Our Party”*, at the Seventh Extended Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

Thanks to this, the only correct policy the Communist Parties have succeeded in crushing Trotskyism and in driving the Trotskyites out of their ranks. Trotskyism has become the advance guard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, the Trotskyites have openly joined the Second International, and have gathered around them all the elements in the Second International, who are hostile to the Soviet Union and Communism, and Trotsky calls for terrorist, fascist methods of struggle against the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern. Trotsky bears direct responsibility as organizer of the terrorist groups in the U.S.S.R., for the terrorist acts committed by the offspring of the counter-revolutionary Zinoviev-Trotsky bloc, who murdered Comrade Kirov, the beloved leader of the Leningrad Bolsheviks, the fiery tribune of the Socialist revolution.

Thanks to the only correct policy of principle pursued by the Communist Parties, they have crushed the “Right” and “Left” opportunists and conciliators, and have cleansed their ranks of incorrigible opportunists.

In this struggle on two fronts, the Communist Parties have become tempered, have grown and become strong, and the mass influence of the Sections of the Comintern has increased. In recent years not a

single opposition group has been able to achieve any marked influence in any one Section of the Comintern. The masses of the Party members have exposed and immediately isolated anyone who attempted to struggle against the Leninist policy of the Comintern. The Communist International is now a centralized world party of the Socialist revolution, and its ranks are solid and united as never before!

Comrade Stalin has taught the Communists to *combine the highest degree of activity on the basis of principle with the maximum contacts and links with the masses, and to combine irreconcilable revolutionary behavior with the maximum of flexibility.*

“In its work, the party must be able to combine irreconcilable revolutionary behavior (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism!) with the maximum of flexibility and ability to maneuver (not to be confused with adaptation!) without which it is impossible for the party to master all forms of struggle and organization, to link the day to day interests of the proletariat with the fundamental interests of the proletarian revolution, and to combine the legal struggle with the illegal.” (Stalin, *Perspective of the Communist Party of Germany and Bolshevization*, as printed in the *Pravda*, Feb. 3, 1925.)

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries are fulfilling these guiding lines of Comrade Stalin and are becoming still more closely linked up with the masses, and are still more thoroughly preparing them for battles, *and mastering all forms of struggle and organization*, so as to win the majority of the working class and to lead the toiling masses headed by the proletariat, to the victorious storm of capitalism.

*As was the case with Marx and Lenin, so now the best representatives of the working class and of toiling mankind turn to Comrade Stalin for advice and leadership on questions of the theory and practice of the revolutionary movement.*

The Sections of the Communist International in the capitalist countries are being built after the example and in the image of the C.P.S.U., the Party of Lenin and Stalin. In the conditions of raging bloody terror, the widest masses of toilers are being raised to the struggle by Comintern people—true pupils of Lenin and Stalin. In the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and the menace of war, in the heavy conditions of fascist illegality, *Bolshevik cadres of the Comintern* are being forged, who are showing not only *miracles of heroism in struggle*, but are *penetrating ever more deeply and are becoming more firmly connected with the masses*, so as to lead them to the victorious proletarian revolution.

This is why the cause of the Communist International, the cause of world Communism, is invincible.

# For United Action by the Proletariat in the Struggle Against Fascism and War\*

By G. DIMITROFF

Comrades: You have come from capitalist countries to the land of the proletarian dictatorship—the Soviet Union—which is the first but not the last state of the world proletariat. (*Applause.*)

You have the possibility and you will continue to have this possibility, to see with your own eyes the tremendous difference between the conditions of the working class there, where capital and fascism rule, and here, where the working class, having overthrown the bourgeoisie, are now victoriously building Socialism under the leadership of the glorious Bolshevik Party at the head of which stands *Comrade Stalin*, the great leader of the world proletariat. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Red Flag of the proletarian revolution flutters victoriously over one-sixth of the earth. (*Applause.*) Over one-sixth of the globe the workers and peasants and not the capitalists and landlords are in power. Millions of Soviet workingmen and workingwomen, men and women collective farmers, of this great and immense Soviet fatherland are transforming the old, dark, backward tsarist-landlord Russia into a land of the latest technique, mechanization, industrialization, into a land of Socialism.

You see with your own eyes *what* the working class has been able to achieve once it has taken power. You saw on the Red Square on May First the powerful armed forces of the Soviet Union—our glorious Red Army—the strength of the working class, the strength of the Land of the Soviets. (*Applause.*)

When you were with us on the Red Square, we watched the tanks filing past us, and the airplanes flying over us. These were not only the armed power of the working class of the Soviet Union, but also the strength and power of the revolutionary proletariat throughout the world. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the Soviet State is the state of the proletariat, and the Soviet State defends the interests of the workers, toilers and oppressed peoples of the whole world. The interests of the Soviet State are the interests of the world proletariat. (*Applause.*)

When our Russian brothers and sisters build Socialism through Socialist competition and shock work, through tenacious, creative work, they are working and creating not only for their own country but also for the world proletariat.

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\* Abridged stenographic report of Comrade Dimitroff's speech delivered at the Hall of Columns of the House of Trade Unions before the May First delegation of foreign workers, Moscow, 1935.

When they strengthen the fighting power of the Red Army, they strengthen not only the power of the Soviet Union, but also the power of the world proletariat. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union and its Red Army are strongholds for peace between the peoples. The Soviet Union is the citadel of the world proletarian revolution.

When the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders say and write: "We do not want to conclude a united front with the Communists because we do not want to receive orders from Moscow" they only prove that they are against the State of the proletariat. They prove thereby, that they have connections with the bourgeoisie, that they support the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and are ready to aid the class enemy of the proletariat.

To each sincere worker in France or England, in America or in Australia, in Germany or in Spain, in China or in Japan, in the Balkan countries or in the Canary Islands—to each sincere worker Moscow is *his own* Moscow. The Soviet Union is *his own* State. (*Stormy Applause.*) To receive "orders" from Moscow, *i. e.*, to follow the example of the great Lenin and the great Stalin (*applause*), means salvation to the world proletariat. (*Applause.*)

If you, while you are here in our great fatherland, take a look at the world working class movement as a whole, you will see two basic and outstanding directions or currents in this world working class movement.

On the one hand, there is the revolutionary section of the proletariat which has already been constituted in its own State—the Soviet Union. The Communists and the revolutionary workers of all countries feel their connection with the Soviet proletariat, with the Soviet State, by the ties of a united militant front throughout the world. (*Applause.*)

On the other hand, there is another direction, another current in the labor movement. This is the so-called reformist current or direction which is represented by Social-Democracy, by the Second International. There is no proletarian state, no Soviet power, no Red Army, no fighting power of the world proletariat there. There, for example, Vandervelde and other leaders who collaborate with the capitalists sit in the governments together with the bourgeois parties. They are connected with their national bourgeoisie and support the policy of "their" bourgeoisie. In this camp there is no unity, no international solidarity.

In the revolutionary section of the world proletariat a common international discipline prevails. The actions of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union correspond to the interests of the toilers of France, as well as of Germany, America and of the other countries. And that which the French, English, American, Japanese or Chinese Communists undertake to do corresponds to the interests of the Soviet Union.

*Here*, in the revolutionary section of the world proletariat, leadership is in the hands of the Communist International, which unites the millions of proletarians of the whole world who are linked together by a powerful common idea, by a single will, by a common leadership, a common discipline.

*There, you have a many-tongued bable of confusion.*

But, comrades, a process of differentiation and revolutionization of the working masses is going on in the ranks of the Social-Democratic parties. The number of those who are for a united front with the Communists is growing.

At the present time when we are face to face with the menace of fascism and war, the basic task facing all toilers is to establish a united proletarian front, united action of the working class against their class enemy. (*Applause.*)

Comrades! Remember how for three months during the frame-up Leipzig trial a struggle was waged between Communism and fascism. A united front was created on a world-wide scale in connection with the Leipzig trial, in defense of the guiltless Communists, although formally no pact had been concluded. Communists, Social-Democrats, anarchists and non-party toilers came out against German fascism. Millions and millions of working men and working women followed the struggle at Leipzig day in and day out. Millions and millions of the petty bourgeoisie, peasantry and intellectuals were on the side of the united anti-fascist front. Even the bourgeois papers, conservative and hostile to us, could not dare to write against us and our speeches at the trial. At that time German fascism was isolated. Hitler, Goering and Goebbels could not find moral support in Germany, or in any other country.

The united front movement has made further progress since the Leipzig trial. We now have a formal agreement between the French Communist Party and the French Socialist Party for united action, an agreement between the Italian Communists and the Italian Socialists, and agreements concluded by a number of Communist Parties with Socialist organizations, as well as several anti-fascist organizations.

The united proletarian front is advancing, is gathering even more strength, but on its path it is meeting with great difficulties placed there by its enemies. All those who are connected with the bourgeoisie and do not want to give up these connections are enemies of the united front.

Comrades! At the moment when the resistance of these reactionary Social-Democratic leaders is broken, when the united front of the working class has been established, from that moment an indestructible barrier will have been created against the capitalist offensive, against the offensive of reaction and fascism.

The working class will be able to display all its strength, only if it brings about unity of action.

The economic, social, cultural and political interests of the workers of all the various political directions—be they Communist workers, Social-Democratic workers or anarchist workers—are the same. On this basis, therefore, it is necessary and possible to establish the united front.

Who is hindering this?

The united front of the proletariat is hindered by the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, by the Social-Democratic ideology and the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. This stumbling block must be eliminated. We Communists know that this is a

difficult task, that it is not so easy to do away with these handicaps. But we are convinced that by means of daily struggle and tenacious work the united proletarian front, the unity of the class trade unions and the united revolutionary party of the proletariat will ultimately be created in all countries. (*Applause.*)

Comrades! After you, as the delegation of workers from capitalist countries, have seen with your eyes and have been convinced of the correctness of the Leninist-Stalinist road, of the path followed by the Communist International (*applause*), you will be in duty bound to tell your brothers and sisters in the capitalist countries the whole truth about the Soviet Union, and to struggle tenaciously and continuously in defence of the proletarian fatherland, for the final establishment of the united proletarian front. Transmit to the toilers of *your countries* our warm revolutionary, Bolshevik greetings and let all Social-Democratic workers know that anyone who does not support the united front now, who does not struggle for united action by the working class, who tolerates a campaign against the Soviet Union, against the fatherland of the world proletariat, anyone who supports the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, is an enemy of the interests of the working class, abetting reaction and fascism and assisting the instigators of imperialist war.

Let us all, Communists, Social-Democrats and all other workers, in full harmony, hand in hand, struggle together against fascism, and for the liberation of Thaelmann, Rakosi, Thomas Mooney and of all revolutionary anti-fascists who are languishing in prisons and concentration camps in the capitalist countries. (*Applause.*)

Let us struggle together against the enemies of united action by the working class!

Let us struggle together for the final victory of socialism throughout the world! (*Applause.*)

Long live united action by the working class in every country and on an international scale!

Long live the victory of the world proletarian revolution! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

# Practical Experiences of the Struggle of the Communists for the United Front

By O. PIATNITSKY

**B**EFORE the war, the question of the united front was never raised in the working class movement of the *biggest* capitalist countries of Western Europe. This is to be explained by the fact that at that time there were no two parallel political parties drawing their support from the proletariat, nor parallel trade union organizations in one and the same country. Prior to and during the war the working class movement of the West European countries were dominated by the Social-Democratic Parties and reformist trade unions which had the support of the majority of the working class.

In tsarist Russia, before the war, the united front was practised, although the term "united front" itself was not used. The united front was actually put into operation in the enterprises, factories and workshops, where the revolutionary parties which then existed carried on their work, or tried to. It was put into operation in the factories, although not as the result of agreements made between the organizations which existed in the enterprises. Usually, the workers of various political currents took part in all the strikes that took place. But when big events took place, the united front was operated not spontaneously but by means of definite agreements made between the different parties. I will give only a few examples. In Moscow on December 7, 1905, the call issued by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies for a general strike and uprising was signed by the Bolshevik, Menshevik, and Socialist Revolutionary Party Committees. The same thing took place in a somewhat different form in Leningrad, then St. Petersburg. The Executive Committee of the Soviet contained representatives of all the then existing revolutionary parties, and all the most important questions dealt with at the sessions of the Executive Committee and of its presiding council were discussed in the presence of representatives of these parties. Thus, many of these decisions were at bottom adopted on a united front basis.

In several towns, in 1905, the Bolsheviks issued the call for demonstrations and strikes together with the Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, the Bund and other parties which had influence of one kind or another over the workers.

## THE UNITED FRONT ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE

The united front tactics as a method of struggle in the capitalist countries began to be adopted by the Comintern and its Sections after the war; (1) when a split took place in the ranks of the working class in consequence of the treachery of Social-Democracy and the reformist

trade unions which took the side of the bourgeoisie during the war and supported the bourgeoisie after the war; (2) when Communist Parties and Red trade unions were formed in a whole number of countries alongside the Social-Democratic parties and reformist trade unions; (3) when after the revolutionary storms had abated (the revolutions in Germany and Austria, the huge strikes in France, England and in America, the unrest in the armies, the risings in the colonies, etc., after the war) the bourgeoisie took the offensive and began to deprive the working class of political rights and the economic improvements won by revolution.

Many Communists in a number of countries (Italy, France, Spain, Germany and Austria) did not understand these united front tactics: they declared that the revolutionary workers had left the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions because the Social-Democratic Parties and the leaders of the reformist trade unions, by entering into agreements with the bourgeoisie, had betrayed the interests of the working class; these revolutionary workers joined the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions; how then, they argued, can we now form a united front with traitors to the cause of the working class?

These Communists saw before them only the leaders, and not the masses of workers; they did not notice how the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions had made advances to the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International during the stormy years of the first round of wars and revolutions under the pressure of their members and of the masses of workers who were against the policy of the leaders, the policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, and were in favor of the revolutionary methods of struggle employed by the Russian workers led by the Bolsheviks. It is common knowledge that the Second Congress of the Comintern and the First Congress of the Profintern were attended by representatives of Social-Democratic Parties and of reformist trade unions who were driven by their members to ask to be accepted into the Comintern and the Profintern—Frossard, Crispin, Dietman, Serrati, Daragona, Pestania, and others. (In order to safeguard itself against this influx of non-revolutionary parties, the Comintern was forced at that time to adopt its twenty-one points for acceptance into the Comintern.) These Communists did not understand that under the influence and pressure of the workers and members of the Social-Democratic Parties and reformist trade unions, the latter and even a section of their leaders would have been compelled to undertake joint united front action with the Communists and the Red trade unions, had the latter been successful in explaining clearly on a wide scale and in a popular manner the full importance and necessity of the united front.

Even before the Communist International issued its manifesto on the united front—January, 1922—the United German Communist Party (which originated out of the fusion of the “Spartacus” League and the “Left” Independents), on the instructions of the Comintern, addressed an “Open Letter” on January 8, 1921, to all the then existing trade unions, namely, the German National Organization of Trade Unions, the Association of Free Clerks’ Union, the General Labor Alliance, the Free

Labor Alliance (syndicalists), and to the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and the Communist Labor Party of Germany, calling upon them to participate in joint struggle against the growing reaction and the capitalist offensive against the working class.

In this "Open Letter" it was proposed that

"(1) a joint economic struggle be undertaken to raise wages, benefits, and pensions; (2) a struggle be undertaken to secure that measures be adopted to reduce the cost of living, of distributing cheap foodstuffs to workers and clerks . . . and that a census be taken of all living apartments with the right to cut down surplus living space and to evict; (3) that control be instituted through factory committees over the stores of raw materials, coal and fertilizers and over the production of foodstuffs and articles of prime necessity; (4) a joint struggle be undertaken to bring about the immediate dissolution and disarmament of the bourgeois defense organizations, and the establishment of proletarian self-defense organizations, as well as the declaration of a universal political amnesty, and the abolition of the prohibition of strikes; (5) that a struggle be developed for the immediate establishment of trade and diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia."

The attitude of all the parties and trade union organizations to whom this "Open Letter" was addressed was a negative one, but the workers' meetings held in several towns of Germany approved of it.

The draft theses on tactics presented to the Third Congress of the Comintern contained the following statement regarding this first united front appeal:

"German Communism, thanks to the tactics of the Communist International (revolutionary work in the trade unions, *open letters*, etc.) [my italics—O.P.], has been converted from the political current which it was during the January and March battles of 1919 into an important revolutionary mass party."

The German, Italian and Austrian delegations to the Third Congress demanded that no mention of the "Open Letter" issued by the United German Communist Party should be made in the theses. Comrade Lenin strongly objected to this line in his speech of July 1, 1921, delivered in defense of the theses on tactics introduced on behalf of the Russian delegation to the Congress. Lenin objected to a number of amendments made by the above-mentioned three delegations, and in connection with their amendment concerning the "Open Letter", said the following:

"Then comes the following amendment: [he quotes the amendments of the three delegations—O.P.] On page 4, column 1, line 10, the words 'Open Letter' should be deleted. I have already heard a speech today in which I found the same idea. But there it was quite natural. That was the speech of Comrade Hempel, member of the German Communist Labor Party. He said: 'The Open Letter was an act of opportunism.' But when at the Congress . . . the Open Letter is declared to be opportu-

nist, it is a shame and disgrace! And then Comrade Terrachini appears on behalf of three delegations and wants to delete the words 'Open Letter'. . . . The Open Letter is an exemplary political step. . . . It is exemplary as the first act of the practical method of drawing in the majority of the working class."\*

At the First Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which took place in February, 1922, the French, Italian and Spanish delegations voted against the resolution on the united front.

In connection with the ever-growing intensity of the capitalist offensive against the conquests of the working class, during the economic crisis which had begun, the Comintern and the Profintern at the suggestion of Lenin, made a proposal in January, 1922, to the working men and women of all countries that a united front be established against the capitalist offensive, war and war debts. In this manifesto we read:

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the Red Trade Union International (Profintern) has examined . . . questions connected with the conditions of the international proletariat and with the world situation in general, and has arrived at the firm conviction that these conditions demand that all the forces of the international proletariat be united, that a united front be established of all parties which derive their support from the proletariat, regardless of the differences which exist among them, in so far as they desire to fight in unison for the immediate, urgent needs of the proletariat. The Executive Committee of the Comintern . . . calls upon the proletarians in the ranks of all other parties to do all within their power to influence their own parties in the interests of common action. . . .

"The Communist International calls upon all Communist workers, all honest workers in general, everywhere—in the workshops, at meetings—to unite into one single family of toilers which will be capable of standing up for itself and repulsing all the attacks made by capital at every difficult moment. Forge the iron will for proletarian unity, against which every attempt to disunite the proletarians will smash to smithereens, from whatever quarter it may come. If you, proletarians, grasp hands in the workshops and in the mines, all the parties that draw their support from the proletariat and make their appeals to you will find themselves compelled to unite for joint defensive war against capital. Only in this case will they be compelled to break off the alliance with the capitalist parties."

The Second and Two-and-a-Half (the so-called "Vienna") Internationals did not respond to this appeal of the C.I. and the R.I.L.U.

On April 10, 1922, the International Economic Conference opened in Genoa to discover means for the "economic restoration of Central and Eastern Europe", but chiefly, of course, to solve the "Russian" problem. In the minds of the imperialist sharks, this conference was to thrust a system upon Soviet Russia that would convert it into a colony of Western European capital.

The Communist International proposed to the Second and Two-and-

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\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 442-43. Russian, Third Edition.

Half Internationals that, as against the Genoa conference, an international labor congress of all working class organizations be called to establish a united fighting front against the capitalist offensive. The representatives of the three Internationals came together in Berlin at the conference held between April 2-5, 1922, to discuss the questions of the possibility of calling such a congress.

As soon as the conference opened a struggle began about the agenda. The representatives of the Comintern proposed that the following questions be placed on the agenda: (1) defense against the capitalist offensive; (2) the struggle against reaction; (3) preparations for the struggle against new imperialist wars; (4) help in the restoration of the Russian Soviet Republic; (5) the Versailles Treaty and the restoration of the devastated areas.

The Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals proposed that the question of Georgia be included in the agenda. The point was that the Socialists of all shades who supported the Russian, and in particular, the Georgian Mensheviks, advanced the slanderous accusation against the Bolsheviks of "annexing" Georgia. In their efforts to use the united front for the purpose of legalizing Menshevik and S.R. (Socialist-Revolutionary) organizations on the territory of the U.S.S.R., they proposed that the question of the trial of the Central Committee of the S.R. Party who had made an attempt on the life of Comrade Lenin and had murdered Comrades Volodarsky, Uritsky and others, should also be discussed at the conference. They demanded that the death sentence should not be brought in against the accused, and insisted upon representatives of the Second International being allowed to act as counsel for the defense to the Socialist-Revolutionaries. Finally, they raised the question of the impermissibility in general of arresting S.R.'s and Mensheviks in Russia, people who with arms in hand were engaged in struggle against the Soviet Government.

After long altercations as to the agenda, the conference nevertheless passed a resolution which called for mass demonstrations during the sessions of the Genoa conference in the following terms:

"The conference calls upon all toilers in all countries to undertake united mass demonstrations during the Genoa conference, namely, on April 20, 1922. Where this is impossible for technical or organizational reasons, there should be demonstrations on May First on behalf of the eight-hour working day, for the struggle against unemployment, which has increased without measure thanks to the reparations policy of the capitalist states; the demonstrations should also be in support of the Russian revolution, for starving Russia, for the restoration of political and economic relations between all states and Soviet Russia, and for the creation of a common proletarian front on a national and international scale."

Then it was decided to set up an organizational committee of nine members to prepare for a broader conference.

However, despite the fact that the representatives of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals voted for the resolution that was passed,

the parties of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals neither on April 20, nor on May 1, demonstrated together with the Communist Parties. The Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals did their utmost to hinder the preparations for the calling of a broad international labor conference. What is more, the French, Belgian and British Social-Democratic Parties decided on May 21, 1922, to call an international congress in The Hague in which the Communists would not participate.

The Social-Democratic Parties replied in the negative to all the proposals made by the Communist Parties regarding the operation of a united front during the relative stabilization of capitalism. Social-Democrats in all countries helped the bourgeoisie to carry through capitalist rationalization. They were too full of solicitude about their own bourgeoisie to compete against other capitalists.

When rejecting the proposals made by the Communist Parties that the united front be operated during the strike struggle in the period of the economic crisis, the Social-Democrats pointed, incidentally, to the alleged fact that during a crisis it is altogether impossible to wage a strike struggle. But practical experience showed that during the last crisis, there were no fewer strikes in many countries than there were prior to the crisis. During that period, approximately 20 million persons took part in strikes, and together about 300 million working days were lost.

The difficulties which the Social-Democratic Parties and the leaders of the reformist trade unions actually placed in the way of the establishment of the united class fighting front called forth dissatisfaction among the members of the reformist trade unions and of the Socialist Parties. They were gradually drawn into the strike struggle led by the Communists and began to listen to what they were told by the Communists and the revolutionary workers supporting them.

The fascist coup d'etat in Germany introduced severe changes into the ranks of the working class. The fact of the betrayal committed by the biggest Social-Democratic Party which was actually in power in Prussia and which handed over the reins of power to the fascists without a fight, called forth still stronger discontent and alarm in the ranks of the members of the reformist trade unions and of the Social-Democratic Parties. The united front proposals which the Communist systematically made in different countries, the partial realization of the united front against the will of the leaders of the Social-Democratic organizations and the reformist trade unions, the growing understanding among the Social-Democratic workers, alarmed at fascism, of the correctness of the criticism levelled by the Communists of the rejection of the united front by the Social-Democratic leaders—all this compelled a number of the parties of the Second International and some of the Socialist Parties not affiliated to the Second International, in reply to the proposal made by the Communist Parties that a united fighting front against fascism be established, to make proposals to the Communist Parties that "pacts of non-aggression" be concluded (that the Communists should cease to criticize them).

This was the main theme of all the demands made by the Socialists,

and exposed the true reason for their proposals. Even the Second International was compelled to resort to the same proposal regarding the cessation of possible attacks by the Communists. The following was stated in the manifesto of the Second International addressed to the workers of all countries on February 19, 1933:

"We call upon the German workers, the workers of all countries, in view of the tragic danger which confronts them, to cease all possible attacks and to fight together against fascism! The Labor and Socialist International is always ready to enter into negotiations with the Communist International concerning such unity of struggle, as soon as the latter expresses its readiness to do so."

To this manifesto, the Comintern replied on March 5, 1933, in a manifesto which pointed to the need for a united fighting front against the offensive of capital and fascism, and to the fact that it was prepared to cease attacks against the Socialists if they, together with the Communists, would fight against the offensive of capital and fascism. Here are the three chief points in this manifesto:

"1. The Communists and Social-Democrats commence at once to organize and carry out defensive action against the attacks of fascism and reaction on the political, trade union, cooperative and other workers' organizations, on the workers' press, on the freedom of meetings, demonstrations and strikes. They shall organize common defense against the armed attacks of the fascist bands by carrying out mass protest, street demonstrations and political mass strikes; they shall proceed to organize committees of action in the workshops and factories, the Labor Exchanges and the workers' quarters, as well as to organize self-defense groups.

"2. Communists and Social-Democrats shall commence at once to organize the protest of the workers, with the aid of meetings, demonstrations and strikes, against any wage reductions, against worsening of the working conditions, against attacks on social insurance, against the cutting down of unemployment benefit, against dismissals from the factories.

"3. In the adoption and practical carrying out of these two conditions the E.C.C.I. considers it possible to recommend the Communist Parties, during the time of common fight against capital and fascism, to refrain from making attacks on Social-Democratic organizations. The most ruthless fight must be conducted against all those who violate the conditions of the agreement in carrying out the united front, as against strike-breakers who disrupt the united front of the workers."

The Second International very quickly, three days later, responded to this manifesto in order to reject it. In the reply of the Secretariat of the Second International it says that what is lacking in the manifesto of the Comintern is a readiness to negotiate on an international basis, for the Comintern appealed not directly to the Second International, but gave instructions to its Sections in all countries to begin negotiations with

the Social-Democratic Parties as to the establishment of a united front on the basis of these three points. The Second International saw in this clear and definite proposal a "maneuver" on the part of the Comintern. Here is an exact excerpt from their reply:

"This readiness to negotiate on an international basis is lacking in the manifesto of the Communist International. It is satisfied merely to recommend that negotiations be carried on in individual countries. But experience unfortunately shows that the Communists find no difficulty in endowing such negotiations in separate countries with the character of maneuvers, thus bringing about a worse situation, and that they do not lessen, but deepen the distrust in the ranks of the working class movement. Therefore we consider it our duty to propose that the Parties affiliated to the Labor and Socialist International refrain as far as possible from discussing this sort of Communist proposal in individual countries until the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International states its opinion concerning the new platform of the Comintern."

Thus, the proposals which the Communist Parties made to the Socialist Parties, on the basis of the manifesto of the Comintern, were rejected by the Social-Democratic Parties on the pretext that the Comintern had not appealed direct to the Socialist International. Yet the Second International itself in its manifesto of February 19, 1933, did not appeal to the Comintern, but to the workers of all countries!

As shown by the experience of the subsequent appeals of the Comintern to the Second International regarding the establishment of the united fighting front on an international scale this was merely the prelude to the rejecting of the united front.

#### THE UNITED FRONT IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

*France.* The events in Germany, the armed struggle of the workers and of the Schutzbundlers in Austria, the united front of the Communists, Schutzbundlers and members of the Social-Democratic Party during the armed struggle in Austria, were of tremendous importance for the working class of all capitalist countries. These events showed the workers that Communist criticism of the reformist tactics is well-founded. It helped the Communists to come closer to the Social-Democratic workers and the members of reformist trade unions, and lightened the task of establishing the united fighting front in a number of countries. Under the influence of the economic crisis and of these events, the desire for unity among the working class for the struggle against fascism has increased, and above all this desire has manifested itself among the French workers.

During the period which passed between November, 1922, and the time when the united front agreement was signed on July 27, 1934, the Communist Party of France made united front proposals on twenty-six occasions to the French Socialist Party. In 1923 it proposed that they should act jointly against the occupation of the Ruhr. After that it

proposed that a joint amnesty campaign be organized, that an agreement be arrived at during the second round of the elections, and that a joint struggle should be conducted against Italian fascism, etc. Finally, it proposed that a joint struggle should be waged for the disarmament of fascist bands. All these proposals were invariably rejected by the Socialist Party of France.

In May, 1932, Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland made a proposal to the Socialist and Communist Parties of other countries to take part in the anti-war and anti-fascist congress convened by them. The Communists, of course, immediately agreed to take part in the Congress, but the Socialists replied to this proposal by later excluding from the Party all members of the Socialist Party of France who subsequently took part in this Congress.

Thus, so long as the German fascists had not crushed the political and economic organizations of the working class, so long as the workers of France were not convinced of the fact that the Socialist Party of Austria was following in the footsteps of the German Social-Democratic Party in capitulating before fascism, the united front in France between Communists and Socialists was not established.

In February, 1934, the French fascists made their first serious sally by organizing a demonstration to parliament on February 16, 1934, demanding the resignation of the government. The fascists made use of the hullabaloo that was raised at the time in connection with the Stavisky financial affair, and demagogically demanded that all the corrupted, all the thieves, etc., should be punished, knowing full well that their leaders were also mixed up in the affair. The so-called "Left" government of Daladier sent troops against the fascist demonstration. They fired on the fascists. When the workers heard of the fascist demonstration to parliament, they also went to parliament, in the majority of cases on their own accord, and in some localities at the suggestion of the local organizations of the Communist Party, and demonstrations began throughout the whole of Paris.

The Communist Party of France took account of the mood of the working class. On February 7, 1934, it called upon the French proletariat to demonstrate on February 9. When the manifesto of the Communist Party containing the call to demonstrate was published, the Socialist Party called for a general strike of "folded arms" on February 12 (*i.e.*, a strike to cease work without any demonstrations, meetings, etc.). The Socialists intended by their appeal to prevent the workers from taking part in the February 9 demonstrations. The reformist trade unions at one with the Socialists proposed to the workers that they should not demonstrate in response to the appeal of the Communist Party because, they said, there would certainly be bloodshed. The reformist leaders of the trade unions even had big notices pasted around the town to this effect.

The Communist Party of France acted correctly when it declared that it would also call upon the workers to take part in a general strike, but not in a "down tools" strike. It called upon them to go on strike and demonstrate. But at the same time the Party did not give up its call to

demonstrate on February 9. The workers of Paris demonstrated on February 9 at the call of the Communist Party. The Place de la Republique in Paris was occupied by the police and the troops, but the demonstrators were successful in breaking through to the streets bounding the square and thus won the streets for themselves. Usually it is not allowed to arrange street demonstrations in Paris and in the majority of cases they take place out of town, primarily in parts where there are Socialist or Communist municipalities. But broad sections of the masses joined the demonstration on February 9, 1934, at the call of the Communist Party alone, against the will of the Socialists and the leaders of the reformist trade unions, and not only in Paris, but in all the industrial towns of France as well. The strike on February 12 was very successful also; about four million workers took part in it. This strike, which was called separately by the Socialists and the Communists, did much to establish the united front in France.

On May 21, 1934, the French anti-war and anti-fascist congress took place in Paris. At the same time, in Toulouse the Congress of the Socialist Party of France took place. The anti-fascist congress made a proposal to the Socialist Party Congress that it should join in the anti-war and anti-fascist movement. The press at that time wrote much about this proposal and about the position of the Socialist Party. The proposal of the anti-fascist and anti-war congress was put to the vote at the Socialist Party Congress, and rejected by a majority of votes. There were 2,437 votes cast against the proposal of the anti-fascist and anti-war congress and 1,286 votes in favor (in the Socialist Party of France there is a system of representation by which one delegate can have several mandates). After the proposal had been rejected, one section of the delegates to the Socialist Congress, with 1,301 mandates at their disposal, made a proposal that "a delegation be sent to Moscow to discuss with the Comintern the conditions for unity of action between the Socialist and Communist Parties". This proposal was rejected by a majority of 2,324 votes.

However, under the influence of the somewhat strong minority which made itself felt at the congress and demanded that a united front be set up (this minority consisted primarily of delegates from industrial centers), the Congress of the Socialist Party empowered its Central Committee (administrative commission) to establish a united front with the Communists, but only for a definite time and only on one question. The Communist Party of France made use of this decision and on May 27, 1934, proposed that the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of France organize a united front for the defense and release of Comrade Thaelmann. No answer was forthcoming to this proposal of the Communist Party. On June 5, 1934, the Communist Party repeated its proposal and this time it was met with a refusal. Then the Paris organization of the Communist Party approached the Paris organization of the Socialist Party on June 22, 1934, with the same proposal, and it was accepted. Thus, an agreement was arrived at in the Paris region between the regional organizations of the two parties for joint action in defense of Comrade Thaelmann.

In June, 1934, the Party Conference of the Communist Party once

again proposed to the Socialists that they should conclude a united front pact. Taking into consideration the fact that the representatives of big industrial regions at the congress were in favor of establishing a united front, and that the Paris organization, one of the biggest, had concluded a united front with the Communists over the heads of the Socialist Party leaders, the Central Committee of the Socialist Party was compelled to declare that it would call the National Council (conference) of the party to discuss the proposal made by the Communists. In July, 1934, a united front pact was concluded between the Communists and Socialists. The Communists proposed that the platform for the united front should be the struggle against the fascists, against war, and assistance in organizing the economic struggle. The Socialists agreed to the first two points, but refused to conduct a united front on the question of the strike struggle, because, as they said, it was not a question within their competence, but was the business of the trade unions. This, of course, was simply an excuse, as the Socialists are actually against the strike struggle. For their part, they put forward a third point demanding that the Communists declare that they would fight for and defend all democratic rights. The Communist Party of France agreed to this demand.

From this time onwards the united front has been officially established in France. In what way has it been expressed hitherto, and what are its results? It has been expressed chiefly in the organization of joint demonstrations, meetings, indoor meetings against the fascists and against the emergency decrees of the government. On the anniversary of the events of February 6, a fascist attack was repulsed by the Communists and Socialists. When the Communist and Socialist Parties discovered that the fascists had occupied the Place de la Concorde in Paris, they put forward the slogan that everybody should go to the same place. From all corners of Paris, from all the subway stations, the workers came in masses to the square and forced the fascists out of it. This was a big event for France.

The united front in France was furthermore expressed in the fact that during the second round of the municipal and canton election, the Communists and Socialists supported each other. If a Communist in any locality obtained more votes than the Socialist during the first round of voting, then the Socialists voted for the Communists in that place, and vice versa. This gave some positive results. There were places where the Communists and the Socialists were successful by this means in defeating the candidates of the fascists, and in winning new seats and even whole municipalities.

A national French anti-war and anti-fascist committee was formed which organized 1,400 local committees; a women's national committee was also formed for struggle against war and fascism, covering about 500,000 members, affiliated through their organizations, according to official data. This figure is very likely an exaggerated one, but even if the committee covers only half of the number given, the result is a good one; a vigilance committee of the anti-fascist intelligentsia has been organized, to which about 6,000 professors, lawyers, writers and

other intellectuals of the liberal professions belong; there has also been organized the Paris regional committee of unity of action against fascism, which covers about 500,000 members affiliated through their organizations. The Socialist and Communist sports federations of labor have joined forces. This already is not a united front, but organic unity; a united Central Committee of ex-service men has been formed, which covers 28 organizations; an agreement has been arrived at between the General Confederation of Toiling Peasants (Communist) and the National Confederation of Peasants (Socialist) on the subject of unity. Negotiations are going on at present and it is possible that in the near future these bodies will unite.

In Toulouse a national committee was created to render assistance to the victims of Spanish fascism. The committee covers nine Socialist departmental federations, nine regional organizations of the Communist Party of France, seven reformist trade union organizations, fourteen unitary trade unions, five federations of the League of the Rights of Man and Citizen, etc. This "popular" committee is a broad organization connected with the masses. At the congress organized by this committee 800 delegates were present representing 300,000 anti-fascists. Finally, there is a central anti-fascist committee in Lyons, which unites 31 organizations, committees of united anti-fascist action; in the department of Cher (20 organizations), in the department of Herault (20 organizations), and in several other departments and towns. There is also a National Committee of Struggle of the Youth against war and fascism (350 local committees).

It should be noted that the united front against war and fascism was conducted by some organizations apart from and against the will of the leaders of the Socialist Party (anti-war and anti-fascist committees, women's national committees, etc.).

The existence and functioning of such comparatively mass organization which in the majority of cases were created on the initiative of the Communist Party of France, thanks to the popularization and application of the united front tactics in the struggle against French, German, Austrian and Spanish fascism, could not but raise the authority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France in the eyes of the workers, clerks and peasants, and increased its influence over them. This has inspired some of the leaders of the Socialist Party to seek reasons for breaking down the united front with the Communists.

On February 20, 1935, a session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of France took place. As has transpired, the question of the united front called forth differences at this session. Several members of the Central Committee demanded that the united front be broken, while members of the Central Committee from the big industrial centers, more closely connected with the working masses, declared that if the united front were broken down, it would still be carried on over the heads of the party committees of the Socialist Party. We find the following in the decision passed on this question at the session of the Central Committee (as we learn from well informed circles in the Socialist Party):

1. To propose that the Communist Party call a conference of all

proletarian parties [with the participation of the right wing Papists and the followers of Doriot—O.P.], to discuss questions of organizational unity.

2. To demand that the Communist Party cease all criticism not only of the Socialist Party but also of the Second International.

3. To get closer to the Radicals in view of the coming municipal elections, so as to show the Communist Party that the Socialists can manage quite well without it.

4. To demand that the Communist Party dissolve its auxiliary organizations like, for example, the Amsterdam Committee Against War, etc., with an indication that the committee to coordinate action between the Communists and Socialists is enough for the anti-fascist struggle.

5. To demand that the Communist Party make a declaration of neutrality both as regards the C.G.T. [reformist trade unions—O.P.], as well as in respect to the G.T.U. [revolutionary trade unions—O.P.].

By their last point the Socialists wanted to get the Communist Party to make a declaration agreeing to relinquish the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions.

These decisions of the Central Committee were to have been proposed to the National Council (conference) of the Socialist Party. But at the conference the mood of the delegates from the localities was apparently such that the leaders did not risk insisting upon these proposals. The conference passed another resolution by means of which they nevertheless hoped to break the united front. This resolution of the conference runs:

“The National Council recognizes that the political conditions which at one time justified the conclusion of unity of action with the Communist Party still exist today, and, consequently, unity of action should continue. . . .

“The National Council, anxious to obtain the maximum chances of the workers being successful in their struggle against capitalism and bourgeois fascist reaction, is convinced that the surest method of achieving their ends is to bring about organizational unity to the utmost. . . .

“1. The organization of the proletariat into a class party for the conquest of power and for the socialization of the means of production and trade, *i.e.*, for the reorganization of capitalist society into a collectivist or Communist society.

“2. The actions of the party will be determined by the party itself at its national congresses, after consultation with its organizations in the localities and in the districts.”

Some of the leaders of the Socialists reckoned that the Communists would give a refusal to this proposal to unite, and that they would then have an excuse for breaking the united front. It was clear to the Socialists that the Communists would not agree to unity with the Socialists without the necessary pre-conditions. They reckoned, therefore, that the Communists would reply refusing to open negotiations on the subject of unity, and that then they, the Socialists, would be able to launch a demagogic campaign against the Communists by speculating on the

desire of the workers for unity. They would then depict the Communists as splitters of the working class, etc.

But the Communist Party of France upset all their calculations. It agreed to send its representatives to the commission to discuss the question of organic unity. Moreover, the Communist Party of France put forward a Communist program—the most important points in the program of the Comintern—as the platform around which unity should take place. It has become possible for broad sections of workers who are carefully following the correspondence between the two Parties on the question of the united front, and the demands they put forward, to acquaint themselves with the program of the Communists, with which they have not hitherto been acquainted.

Not so long ago, during the recent municipal and canton elections (May 5 and 26, 1935), the Communist Party of France was able to test the attitude of the workers towards itself. These elections had two rounds. The first round of the municipal elections took place on May 5, and the Communist Party of France took part in them quite independently in the main, with its own program; the second round took place on May 12, and in the second round the Communists entered into an agreement with the Socialists. Although the Central Committee of the Socialist Party had decided on February 20 to participate in the municipal elections together with the Radicals, which was far more advantageous to them than to come to an agreement with the Communists, the workers brought such pressure to bear upon the leading organs of the Socialist Party that they were forced, with heart-pangs, to come to an agreement with the Communists, and only in a few unimportant regions did the Socialists enter into a bloc with the Radicals.

As a result of the municipal elections, the Communists obtained a majority in 52 new municipalities, losing the majority in nine municipalities out of a total of 47. The Communist Party of France now has a majority in 90 municipalities (the Socialists in 168 instead of 175 as formerly). In the Seine department, the number of municipalities led by Communists has increased from 9 to 26. In the Seine and Oise districts, the Communists obtained a majority in the municipalities of over 20 industrial towns. In the North and the Pas de Calais region, the number of municipalities won by the Communists increased from 17 to 50. In the Paris municipality, the Communists were only represented by Comrade Marty previously, whereas now the Communist Party of France has secured the election of eight comrades.

The Communist Party of France adopted flexible tactics at these elections. In Bondé, the Communist Party included Socialist workers in its list and defeated the joint lists of Socialists and anti-Communists.

In Saint Victor (part of Paris), the reactionaries were 20 votes short of an absolute majority. The Communist Party obtained 700, the Radicals, 600, and the Socialists 500 votes. The Communist Party proposed that an anti-fascist candidate be put forward against the reactionary candidate. The Radicals and Socialists agreed to the proposal made by the Communist Party, and as a result of the united anti-fascist front, 150 votes more were cast for the anti-fascist candidate than the three

parties received altogether in the first round of elections. The reactionaries thus lost 150 votes.

The Communist Party was the only Party that won at these elections. All the remaining parties lost the majority in several municipalities. The majority of the municipalities were won by the Communists from the bourgeois parties. Only in the textile and coal districts were they won from the Socialists.

No less important was the victory of the Communists at the canton elections in the Paris region. Hitherto the Communist Party of France has had four councillors in the Paris region; now it has 25. Together with the eight Paris councillors, the Communist Party of France now has 33 representatives out of 140 in the General Council of the department of the Seine (this General Council is composed of 90 councillors of the Paris municipality, and 50 councillors elected in the areas around Paris). The Communist Party of France, the Socialists and the Radicals have 73 councillors together, the reactionary parties—67, whereas hitherto over a period of 50 years, the latter have had the majority in the General Council of the Seine department.

The results of the elections testify to the success and the increasing influence of the Communist Party over the masses.

On May 19, 1935, the anniversary of the fall of the Paris Commune, a tremendous demonstration of the Paris workers took place in the Pere la Chaise cemetery. These demonstrations have been usually arranged for May 26, but in view of the fact that the canton elections were taking place, the Communist Party called the demonstrations for May 19. The Communist Party of France did not consult the Socialist Party concerning its appeal, and the latter objected to the demonstration being arranged at the Pere la Chaise. It proposed that the demonstration be organized in another place against the fascist who were celebrating Joan of Arc day. The Socialist organization of Paris agreed to demonstrate with the Communists, and afterwards, the next day, the *Populaire* also was compelled to call for a joint demonstration with the Communists. The demonstration lasted for five and a half hours, and about 250,000 persons took part. When the demonstrators passed the Central Committee of the Communist Party, near which the Socialist leaders were standing, they greeted it with "Long live Comrade Stalin, long live the French Communist Party, long live Soviets everywhere!"

This demonstration showed that in Paris the Communist Party is already a big force. The same cannot be said of the North or of other industrial centers of France, where the Communist Party of France is weaker than the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party has about 100,000 members. The trade unions which support it unite about 600,000 members. The Communist Party now has 53,000 members, and there are approximately 220,000 members in the revolutionary trade unions.

Thanks to the work of the Communists in conducting the united front, broad masses are now aware that the Communist Party is not only fighting actively against fascism and war and for democratic liberties, but that it is heading this struggle.

Tremendous tasks face the Communist Party of France connected with the task of consolidating its growing influence.

(To be continued)

# The Influence of Socialist Construction in the U. S. S. R. on Workers in Capitalist Countries

By HARRY POLLITT

**T**HE October Revolution in Russia in 1917 sent an electric thrill through the war-weary workers of the world.

In our lifetime, the taunt of the capitalists, such as Churchill, that the workers are "not fit to govern" has been hurled back at them with a rebound that day by day is having its revolutionizing effect all over the world.

On the ruins and decadence of tsardom, out of a backward agricultural country, workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Comrades Lenin and Stalin, have built up a new, powerful Socialist country that has to be reckoned with by every capitalist government the world over.

This transformation has been wrought despite every conceivable obstacle and difficulty, from famine and ruin to carefully prepared wrecking, organized and financed by counter-revolutionaries from abroad. It has been done on the unshakeable basis of loyalty to revolutionary principles and faith in the working class.

## THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT

It was but natural that the October Revolution should have exercised a tremendous influence on the world labor movement. The contrast between the revolutionary conquest of power in Russia, where alone the Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, had a consistently revolutionary line against the imperialist war, was in such marked contrast to the policy of the reformist leaders in other countries.

The formation of Communist Parties out of the scattered revolutionary sects, the creation of the Communist International, giving for the first time a centralized leadership to the class struggle all over the world; impetus to national revolutionary struggles in the colonial countries—these were events of historic importance. But the influence of the Social-Democratic leaders was still strong, and their cunning and demagoguery knew no bounds. Platonic references to the Russian Revolution were the order of the day, and always with the aim of dampening down and diverting the revolutionary struggle in their own countries into the safe capitalist channels of parliamentary democracy and the denial of the armed conquest of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Social-Democracy referred to the fact that tsarism was reactionary; there was no freedom, no legal labor movement in Russia; revolution

was the only course for the workers to take. Not so in the western capitalist democratic countries. There, parliament stood waiting to be captured, and through this, Socialism could be built.

This "easy path" to Socialism prevailed with decisive sections of the masses who, at the same time, were undoubtedly ready to defend the Soviet Union. This was clearly seen in the "Hands-Off Russia" movements that exercised great influence in the capitalist countries, in the strike of London dockers on "The Jolly George", and in the international solidarity displayed during the famine of 1921-22.

The early struggles and difficulties in consolidating the proletarian dictatorship were anxiously watched. World-wide interest developed, not only among the working class, but among the more far-sighted of the intelligentsia, in what was popularly described as "the great Russian experiment". A growing number of workers watched and noted how every difficulty in the birth of Socialism was exploited by enemies of the Soviet Union, and especially by the leaders of Social-Democracy.

A powerful political role was played by the early workers' delegations that came to the Soviet Union. They noted at first hand the enormous size of the country, which is not grasped until one travels in it; they noted the extent of the problems that had to be conquered, and they saw for themselves how the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., lead by the Communists, proposed to grapple with them.

As the first stages of Socialist construction began to develop, as it became clear that the revolution was not going to be defeated, there developed amongst the capitalists and the leaders of Social-Democracy great opposition to such delegations. It became the fashion to speak of "conducted tours", of "Potemkin villages and show places", but still the workers' delegations continued to come, and they, of course, saw defects and things unaccomplished, but everywhere they saw and understood the significance and scope of the big thing—the never-ending new construction that was going on. It was this fact that was spread around in these vital conversations that took place when the delegates returned to their own countries and talked to their comrades in factory, trade union branch, workers' club and street.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

But, great as the early influence of the October Revolution was, it is true to say that the announcement of the First Five-Year Plan had ever greater effect, especially amongst the more thoughtful workers and intelligentsia.

Here, for the first time in history, the Bolsheviks were announcing and mobilizing the resources of the country to carry out a Five-Year Plan of Socialist construction.

Its magnitude and aim staggered the world. It was laughed and scorned at by the capitalists and Social-Democratic leaders. But among the workers, hopes for its success ran high because the mass of the

workers realized that while the plan involved heavy sacrifices, these were justified and necessary.

Rank and file workers now visiting the Soviet Union in this period, saw the giants of Dnieperstroi, Magnitogorsk, Stalingrad, etc., under construction, and they understood and supported what was being aimed at—the making of the Soviet Union economically independent of any other country in the world, and strong enough to defend every inch of its own territory.

These workers' delegations naturally contrasted all this new construction, this ever-expanding productivity, this development of the productive resources, with the restriction of production, the destruction of machinery, raw materials and foodstuffs in the capitalist countries. The contrast between the two worlds began to take a positive character that struck even the most hardened Social-Democratic worker.

*The period of the Soviet Union's greatest progress synchronized with the period of capitalism's greatest crisis.* But who can forget in the spring and summer of 1929 how lyrical became the capitalist and Social-Democratic statesmen about the virtues of "organized capitalism". The paens of praise about "Ford replacing Marx", the phrase so eloquently coined by Tarnov of the Amsterdam International, and the German Social-Democratic Party, seemed unending. It is indeed instructive to quote an extract from the speech of Hilferding as typical of the attitude of Social-Democracy everywhere:

"The Communists are going under. This can only be a matter of time. . . . The Communists have already lost all significance for the Socialist movement; they are lost.

"A great victory of Social-Democracy is possible. . . . I say once again—we know the path; we know the goal. If we conduct our struggle under the slogan of faithfulness to Socialist principles, of unswervingness in the struggle for our aim—the winning of state power—but with freedom to maneuver in our tactics, then the possibility of victory will become reality." (Hilferding, Kiel Social-Democratic Party Congress, 1928.)

The laughter, scorn and satire of the enemies of the U.S.S.R. about the First Five-Year Plan soon turned to wonder. The interest of the working class increased to a very great extent, under the influence of the comparisons made between the developments and expansion in the U.S.S.R., and the stagnation and restriction in the capitalist world. To placate the masses "planning" became the order of the day. There were to be bourgeois Five-Year Plans for this, that and the other, but it became clear to growing numbers of the workers that, on the basis of capitalist economy, there could be no planning, and the political conviction intensified that the revolutionary path of struggle alone could give the masses the power to commence constructive Socialist planning.

The abolition of unemployment in the U.S.S.R. ensured an especially salutary effect on the workers in the capitalist countries. The removal of this social cancer was a Socialist triumph, which the

Communist Parties have not made sufficient concrete use of among the masses to draw them closer to Communism. It was a Bolshevik victory over a scourge that every working class family in every capitalist country has dreaded, and it was achieved at the very moment when unemployment in the capitalist world was beginning to increase at an unprecedented rate. It was a triumph that interested all progressive people, especially those social reformers, who spend so much of their time trying to alleviate the worst effects of unemployment, and the fact that it had been conquered in the U.S.S.R., drew this section of the population closer in sympathy with the U.S.S.R.

No one any longer doubts that the success of the First Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union opened up a new era in world politics, and when it was quickly followed by the early successes of the Second Five-Year Plan, by the complete destruction of the last exploiting class in the village, the kulaks; the destruction of the Right opportunists and the remnants of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists and Zinovievists, the power of the Soviet Union, and its role in every phase of international politics, increased immeasurably. It is sometimes said that figures are dry facts, but at least a tale is told in the following table that is plain for all who are not wilfully blind.

*Industrial Output in Comparison with 1929 (1929=100)*

Country	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
U.S.S.R.	130	162	185	202	239
U.S.A.	81	68	54	65	67
Great Britain	92	84	84	88	96
Germany	88	72	60	69	86
France	101	89	69	77	71
Italy	92	78	67	74	80
World Total					
(without the U.S.S.R.)	85	74	62	71	76

This comparison has compelled the attention of people hostile to Bolshevism, as for example, the eminent British Liberal, Lord Lothian, when he was forced to pay tribute to doctrines which he spent his whole life in fighting.

"Is there not more truth in the Marxian diagnosis of the ills of modern society than we have been accustomed to think?

I confess that the prophecies of Marx and Lenin are being realized with the most uncomfortable accuracy. When we look 'round on the western world as it is, and the persistence of its troubles, is it not obvious that we must probe into the fundamental causes far more deeply than we have been in the habit of doing? And, in so doing, I think that we may find a good deal of the Marxian diagnosis is true."—(Lord Lothian, London School of Economics, Annual Oration, June, 1931.)

Not only workers have been impressed by the achievements of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., but all sections of the intelligentsia

—authors, scientists, doctors, lawyers, dramatists, musicians, teachers—all these have noted that, while in their professions in the capitalist countries there is stagnation, decadence, restriction, dampening down of inventive genius and creative initiative, in the U.S.S.R. there is a mighty development of Socialist culture. This contrast has served to increase the sympathy of important sections of the middle strata as Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mention must also be made of the important effects created by the rescue of the crew of the ice-breaker *Chelyuskin*, which went down in the Arctic. It was not only the daring courage and heroism of the aeroplane pilots and mechanics, it was the fact that when Comrade Stalin gave the order that the crew of the *Chelyuskin* must be rescued, it was an indicating of the deep interest in the welfare of the members of this scientific expedition, and the fact that the Soviet Government would spare nothing to effect this rescue. It was an event and a spirit that roused the admiration of even hostile elements.

What a contrast to the attitude of capitalist governments in mining disasters, such as Gresford in England, or the attitude of the National Government in the case of the earthquake at Quettu, where the rule was: "British first, natives take care of themselves." Who will ever forget the callous abandonment by fascist Italy of General Nobile and his colleagues in the Arctic expedition, who were also rescued by the Soviet Government's ice-breaker, the *Krassin*, or forget either the difference in attitude of Comrade Schmidt, who refused to leave any of the members of the *Chelyuskin* expedition, ill though he was, and that of the fascist Nobile, who, to save his own wretched skin, willingly abandoned his comrades.

It is the whole difference between Bolshevism and fascism, and its significance has not been lost on the working class, or leading circles of the intelligentsia.

#### SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE U.S.S.R. AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

For international Social-Democracy, the continued progress of the Soviet Union has been a heavy blow. The Social-Democratic leaders have been eloquently silent on the achievements of the Soviet Union. They have been loudly vocal on the difficulties of Socialist construction—difficulties that the rank and file Social-Democratic workers never failed to put in their proper perspective.

What now becomes of the vainglorious boasts of these capitalist lackeys in the camp of Social-Democracy, for example, the ineffable Sir Walter Citrine, Knight of the British Empire, a "dignity" bestowed on this creature for services rendered to the British Empire? How supercilious he was at the Swansea Trades Union Congress in 1928 about the revolutionary path meaning only heavy civil war, violence and bloodshed, and how cocksure he was that Mondism, with the full participation of the T.U.C. would lead to an "improvement in the standards of living of the people".

Or Arthur Henderson, in the Clay Cross bye-election in 1933, asking the British workers to "turn their eyes to the west" and watch Roosevelt, "the only constructive statesman in the world".

The French, Polish, Czech and American Social-Democratic leaders, in the same way, called on the workers peacefully to collaborate with capitalism and tried to discredit the example of the U.S.S.R. The political line of the whole of the Second International was expressed absolutely in the rhapsody written by Karl Kautsky, in the *Vorwaerts* on May 1, 1929, on the occasion of the forty years' anniversary of May Day:

"Here we want to mention only the two biggest of the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, Germany and England. In Germany, the Hohenzollerns were at the peak of their power at that time; the Social-Democracy, as an organization, lay shattered and completely outlawed through the Anti-Socialist law. Today we have a republic; and in Prussia the premier is a Social-Democrat, and in the Reich a Social-Democrat is Chancellor.

"And in England there was no Labor Party forty years ago—only a few small unimportant Socialist sects. Today, we have a tremendous Labor Party there, which is now facing an election campaign that will most likely make it the biggest party in the country, and possibly the governing party.

"True enough, this does not yet mean the conquest of full political power by the proletariat. For that we need not merely a Socialist government, but also a Socialist majority in Parliament, and behind Parliament, a Socialist majority in the population—a majority primarily composed of organized, disciplined, educated and independently-thinking proletarians, whose nature puts its own stamp upon all social life.

"Nowhere have we reached this stage as yet, least of all in the country of the so-called proletarian dictatorship. In Soviet Russia, the proletariat had been systematically corrupted, deceived and disorganized during the past decade. The Russian proletariat will arise once again only when it gains democratic freedom of motion." (Karl Kautsky, "Forty Years' Anniversary of May First," *Vorwaerts*, May 1, 1929.)

The blood-bath, which the German Social-Democrats carried out on May Day, 1929, against the Berlin workers, provides a clear illustration of what Social-Democracy stood for, and the example it gave to Hitler, an example he has not been slow to emulate.

The temporary triumph of Hitler is the result of the policy of Social-Democracy. It proved the accuracy of the analysis often made by the Communist International, *i.e.*, that there was no easy path to Socialism. This lesson is today written in the blood, executions, torture and concentration camps of Germany, Austria and Spain. Today, millions of German workers who accepted the words of Dietmann that "There is no more Socialism in Germany than in the U.S.S.R.", and Wels that "if there is to be a dictatorship, then let it be our dictator-

ship," words spoken at the Madgeburg Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in 1929, now know from bitter experience how false they were.

The sharp lesson taught the working class by the mighty growth of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the temporary triumph of Hitler, due to the policy of Social-Democracy on the other, was not lost upon the masses. The contrast between the revolutionary conquest of power by the workers and peasants, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the "easy path" to power through parliamentary democracy promised by German Social-Democracy, a path which actually cleared the way for fascism, was plain for every worker to see.

There can be no doubt at all about the rapidity with which this lesson has been learned. It was quickly revealed in the armed resistance of the Austrian and Spanish workers to the fascist dictatorship; in the February actions of the proletariat in France in 1934; and in the continued growth in membership and influence in the Communist Parties of France, Britain, America and Czechoslovakia. At the same time, the effect of the example of the land of the proletarian dictatorship is undoubtedly one of the most important factors in the revolutionary struggles to defend and extend the Soviet districts of China.

#### THE NEW EPOCH OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY

It has been a stock-in-trade argument of the Social-Democratic leaders that, under proletarian dictatorship, there is no freedom, and they have set up against the land of the proletarian dictatorship the world of capitalist democracy! But recent events in every capitalist country have done much to destroy the picture painted by Social-Democracy. Fascist dictatorship, either in an open or concealed form, destroys or reduces to a minimum the rights and liberties of the workers. But in the U.S.S.R., where real workers' democracy is to be found, the progress of Socialist construction, the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the Socialist remaking of the masses of the peasantry by means of collectivization, have created the preconditions for a great extension of workers' Soviet democracy. A new epoch of Soviet democracy has begun.

It is not some sudden change that has been made in the Soviet Constitution; the strengthening and extension of Social-Democracy has been a consistent policy that has been applied by the C.P.S.U., and the Soviet Government as the position of the Soviet Union became stronger and stronger, as more and more millions were drawn into the task of Socialist construction. The Soviet system is the most democratic and free system. Nowhere in the world have the toilers had such rights, nor have they such rights now as in the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet elections, year by year, more and more voters have taken an active part, until, in the 1934 Soviet elections, 91,000,000 people took part, or 85 per cent of the available voters. This at a time when elections have been completely abolished over a large part of

Europe. The position of the Soviet Union is, however, becoming so strong that Comrade Molotov could report to the Seventh Congress of Soviets:

*"While more and more bourgeois countries are abolishing the remnants of the election rights of the population, the Soviet Union is coming ever closer to the complete abolition of all limitations on universal suffrage."*

We can be quite sure that these contrasts are being well pondered over by millions of workers in the capitalist countries, who are seeing before their very eyes the foulness of the Social-Democratic slanders about proletarian dictatorship, and who are being revolutionized in the school of bitter experience, for they also note how, in the fascist countries, all education and culture are stifled, books and libraries burned, but in the U.S.S.R. the schools cannot be built up fast enough; teachers are at a premium; the printing presses cannot print the papers and books fast enough; there is a demand for education and knowledge never before known in history, in order more effectively and efficiently to build up and extend Socialist construction.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF THE PEACE POLICY OF THE U.S.S.R.

Alongside all the developments indicated in this article, there has naturally also taken place a similar growth in the international influence of the U.S.S.R.

Those capitalist statesmen who, a few years ago, were plainly declaring that "they would never shake hands with murder", are now glad to enjoy friendship with the U.S.S.R. Every month some important capitalist country sends its ambassadors to Moscow to discuss foreign policy, to sign Non-Aggression Pacts, or such landmarks in international diplomacy as the Franco-Soviet Pact.

The power and strength of the Soviet Union, its firm desire for peace, the knowledge that has now penetrated deeply into the consciousness of millions and millions of people the world over that the Soviet Union has no interest in war, and genuinely stands for peace, and this mass pressure, combined with the contradictions in the ranks of the capitalist class, has compelled several capitalist governments to make concessions to the peace policy of the U.S.S.R.

The influence of the Soviet Union upon all those who hate and fear war is immeasurable.

Millions of people formerly hostile to Communism now support the peace policy of the Soviet Union, which is not only a gain for peace, but an important factor in winning or neutralizing the intermediary sections of the population in the class struggle within the capitalist countries themselves.

The Communist Parties have hitherto not made sufficient use of the peace policy of the Soviet Union. It is today the strongest weapon in our hands, especially if it is accompanied by the popularization of our whole revolutionary policy and program.

The peace policy of the U.S.S.R. has had and continues to have a tremendous influence on the growth of the confidence of the wide masses of toilers in the Communist Parties of their respective countries. This is clearly to be seen in the recent elections in France and Czechoslovakia, where important advances have been made by the Communist Parties in votes and members, while the votes of Social-Democracy have either declined or remained stagnant. Similar good results can be achieved everywhere if there is a bold and unconditional popularization of the peace policy of the Soviet Union. *Especially in Germany and Britain must the Communist Parties do more effective work amongst the masses in support of this peace policy.*

*Upon the revolutionary mass work of both these parties, to a considerable degree, depends the issue of peace or war.*

It needs to be more convincingly realized that all the indignation of the masses at the prospect of war needs and can be organized by the Communist Parties against war. At the same time, the Communist Parties, while explaining and popularizing the peace policy of the Soviet Union, must especially guard against pacifist illusions, and placing one's whole trust in the League of Nations, in pacts and covenants.

The only final guarantee for the abolition of war is revolution, and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Of course, these successes of the peace policy of the Soviet Union have not pleased the leaders of Social-Democracy. They are more interested in taking the murderers of Comrade Kirov under their wing than in recognizing the services to international Socialism, which the whole political line of the Bolsheviks is rendering. When they speak at all about the Soviet Union, it is to try and prove that "Russia has changed its policy"; "Russia is now sacrificing world revolution for Russian nationalism". These are the phrases common to the lips of every Social-Democratic leader with a lifetime's record in betraying the revolutionary struggle of the working class within their own countries.

It is instructive to note the zealotry of some Social-Democratic leaders in trying to use the Soviet Union's diplomatic maneuvers as the pretext to cover up their treachery to the working class, and ignoring everything else that the Soviet Union stands for. For one fact is becoming increasingly clear—the path of Bolshevism is the path to power and working class victory. The path of Social-Democracy is the path to fascism and working class defeat.

Comrade Lenin's *Letter to American Workers*, is perhaps more applicable to the line of Social-Democracy and the Soviet Union at the present moment than it was even at the critical time it was written. How well Lenin flayed these traitors who dared to accuse the Bolsheviks of selling out to German imperialism, just as now the same voices are heard accusing the Soviet Union of "selling out to France".

"The beasts of prey of Anglo-French and American imperialism 'accuse' us of coming to an 'agreement' with German imperialism.

"O, hypocrites! O, scoundrels who slander the workers'

government and shiver from fear of that sympathy which is being shown us by the workers of 'their own' countries! But their hypocrisy will be exposed. They pretend not to understand the difference between an agreement made by 'socialists' with their own bourgeoisie (native or foreign) *against the workers*, against the toilers, and an agreement for the safety of the workers, who have defeated their bourgeoisie, with a bourgeoisie of one national color *against* the bourgeoisie of another color for the sake of the utilization by the proletariat of the contradictions between the different groups of the bourgeoisie" (p. 13).

And, after relating negotiations with French officer, de Labaux:

"To throw back the rapacious advancing Germans, we made use of the equally rapacious counter-interests of the other imperialists, thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the international Socialist revolution. In this way, we served the interests of the working class of Russia and other countries; we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the whole world; we used the justified practice of maneuvering, necessary in every war, of shifting and waiting for the moment when the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in a number of advanced countries had *ripened*" (p. 14).

And if the situation had been reversed, and danger had come from Anglo-French troops, Lenin goes on,

"I would not hesitate a single second to come to the same kind of an 'agreement' with the German imperialist robbers, should an attack upon Russia by Anglo-French troops demand it. And I know perfectly well that my tactics will meet with the approval of the class-conscious proletariat of Russia, Germany, France, England, America—in a word, of the whole civilized world. Such tactics will lighten the task of the Socialist revolution, will hasten its advance, will weaken the international bourgeoisie, will strengthen the position of the working class which is conquering it" (pp. 14-15).

Comrade Lenin's words "and I know perfectly well that my tactics will meet with the approval of the class-conscious proletariat . . . of the whole civilized world" are a thousand times more correct today. The masses of the workers, and all who are against war, are today unreservedly behind the peace policy and diplomatic tactics of the Soviet Union.

#### THERE IS NO THIRD WAY

The U.S.S.R. is today a stronger fortress of the world revolution than ever before in its history. Its revolutionary influence grows daily. Its challenge to every sincere and serious-minded worker anxious to see Socialist construction begun in his country becomes more insistent and more formidable. It allows of no burking of the issue, which path will you choose?

Its creative work in the task of Socialist construction in industry

and agriculture, its scientific and cultural achievements, the whole-hearted support given by the vast millions of the Soviet Union, when contrasted with the situation in the capitalist countries, have given a practical demonstration to millions of workers and oppressed colonial peoples.

The U.S.S.R. calls upon them finally to decide once and for all which way they are going to choose—the capitalist or Socialist way; economic and political slavery, or the ending forever of exploitation of man by man, the ending of wars and colonial oppression, the ending of capitalist dictatorship, and the beginning of workers' democracy in every sense of the term.

It is the choice between the chaos and anarchy of capitalism, and the ordered progress and planning of Socialist economy.

It is either the path of Bolshevism or Social-Democracy, which leads to fascism, to war, to colonial slavery and unheard-of exploitation.

There is no third course. One or the other is the path that historical experience now points out to the toiling masses. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International has the task of so overcoming the weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of its Sections as will enable them more effectively to win the leadership of decisive sections of the working class and lead them on the path to the successful conquest of power.

The U.S.S.R. is the strongest and mightiest weapon that the Communist Parties have in their armories.

It cannot be said that the Communist Parties make use in full degree of this tremendous and invincible weapon for the defense of the Communist banner. The Communist Parties are far from always correctly estimating the special character of the point in connection with the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. This special character consists particularly of the fact that as distinct from the previous period, the bourgeois press and journals are no longer in a position to fill their pages with complete inventions and slander, but devote much space to the successes of the Soviet Union, accompanying their forced recognition of these successes with such "fine" commentaries as serve their aims no less than their all-round slander did previously. But the interest in the tremendous construction taking place in the Soviet Union, and the completely new life being developed there, is rising from day to day. The wide masses of readers do not find sufficient material in the Communist press, and so they satisfy their interest in the U.S.S.R., by swallowing tremendous quantities of the stuff produced by authors hostile to the U.S.S.R. *The extent and the scope of the work done by the Communist Parties in this sphere must be made to correspond to the colossally developing demands of the masses.* This special character further consists in the fact that the entire *Social-Democratic* press, which out of fear of the masses is not in a position to spatter the Soviet Union and the dictatorship of the proletariat with dirt to the same degree and in the same form as previously, is actually engaged in a *conspiracy of silence* with regard to the U.S.S.R., and is limiting itself merely to dry official facts regarding

the international policy of the U.S.S.R. The new stage which arises out of the triumph of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., requires of the Communist Parties that they proceed to a new and higher level in giving publicity to Socialist construction, and in defending the very idea of Socialism. The Communist Parties must make use of the tremendous popularity of the U.S.S.R. among the Social-Democratic workers and the growth of the united front, to raise the masses for the struggle against this conspiracy of silence, and to put an end to it.

We cannot, of course, limit ourselves to merely informing the masses of the most important facts of the tremendous construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. Now, the task of passing on the *mightiest experience in the history of mankind*, namely, that of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., to the working class throughout the world, assumes a new light. This task demands a very highly qualified acquaintance with all the varied and complicated problems of the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. It requires just as highly qualified an explanation in principle of these problems, *from the point of view of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin*. It requires an understanding of the tremendous *perspectives* of this construction and of the inevitable difficulties facing it, difficulties which arise primarily out of the fact of its capitalist environment. It requires finally, a profound study and a correct solution of *the tasks of, and the ways and forms to be taken by the Socialist revolution in each separate country*, for although the inestimable experience of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. to a tremendous degree enriches and lightens the struggle of the proletariat in each country, this experience, however, cannot be simply transferred mechanically to each country. *The task of defining all the peculiar features of the path to Socialism in each separate country is a tremendous task facing the Communist Parties on the threshold to the new round of revolutions and wars.*

After the Sixth World Congress, which adopted the program of the Comintern, a number of Communist Parties took the first serious step in the solution of this tremendous task. The program of action of the Communist Party of Germany, the program of the Communist Party of Poland, the programs of action of the Communist Parties of France, Spain, Austria, etc., represent the first contribution to the ideological fund of the entire Communist International on the road to the mobilization of the masses for the struggle for Soviet power and for the victory of Socialism. These programs have played a tremendous role in the class struggles of the seven years that have passed. However, has sufficient account been taken of the historic past of each country of all the peculiarities arising out of the history of *its* class struggle, of *its* proletariat, of *its* petty bourgeoisie, and of *its* difficulties. This work can only be regarded as the *prelude* to the new stage of the more profound political, ideological and organizational work directed towards utilizing the experience of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. to arm the proletariat of each given country with clear Bolshevik perspectives, which represent one of the decisive conditions in the struggle.

In the same way, a new light is assumed by the question of resisting

all attacks and foul slander, which, it is true, in face of the victories of Socialism which are obvious to the whole world, have taken on slightly other forms and dimensions, but have not ceased; on the contrary, in some countries (Germany, U.S.A., Japan, Poland), they have assumed an exceptionally monstrous character and scope during the last year.

Here the new point is that the living example of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has sufficiently armed the Communist Parties with inexhaustible arguments, that the Communist Parties should not in fact be, in the future as in the past, in the position of constantly being faint-heartedly on the defensive. They now have at their disposal all that is needed so that they may from day to day, in their press, in their agitation and propaganda, and by word of mouth, *proceed to undertake a decisive offensive*, and carry it on from day to day with growing aggressiveness. In the new stage, we must no longer depend merely on the Moscow correspondents of the Communist press when refuting all the lies spread by the innumerable enemies of the U.S.S.R. The work of the correspondent plays a very big role in informing the readers of the Communist press daily of living Soviet reality. However, it is impermissible for such a situation to exist when the editorial boards of our papers merely await material from their Moscow correspondents so as to refute some foul slander. The reason for this abnormal situation is that even among the leading cadres of the Communist Parties (and still more so among those working in the editorial offices) there are *exceptionally few people who are really acquainted with the problems of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.*, which problems cannot be covered without being acquainted with the entire complicated struggle of the C.P.S.U., not only at the present moment, but also with its mighty past. One of the serious tasks which arise out of the new stage in the sphere of utilizing the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. in the work of each Communist Party is the establishment of *firm groups of Party workers who are acquainted not in a dilettante fashion, but fundamentally with the past and present history of the class struggle in the U.S.S.R. with the history of the C.P.S.U., of the October Revolution, with the great tasks facing the First and Second Five-Year Plans*, with all the new phenomena of the Socialist reality of the Land of the Soviets, and with all the difficulties that still face the U.S.S.R. The task is to establish cadres who have clear perspectives as to what will arise tomorrow in the tremendous constructive work being carried through by the millions of active and conscious builders of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

The existence of such cadres is a necessary precondition for really being able to make correct use on a wide scale of this invincible weapon which the international proletariat and primarily its Communist vanguard have received, as the result of the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. We must see that the Seventh Congress insists upon all Sections of the Communist International fully utilizing this weapon and hastening on the success of the world revolution.

# The Bankruptcy of the N. I. R. A. and the Sharpening of the Contradictions of American Capitalism

By SHUBIN

## I. THE "GOD WHO WATCHES OUR AMERICA" HAS DESERTED TO THE FASCIST WING OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The National Industrial Recovery Act, which had promised to carry out the principle of planned economy while at the same time maintaining capitalism, existed for only a short time and has failed disgracefully. It was not so long ago that the N.I.R.A. was declared to be "the beginning of a new epoch", "the most important event in the history of America since the time of the formation of the republic", "a gigantic experiment for the institution of controlled and depersonalized capitalism", a blessing for the "forgotten man". The masses who, during the first months of Roosevelt's coming to power, were overwhelmed by advertisements of the Blue Eagle, can now convince themselves that of the three R's promised by the N.I.R.A.—rescue, reform and recovery—in reality it fulfilled only its first promise, that made to the monopoly bourgeoisie, by rescuing it from the sharp attack of the economic crisis which preceded the N.I.R.A.

It was not so long ago that the American invention—the "New Deal"—became the "fashion" in other capitalist countries, became a cover for the accelerated growth of monopolies and for the redistribution of the national income in their favor. At present the authors of the English, Belgian, French and other varieties of plans of the N.I.R.A. type deny their relationship with the American experiment, and it is not without rejoicing that the press of these countries writes about the failure of the Roosevelt projects.

It was not so long ago that the Social-Democratic and reformist leaders of all countries tried to pin such epithets on Roosevelt as "the herald of Socialism"—which epithets he, naturally, had no need of, and declared that the "New Deal" was a "step towards socialism", "new forms of state-controlled and organized economy, which could become transition forms to socialism", and H. G. Wells, in a talk with Comrade Stalin, declared that

"In the U.S.A. it is a question of a deep reorganization, of the creation of a planned, *i.e.*, a Socialist economy."

At present the Social-Democratic and reformist leaders prefer to maintain absolute silence about the fate of the N.I.R.A., hoping that in this way the workers will forget the gross and scandalous betrayal. Wells, on his part, wrote a new book in 1935 about America in which

book he refuted his opinion of 1934 and defines the "New Deal" as

"The sketchiest, most incomplete anticipations of real planning. It has none of the breadth of a science to which millions of minds have contributed. It is found to be void of any constructive quality as soon as it is put to the test."

In his regular "fireside talk" over the radio on April 28, 1935, Roosevelt stated that "never since my inauguration have I felt the atmosphere of recovery so unmistakably as now"; "no reasonable person wants to abandon our present gains" (which the N.R.A. gave), "for that we can be thankful to the God who watches our America".

A month passes, and the Supreme Court announces that the N.I.R.A. contradicts the Constitution of the U.S.A. A few more days pass and the President, declaring the hundreds of "codes of fair competition void", drops all the law suits which had been instituted against those who had violated these codes. The overwhelming majority of bourgeois newspapers go over to the side of the Supreme Court against Roosevelt, and the questionnaire which they distribute among their readers appears to disclose the fact that a majority of four-fifths vote against the N.I.R.A.

General Johnson, the former dictator of industry, says:

"The New York office of the N.I.R.A. has had more telephone calls than in its palmyest day. All ask if it is now perfectly safe to cut wages and extend the hours of labor without taking into consideration the norms fixed by the codes."

A few more days passed, and, as the *Times* admitted, the working conditions of more than a million workers became much worse. In some places the bosses even demanded that the workers return the "extra" wages given to them as a result of court judgments on the basis of the codes.

Deep unrest among the working masses, and strikes in some of the states, showed such readiness of the workers to offer resistance to the attacks of the bosses that the leaders of the A. F. of L. were forced to talk about strikes. At the same time, the bosses, who were afraid they would "suddenly find themselves in an icy bath", promised the workers to refrain temporarily from lowering wages and increasing hours of work. The organizations of monopoly capital irritably began to demand of Roosevelt that he hurry with his "salvage work", that he does not "throw the baby out of the bath along with the water", and that he "retain all the positive features of the N.I.R.A."

In the name of such "salvage work", Congress, which had been marking time for months prior to the decision of the Supreme Court, began to rush about, approving long-accumulated bills and removing all traces of "radicalism" from these bills.

Thus, the law on the new castrated N.I.R.A. (another name has not yet been invented), which replaces the old, obligatory codes by "voluntary agreements", embodies the demands of capitalist monopoly for "voluntary management in industry", *i.e.*, gives them absolute freedom to disregard the anti-trust laws and at the same time to disregard

the trade unions as one of the contracting parties in determining the conditions of labor. The Wagner Bill has been "amended" in such a way that nothing hinders the bosses from declaring that the company unions are representatives of the workers in the strikebreaking arbitration courts. In the same way the law for social security has been rendered so harmless that its actual realization depends on the authorities of the separate states, who have already shown with sufficient clarity that they faithfully defend the interests of the monopolies, thus keeping them from "emigrating" to other, more hospitable states. Likewise in the "Holding Company" law (*i.e.*, the law covering big financial monopolies holding stocks of public utility works in their tentacles and *openly* robbing the broad masses of the population) a correction has been made by which only "unnecessary" companies are subject to enforcement of this law.

As a reward for such efficiency, the bourgeois press, although it does not as yet call Roosevelt the "savior of the country", praises him tremendously.

Of course, the failure of Roosevelt's plans and his far-reaching promises do not, by far, mean that disagreements no longer exist in the camp of the American bourgeoisie on the question as to which path is at present the most advantageous for them and which involves the least risk by means of which path they can get out of the crisis at the expense of the masses of workers and farmers. The more extreme and reactionary elements (the largest organizations of the monopolists, the "American Liberty League", the Republicans and Right elements of the Democratic Party, etc.), are demanding an open and merciless general attack on the standards of living of the working class and the bulk of the farmers, which at the present time is no longer possible in the U.S.A. without going over to the system of direct and unbounded fascist rule over the toilers. Roosevelt, and his capitalist supporters, representing the other section of the monopolist bourgeoisie, favor covering up increased exploitation, use of force against the toilers, the strengthening and enriching of the trusts, etc., with "Left" gestures and false promises, still accepted by a considerable strata of the population as good money; raising the buying capacity of the population, limiting those forms of monopoly, robbery and embezzlement which are most hated; allowing the American Federation of Labor to be represented on arbitrary boards; and, for the petty bourgeois masses reserving the right to illusory participation in democratic government, etc.

Recently, not only after but already prior to the Supreme Court decision, Roosevelt has been making concessions to the fascist wing of the bourgeoisie with particular generosity—vetoing the Congress resolution on the Veteran Bonus and, particularly establishing such a miserly wage on public works that in some places this wage does not exceed unemployment relief. These concessions, however, in no way exclude the fact that Roosevelt is developing and will continue to develop "Left" demagoguery "within the limits of the constitution" (as for example on the question of the inheritance tax), which demagoguery becomes particu-

larly necessary in face of the coming elections. Nevertheless, the fact that the rapidly decaying N.I.R.A. is crumbled to dust under the blows of the more reactionary, more aggressive, and more fascist representatives of finance capital without any question strengthens the fascist wing in the camp of the ruling bourgeoisie.

In his first interview after the decision of the Supreme Court, Roosevelt complained to correspondents that this decision

“. . . deprives the Federal Government of all control over the economic and social relations in the country; the population should understand the position of the Federal Government, which is the only government in the world which does not have the right to solves such questions.”

“In another wide good humored talk,” reports the *New York Times*, “the president spoke with bitterness only once, in which he touched on an editorial printed in a nation-wide chain of newspapers, that gave thanks that ‘at last the rule of Christ is restored’.”

How could he help being bitter! In April, “God, who guards our America”, was very definitely on the side of the initiators of the N.I.R.A., and in May he is already found to be in the camp of its grave diggers. “God is always on the side of the stronger battalions”, Napoleon stated. And the American God abandoned the “New Deal”, which was in retreat, and went over to the victorious extreme reaction.

The disgraceful crash of the N.I.R.A. confirms that:

1. It is impossible to carry out the principles of planned economy while maintaining the economic base of capitalism;
2. Under the cover of talking about planned economy, the bourgeois state is forcing the formation, strengthening, and enrichment of capitalist monopoly;
3. In the U.S.A., which surpasses all other capitalist countries in economic, technical and financial resources, the decay of capitalism has already gone so far that one cannot even speak of restricting even the most perverted forms of capitalist robbery and exploitation;
4. As a result of this, the ruling bourgeoisie of the U.S.A., as well as of other European countries, cannot even dream of getting out of the economic crisis and depression otherwise than over the bones of the toiling masses, than through fascization and war.

## II. WHAT “TURN” IS DEVELOPING IN THE ECONOMY OF THE U.S.A.?

What explains the fact that the fascist wing of the bourgeoisie, which already formerly had a noticeable influence on the entire state policy of the U.S.A. has come forth with particular sharpness in the recent period?

In addition to the main reason, which has already been mentioned that the bourgeoisie understood the utter impossibility of finding a way out of the crisis along the path of the “New Deal”, some additional factors play a certain role:

First of all, the drawing up of the results of the two years of the N.I.R.A. and the decision on the question of its further existence, coincided with the moment when, in the opinion of the bourgeoisie, a "turning point" and an improvement in the economic life of the country might be expected as a result of (a) the fact that during the years of the crisis fixed capital has been exhausted to an exceptional degree and is already reaching the extreme limits of potential consumption in its restoration and renewal and, (b) the accumulation of vast short-term credits, unparalleled in cheapness, and the formation of large reserves of money in the banks, seeking profitable investment.

Second, the fact that in spite of the existence of these factors which appear to be favorable for a "turning point", there is no revival of any sort in the production of the means of production and in the growth of capital investment which, in the opinion of the financial oligarchy, is explained by the uncertainty and worry which the policy of the government causes them.

Third, the fear of the financial and industrial world that the near future will bring a return of the sharp "crisis of confidence", similar to that in the beginning of 1933, if there is no decisive turn very soon in overcoming the crisis.

Fourth, the strengthening of the political aggressiveness of monopoly capital and its demand for "free self-government of economy" as a result of the strengthening of the position of the ruling bourgeoisie on the basis of industry overcoming the condition of a maximum decline, and of a certain strengthening of the banks under the influence of the N.I.R.A. (a growth in the profits of industrial companies, an increase in deposits in big banks, large government orders expected as a result of the new program of armaments, public works, etc.).

And fifth, the fact that the representatives of finance capital are confident that they cannot accomplish this turn without decisively lowering the cost of production on the basis of a sharp decrease in the outlay on labor power. Lowering of the prices on agricultural products, and freeing industry from the burden of taxes, *i.e.*, without a relentless, open attack along the entire front of the living standards of the workers and farmers.

Let us dwell on the above-mentioned points in greater detail.

The development of economic life in the first five months of 1935 on the whole followed the same downward curve as that of 1934, with the essential difference, however, that whereas in 1934 the downward drop began after the first quarter, in 1935 it began at the very beginning of the year. (According to the *Annalist* the index of economic activity of 1935 was: January—83.2; April—79.7; May—77.9; or a decline of 5.3 points in five months). The decline in the automobile industry this year is greater than seasonal fluctuations, while the following figures are characteristic for steel: in April, 1934, the industry was working at 52.6 per cent capacity; in March, 1935—at 49.2 per cent; in April, 1935—at 45.3 per cent; in May this decline continued. In the field of the production of the means of production, stagnation continues.

What arguments do the bourgeois economists use to prove that a turn is about to take place and that we should attach no importance to the decline in the index of production? Here they are guided by two considerations: (a) the existence of some signs of partial improvement, the size and significance of which signs the bourgeoisie exaggerates; and (b) the prediction of an inevitable approach of a turn in the development of the crisis on the basis of the fact that in former crises, an improvement took place under analogous conditions of industry and credit.

The following points concern the first group of factors:

1. A certain growth in private *residential construction* is to be noticed in 1935.

"Throughout the land," write the economists of Wall Street, "the sound of the hammer and saw again can be heard without unduly straining the ear. It is the most cheerful noise heard in several years".

However, the general index of constructions in 1935 does not rise, but rather *falls*. This is explained by the continuation of the very low level of industrial construction. And, by the way, it is precisely this which would have real significance as an index of the renewal of fixed capital.

2. The increased incomes of building companies, which naturally gladdens the hearts of the bourgeois economists, is not so much the result of an increase of production as the result of high prices on building materials as a result of observance of the codes, with a simultaneous sharp decrease in wages—the result of violation of these same codes by the employers. In the *Annalist* of June 14, one Edwin Rosenbaum, who recommends himself as a "Real Property Economist" tells how builders have operated successfully by "paying skilled mechanics from 50 per cent to 65 per cent of the union scale". The author quotes these figures in order to show that it is impossible to revive the building trade without a sharp general cut in wages, which are the "chief element of cost of production in the building trade".

3. A certain increase in the production of *machine tools* in 1935, as compared with former years, is something new. Orders come mainly from automobile factories and steel plants. This might be considered real proof of an improvement in the field of the production of the means of production were it not for the fact that this re-equipment, which has hardly begun, is limited almost entirely to single departments, while, in the main departments, all remains as of old. In the automobile industry such rationalization measures have been adopted in the assembly departments as have already led to a decrease in the demand for labor power and to a growth in the intensity of labor (Ford attempts to conceal this from the workers by increasing day wages).

In the *steel industry*, only machines for rolling steel plate and strip were re-equipped, while the machines in the central departments were not constructed. The decisive factor hindering real renewal of fixed capital in the steel industry is the continuing and ever-increasing operation below productive capacity, in comparison with other years, together with an absence of real perspectives for a more or less

steady increase in the demand for steel, and wages which are even lower than those in other branches of industry. The fact that the curve of steel production in 1933 continues to follow the curve of the automobile industry shows very clearly that steel continues to be consumed chiefly for automobiles and household goods and not for big machine production and building

### III. THE MYTHICAL BILLIONS OF DAWES AND YOUNG AND THE DANGER OF A RELAPSE TO A "CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE"

But while these and similar facts of a certain limited improvement in some fields of industry, which are concealed by a worsening in others, do not give us reason to speak of signs pointing to a "close turn" in the field of the production of the means of production, the optimism of bourgeois prophets flourishes luxuriantly when they go over to the field of suppositions.

The *Wall Street Journal*, which is so near the stock exchange that God himself has ordered it to look cheerful, writes on May 25, 1935:

"Although the evidence of the improvement in the heavy goods industry is conclusive enough, it is so, less because the picture is sharply etched, but because myriad straws point in that direction. Perhaps this is why it is not more generally recognized."

General Dawes and Owen Young, two world-famous representatives of bourgeois America, are now coming forward in the role of the most authoritative interpreters of the "direction in which the myriad straws are pointing". These two names, engraved on two plans for "saving Europe" from economic and political chaos, not long ago, were symbols of all powerful America, which aspired to the role of a stabilizing factor in the capitalist world. Now, when America comes out as one of the hearths of the sharpening general crisis of capitalism, those leaders, whose every word only a few years ago was listened to by bourgeois Europe, are now serving as common-place lawyers of banking capital, defending its unlimited right to unrestrained speculation.

General Dawes, director of the National City Bank, in December, 1934, announced that:

"The depression will be brought definitely to an end in June or July by the beginning of a great sustained demand for durable goods due to the accumulation for five years of postponed demands." (*Financial Chronicle*, p. 3,147, May 11, 1935.)

When the Chicago *Tribune* asked him, in May, 1935, if he stands back of his prediction, Dawes, not in the least confused, answered:

"If the beginning of this great sustained demand in heavy durable goods does not commence in June or July of this year, as I predicted, then and not until then, in my judgment, is there any justification of the claim that this recovery is not running the same course as to time as that of the two former great depressions of 1873 and 1893. (*Ibid.*)

This prophecy of the "beginning of a sustained demand" in June-July was made by Dawes in May, *i.e.*, when there could already be no doubt that these expectations were sheer nonsense. But the director of the National City Bank was ready to sacrifice his reputation as clairvoyant if only he could strengthen the arguments of finance capital, precisely during those days when it was preparing the end of the "New Deal".

The June or July period that Dawes set for a decisive comeback in durable goods has already come, but it seems that the U.S.A. is not experiencing such a "famine" in iron as to import it from Great Britain. On the other hand, the aim of his prognosis has been achieved, the government has "left monopoly capital in peace", for "it will bring back prosperity by itself".

The size of this "potential market", which in Dawes' opinion is just about to save the situation, is estimated by the various bosses' organizations differently, but always in tens of billions of dollars. The National Manufacturers' Association states that the unsatisfied demand for the renewal of fixed capital is taken at \$20,000,000,000—the spending of which would put four million people to work for two years. The commission for economic recovery increases this potential market for "durable" goods (productive and consumptive) to \$49,275,000,000, which "could keep the country on the heights of business comeback for ten years". And finally, Colonel Ayres, in the name of the business men of Cleveland, has already raised this mythical figure to \$80,000,000,000.

If, according to Dawes, such an enormous demand for goods has been accumulated in industry that it guarantees improvement in the next few months, then, according to Young, just as large credit resources have been formed in the banks and dream of "giving themselves" to industry. In the opinions of Dawes and Young, the only thing that hinders these two loving hearts from fusing into a powerful, economic comeback is the fact the government is continually picking on the monopolists!

In speaking before the Senate Commission against a Bill which barely threatened to limit the swindling and speculation of the banks, Young said:

"The only question now is to get business to use these \$25,000,000,000 operating credits that are in these banks."

The Senators are fascinated by the brilliant perspective which Young opens before them. It goes without saying that they are ready to do anything to strengthen confidence in the business world. But what is necessary for this? The following dialogue took place in the Senate Commission:

*Senator:* So you agree with General Dawes that the big comeback will be here by July?

*Young:* I talked with Dawes about that and I told him that it was all right to be a prophet but that he should not fix the date.

*Senator:* Do you anticipate a runaway market in heavy goods?

*Young:* The less we do and the less we threaten, the quicker we will get recovery.

*Senator:* Then you think we should adjourn and go home.

*Young:* It might be a good idea. (*New York Times*, May 30, 1935.)

“To adjourn the meeting and go home” means to bury those Bills which are disturbing monopoly capital. We will see later that this formula of “free management of business and non-interference of the government in capitalist economy” presupposes not the liquidation, but rather the strengthening of the present state policy of state credits and subsidies to monopolies, complete freedom for them to unite on a national scale, a strengthening of the system of state force against the toiling masses, etc.

However, what may happen if these idle billions and credits, of which Dawes and Young speak, are not put into activity in the very near future? Then the danger threatens, that from pre-requisites for a comeback they will become the cause of a new attack of the crisis first in the field of finance, and then in economy as a whole. This idea is expressed, in various forms—now a friendly warning, now a direct threat to the government—in some of the articles and speeches of representatives of various groups of monopoly capital.

The well-known English economist, Stamp, at one time an adviser of the Federal Reserve Bank, published an article in the American press on May 11, in which he makes the supposition that the “pumping” of government money and credit into economy has already reached a limit beyond which there is a danger of the outbreak of a “crisis of confidence”. It is characteristic that already in the summer of last year another English economist, Case, explained the anticipated decline in business by a decrease in emergency expenditures for “reviving” business, particularly in public works.

A year of intense application of the system of “priming the pumping” in the U.S.A. is approaching and its negative consequences are to be seen so clearly that Stamp already speaks with absolute frankness openly about the danger of a budget deficit even for the U.S.A., wealthy as it is in gold reserves.

“You Americans,” writes Stamp, “can continue your unbalanced condition longer than European nations, because your people are not so easily alarmed but when your public psychology does change—the moment you do lose—great is the fall thereof.”

But what will this “sharp loss of confidence” mean? The director of the Chase National Bank, Aldrich, who, like Young, is leading the attacks of the financial oligarchy against the Banking Bill, answers this question without any diplomatic subterfuge.

“We must not delude ourselves,” says Aldrich. “The three efforts [of the Administration] to accomplish a higher price

level by manipulating credit and the currency have failed. But they have left behind them a vast amount of explosive material which some effort may set off. The potentialities are so vast and the restraints are so few that should some one of their efforts succeed, the result would most likely not be an isolated detonation, but a vicious and perhaps uncontrollable conflagration."

Such a statement, coming from a very big bank leader, is more than a simple appraisal of the situation. It is a threat—a threat of catastrophe—which finance capital makes when it demands a change in the course of government policy.

#### IV. "LEAVE US ALONE AND WE WILL BRING BACK PROSPERITY OURSELVES"

In the days when the N.I.R.A. was being conceived, there was confusion approaching a panic in the camp of the bourgeoisie (collapse of the artificial, pre-election, Hoover boom in business, "runs" on the banks by depositors demanding the returning of their money, and particularly the bankruptcy of Hoover's policy of rugged individualism, so clearly apparent to all). The monopoly bourgeoisie caught at Roosevelt's program as at a lifebelt and it made no mistakes. Now, burying the N.I.R.A. with honors, with the participation of even the Supreme Court, monopoly capital considers itself better prepared economically for an offensive against the toiling masses than it was two years ago. And from this we get the extraordinary increase in its aggressiveness.

"We," states the National Oil Institute, in a resolution directed against the "New Deal", "have proceeded on the road to recovery sufficiently to consider methods of orderly development of business as a substitute for devices created in moments of national emergency and desperation."

During the two years of N.I.R.A., there has been a considerable growth in the profits of industrial companies, especially those producing goods for consumption. In 1934, in his report on the results of the N.I.R.A. for the year, Richberg gave figures showing that the clear profits of the chief companies had increased by 200 per cent in the first half of 1934 as compared with the corresponding period in 1933. And, if we take industrial companies alone, then we find a 600 per cent increase in income. This year, statistics published in the bulletin of the National City Bank for 210 companies show that the clear income for the first quarter of 1935 exceeds that of the last quarter of 1934 by 100 per cent. (Factories producing electrical equipment increased their income by 325 per cent for the period of 1934-1935.)

The dividends which the companies show are naturally lower than in reality. But the actual growth of income for the past years is only an insignificant part of those benefits which the "New Deal" has brought to the capitalists. During the period of the N.I.R.A., credits, subsidies, and all sorts of grants poured down on the bosses as if out of the horn of plenty, and are continuing to pour down on them even now. In this sense the N.I.R.A. continues to thrive until now.

"Railroad presidents, bankers, financiers and other captains of industry who are seeking to help in the face of serious difficulties are talking things over in over-crowded waiting rooms."

Thus, *Current History* describes the distribution of state money to the capitalists by the Federal Reconstruction Corporation in the very days when the bosses were demanding that the government "leave them alone".

The "codes of fair competition" have accelerated the growth of monopolies and the complete subordination of various manufacturers to them very much. The annulment of the anti-trust law and of the system price-fixing has removed all legal difficulties which formerly hindered the monopolists from fixing sale and purchase prices in the interest of increasing their power over entire branches of industry on a national scale and ruin of recalcitrant competitors. All the talk that "the end of cut-throat competition" is for the benefit of the small and middle businessman fascinated the petty bourgeoisie in the first months of the existence of the "New Deal", but in reality turned out to be a mocking betrayal. This explains why the petty bourgeoisie is annoyed with the N.I.R.A., but not to any such extent as to represent any danger to Roosevelt. This scattered petty bourgeois opposition found its expression particularly in reports of the liberally inclined employees of the Brookings Institute for Economic Research, in which reports it was shown that the N.I.R.A. has proved itself incapable of hastening the recovery of economy. The Wall Street press made great use of this work, which was based on actual material, in order to conceal the motives and aims of its attack against the N.I.R.A. It would be wrong, however, to arrive at the conclusion, on this basis, that the "Left" opposition played any sort of role in preparing that "constitutional" blow, which officially finished the N.I.R.A.

Section 7a of the N.I.R.A., which provides for collective bargaining between the workers and bosses, gave the workers the formal right to have their trade unions as one of the arbitrating parties. Thus, in as far as the workers were able to show class initiative and to develop the strike struggle, in spite of the resistance of the government, bosses and trade-union bureaucrats, they broadened and revolutionized the trade-union movement and American Federation of Labor trade unions. But this same section 7a encouraged the employers, and in all ways helped them to organize company unions, that is, employers' organizations forced on the workers and speaking in their name. The company unions, which have grown up during the lifetime of the N.I.R.A., have strengthened the machine of finance capital for strikebreaking and for attacks against trade-union organizations, and now the employers are thinking of using these unions as one of the important weapons of struggle against the workers, especially at a time when the trade-union bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor are powerless to hold the workers back from class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

In the same way other measures of the "New Deal", in particular the establishment of a system of fixed prices and compensation in agri-

culture by the A.A.A.\* strengthened and enriched monopoly. The subsidies, which were awarded by the government for carrying out its plans for crop control have been given and are now being given, in the majority of cases, to corporations and rich farmers. In the *Daily Worker*, Comrade Harris gives statistics from which it can be seen that in the Southern States the question of giving any part of the government subsidy at all to the Negro sharecroppers was not even raised and the entire sum received from the government for decreasing the area under cotton, in some cases amounting to \$80,000, was given to the land owners. One corporation in Florida even received \$800,000. The farmers' creditors were also enriched. For example, in the central districts of the agricultural state of Iowa, 94 per cent of the subsidies received by the farmers went to pay debts, that is, went into the hands of the banks and bosses. The frozen mortgage liabilities are beginning to thaw—was the greeting of the bourgeois press. In other words, the banks and insurance companies, who are the chief holders of mortgages on land, are now able to get money from the farmers. At the same time, the creators of the A.A.A. themselves recognized at the time when the "New Deal" was in full bloom, that it is only a temporary measure. About a year ago Secretary of Agriculture Wallace wrote a book, *America Must Choose*, in which he convincingly showed that if the United States continues to carry out its policy of "economic nationalism", and does not allow foreign manufactured goods on its market, then the products of American agriculture will not find an outlet on the international market, and from forty to one hundred million acres of farm land will have to be withdrawn from cultivation. If, added Wallace, America follows the other, "the international" path and opens its borders freely for foreign manufactured goods, then this will "create serious difficulties not only as a result of additional unemployment, but also because some categories will be needed by us in case of war". Where will the farmer, forced off his land, go? What place under the sun will be found for the new millions of unemployed? Wallace calms his readers by saying that America will follow neither the path of national isolation, nor the path of international free trade, but will choose a third, a middle path, which will lessen, although not do away with the shortcomings of both extremes, and which will distribute the difficult burden of "adaptation" fairly between the farmers on one side and the workers on the other.

But the experience of Roosevelt's experiment teaches the workers and farmers that the general crisis of capitalism has become so sharp and the decline of capitalism in the United States has already gone so far that America, although she must do so, is not able to "choose". One of the proofs of this is the fact that as a result of the "New Deal" the foreign trade of the United States which had already declined very much, did not improve, but declined still further.

#### V. THE TRAIL OF THE SUPREME COURT LEADS TO WALL STREET

The strength of monopolist organizations, which have grown under

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\* Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

the influence of the N.I.R.A., was revealed with particular clarity at the moment when various groups of capital were attacking the N.I.R.A. Over a period of some weeks, a number of leading employers' organizations—the National Manufacturers' Association, the American Chamber of Commerce, the American Bankers' Association, the National Oil Institute, the Iron and Steel Institute, etc.—put forth one and the same arguments against the N.I.R.A. and offered the same program of "free management of industry". This program which, if carried out during a time of sharpened class struggle, presupposes a transition to a fascist system of force, could not at once be adopted by a majority of members of Congress and the Senate, particularly on the eve of elections to Congress.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the decision of the Supreme Court to liquidate the N.I.R.A. was dictated by the more aggressive section of finance capital. This decision, which appeared in full in economic publications as a document of historical importance, was entitled "Decision of U. S. Supreme Court Holding Unconstitutional Code Making Authority and Fixing of Hours and Wages Under N.I.R.A." Thus we see that the main aim of the document was already defined in the title. Two justices of the Supreme Court, Cardozo and Stone, emphasized that the "codes of fair competition" contradict the Constitution, precisely because they include points about hours and wages.

"Wages and hours of labor," says the supporters of this opinion, "are essential features of the plan, its very bone and sinew. There is no opportunity in such circumstances for the severance of the infected parts in the hope of saving the remainder. A code collapses utterly with bone and sinew gone."  
(*Financial Chronicle*.)

It is characteristic that all factions of the bourgeoisie are trying to support the lie among the masses—that the Supreme Court decision is unprejudiced and impartial and its merits and shortcomings are conditioned by the merits or shortcomings of the American Constitution. "Back to the Constitution" proclaims the land of energetic financial managers who attach the significance of a marathon battle to the decision of the Supreme Court. Within the next five or ten years strive to change the Constitution in the direction of increasing the rights of the government, is the advice of Roosevelt, who hopes to attract the broad mass of voters to himself with the perspective of a revision of the Constitution in the interests of the "forgotten" man and who is interested in seeing that the class truth of the offensive which capital is preparing, remain hidden from the masses during the elections. "An immediate revision of the Constitution" cries Green—attempting to keep the working masses away from the strike struggle, promising them that corrections to the Constitution will assure the victory of the 90 per cent high-minded capitalists over the 10 per cent of selfish ones. A pre-election struggle in the center of which stands the question of the Constitution would be of great advantage to all bourgeois groupings. The *Daily Telegraph* expresses the supposition that in such a case "a third party may find no place in the elections".

However, placing those directives, given in the Wall Street press a month before the decision of the Supreme Court, alongside with this decision shows that not only the content, but also the *form* and those legal arguments which decorated it, were dictated by monopoly capital.

The chief argument in the Supreme Court decision is that the Federal Government, in making social laws, violates the independence of the separate states, which was granted by the Constitution. But this is exactly the thesis which the employers' press particularly emphasized at the very beginning of the campaign against the N.I.R.A. The article published by the *Financial and Economic Chronicle* (April 27) "Are the States to Lose Their Constitutional Right?" blames Roosevelt that the whole policy of the New Deal has been one of systematic and open invasion of state rights. Under the pretext of defending these violated rights, the authors rather unexpectedly reached out a hand to Senator Long, who raised a scandal about the sorry attempts of the Federal Government to restrain the dictatorship of Long, the fascist demagogue, in Louisiana.

"Long raises a general constitutional issue of fundamental importance which his hostility to the administration or his own political ambitions should not be allowed to obscure," write the *Financial Chronicle* of April 7. "It is time that the states woke up to the encroachments which the New Deal is making upon their constitutional rights."

And a month later the Supreme Court suddenly "woke up!"

But Long, as is well known, places "the redistribution of wealth" in the center of his fascist demagogy, and threatens the trusts and banks with thunder and lightning; and it is characteristic of the political representatives of the Right wing of finance capital that they are coming out of the present time with slogans in defense of the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution and accuse Roosevelt and his group of fascism. How did it happen that the Wall Street press, the Supreme Court and Long turned out to be in even poorly-concealed unity on a question which may be the center of the election struggle? This has happened because monopoly capital, which occupies a dominant position of long standing in both old parties, is not only trying to unite the more reactionary sections of these parties in a new, more definitely expressed fascist grouping (the American Liberty League) but is also advancing new fascist groups as cadres and is supporting fascist demagogues with the aim of developing a mass fascist movement.

This is another reason for the exceptional increase in the aggressiveness of bourgeois reaction in America at the present time.

#### VI.—THE N.I.R.A. AND THE SHARPENING OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The N.I.R.A. did not improve the difficult position of the workers and farmers. This fact, which the Communist Party has untiringly explained to the masses all this time, is now being recognized by the bourgeois press, all the more willingly since in this way it is trying to cover up the fact that the new N.I.R.A. threatens the masses with a further and

even greater offensive against their standard of living. At present the *New York Times* is publishing figures which show that the N.I.R.A. did not decrease unemployment. (In July, 1933, at the inception of the N.I.R.A., there were, according to A. F. of L. figures, 11,793,000 unemployed and, on the eve of the abolition of the N.I.R.A., 11,500,000 unemployed.)

*The Magazine of Wall Street* which compared the sums paid out in wages in recent years in the State of New York, discloses the secret—known to everyone—that the N.I.R.A. “increased the buying power of the workers but little”; other newspapers assure their readers that the conditions of the workers will not change with the abolition of the N.I.R.A., since the provision on hours and wages have been “dead letters” for a long time. The Communists fight against this attempt to convince the workers that “nothing has happened”, especially dangerous because of the offensive which capital is preparing. The Communists, who systematically and persistently showed the toiling masses that the legislative measures of Roosevelt made the exploitation of the workers and ruination of the farmers easier, are now concentrating on showing concretely that after the abandonment of the codes the bourgeois, with renewed energy, began to extend the speed-up system, introduce child labor, prepare for sharp wage cuts and longer hours. The Communists explain to the workers why it is precisely at this time that the bourgeoisie is clearing the path for an offensive on even the smallest legal rights which the workers have learned to utilize for the mobilization of their forces in the struggle against the class enemy.

The capitalist illusions which the N.I.R.A. spread among the broad masses were based not on what the N.I.R.A. gave them, but on what it promised to give. Roosevelt also in his ability to show a generosity unusual for the head of the government of the U.S.A., not only with his promises was able to make it seem as if he were trying to carry out his promises and ready to fight for these promises. The elegant indignation with which he attacked the “money changers in the temple”, the ‘selfish minority, whose dishonest practices are more to blame than anything else for the recent industrial crash’ was accepted by the masses as an indignation akin to their own, against capitalist exploitation.

At the same time the ‘New Deal’ changed the *forms* of intensification of the exploitation of the workers and the ruination of the farmers. Instead of cutting the nominal wages openly, the N.I.R.A. stabilized, and even raised them, for some groups of workers, preferring to cut real wages, which cut is not so noticeable. Instead of Hoover’s blunt rejection of any “unproductive expenditures” for relief to the unemployed, the N.I.R.A. spent money lavishly on social and public work, the predatory character of which the workers discovered only gradually. Instead of Hoover’s method of relentlessly throwing the ruined farmer out of production, Roosevelt talked about the “honest dollar”, gave subsidies for restricting crops, etc., behind which method the small farmers could not immediately discern a new system for enriching the bankers and big landowners (at the cost of their own ruin). The English bourgeois press states that the Liberals were very wary of Roosevelt’s program because he never made it clear, “if he was trying

to save capitalism or transform it". This, of course, is nonsense. Neither the American nor the international bourgeoisie ever had any doubt that Roosevelt's aim was to save capitalism, but it was never really clear to the masses what the "New Deal" was actually aiming at when it claimed that it would lead the country to "depersonalized capitalism".

The ruling bourgeoisie expected that the demagoguery of the N.I.R.A. would bring an end to the process of revolutionization of the workers. In this respect it was sadly disillusioned.

"... The wage increases were accepted by the industries as necessary strategy under the circumstances, . . ." writes the *National City Bank Bulletin* of May, 1934. "They have been established . . . as a move to avert strikes and wasteful disputes over the question of what organization should represent labor in collective bargaining under the National Recovery Act."

According to the bankers' journal, the circumstances which compelled the bourgeoisie to accept the conditions of labor provided for by the codes was the fact that the strike wave, which had been growing since the beginning of 1933, increased to an unheard of degree after the introduction of the N.I.R.A. The following official figures on the growth of the strike movement during 1933, bear witness to this:

Year	Number of strikers	Number of working days lost
1929	230,463	9,975,213
1930	158,114	2,730,368
1931	279,299	6,386,183
1932	242,826	6,462,973
1933	812,137	14,818,847
<i>1933</i>		
January-March	71,834	713,503
April-June	110,615	1,793,154
July-September	513,640	6,949,582
October-December	116,048	5,362,608

The highest peak of this large strike wave of 1933 was reached in the third quarter, after the introduction of the N.I.R.A. Since the demand for the adoption of the codes was the main cause of the strikes of *this* period, the bourgeoisie thought that if it adopted the codes it would be able to break up strikes and prevent the consolidation and growth of the trade unions. This strategy was doomed to failure. The American workers learned to utilize those legal possibilities which Section 7a gave them.

The new strata of workers which poured into the A. F. of L. trade unions brought with it the spirit of class struggle, and it was no longer as easy for the old trade union bureaucrats to force their will on the organized workers in the interests of the bourgeoisie. New trade-union cadres appeared, cadres able to carry the masses into the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The character of the 1934 strikes also changed very much, in comparison with the first period of the N.I.R.A. Revolu-

tionary strike struggles, in which millions of workers participated, particularly the general strike in San Francisco and the general strike of the workers in the textile industry, the largest in the whole country, showed how quickly the revolutionization of the broad masses was progressing in America.

And so monopoly capital changes its "strategy". Not satisfied with the factual violation of Section 7a, it demands that Roosevelt formally abolish it. It was in vain that Richberg, in his annual report on the activities of the N.I.R.A. showed the trembling bourgeoisie with the greatest frankness that is permitted in an official document, that the beginning of the growth of industry could not help but bring an increase in the number of economic strikes. The N.I.R.A., which created a subdivided and flexible apparatus of arbitration for choking strikes, coordinating the demagogic interference of Roosevelt, the "extinguisher" of strikes, with the intensification of bloody terror against the workers (in a year and a half of the N.I.R.A., nine governors called on the National Guard of their states for armed suppression of strikes, and at least 55 workers were killed), is found by the employers to be a machine which is not strong enough to carry out a general open offensive on the working conditions of the workers.

#### VII. THE ABOLITION OF THE N.I.R.A. AND THE OFFENSIVE OF THE BOURGEOISIE WHICH IS BECOMING MORE FASCIST

The N.I.R.A. was a smokescreen which concealed from the masses the regrouping of forces in the camp of the bourgeoisie in preparation for the offensive. Now that this screen has been dispersed, the sharpening of the class struggle in the country will inevitably proceed at a faster pace. "Watch out for the workers!" is the warning which the English press repeatedly gives the American bourgeoisie in connection with the abolition of the N.I.R.A.

"The Roosevelt administration," writes the *English Economist* (May 4), "must move to the right, but quietly, because the sentiment of the country, or at least of powerful groups, is far to the Left. . . . There is a strong ultimate pressure for drastic reforms which might become revolutionary if conditions worsened."

The American bourgeoisie understands that with the bankruptcy of the N.I.R.A., there is a danger that still broader masses of workers will leave the old political parties, even should Roosevelt himself be able for some time to hold his personal popularity in the role of a victim of the intrigues of the "selfish minority" of capitalists. And so the fascist wing of the bourgeoisie is preparing to get a head start on the political and economic organization of its class forces by the proletariat and to head off its mass revolutionary actions. In the first place, it is introducing bills which strengthen the state machine and increase its fascist methods of struggle against the toiling masses and, second, is developing the fascist movement which, with its anti-trust and equalization demagoguery, would interest the masses who are

leaving the old capitalist parties. Such an observer of the inner life of the U.S.A., so faithful to the capitalist system, as the rather well-known American historian, Beard, entitles his review in the May issue of *Current History* "Preparedness—An American Issue". But preparedness for what?

"Preparations for war and for the suppression of adverse civilization opinion loomed high among American events during March. But they were countered by a rising tide of popular resentment which must have surprised the advocates of force."

In order to break up this "rising tide of popular resentment", the fascist bourgeoisie is trying, in a "legal" way, to take away the remnants of democratic rights and liberty from the mass of people.

"In keeping with the military spirit", continues Beard, "a whole flock of alien and sedition bills was introduced in Congress—bills which, by their harsh and sweeping terms, made the old laws of 1798 look pale and harmless. . . ."

"In nearly every state, owing to the agitations of the American Legion, the Elks and other associations more or less affiliated with the Hearst 'anti-Red' drive, bills were introduced for the purpose of excluding from the ballot political parties which advocate the overthrow of government 'by force and violence' or preach 'sedition' or 'treason'."

In hastening the fascization of the state apparatus, finance capital is, at the same time, encouraging and stimulating the development of a mass fascist movement in various forms. The singularity of the present stage in the development of fascism in the U.S.A. is that its organizers are coming out under the mask of defense of "democracy" and the "republican traditions" of the American Constitution, such as

"the just distribution of national wealth amongst the population at the expense of the monopolies, trusts, banks, etc."

Fascist danger has already become so real that even the petty bourgeois intelligentsia speaks with alarm about its approach and the need for struggle against it. However, the polemics which intellectual circles are even now carrying on against fascist ideology still remain weak and inconsistent to the highest degree, since, like the European reformists they incorrectly look on fascism, not as the open dictatorship of finance capital, but as the rule of the petty bourgeoisie, which is trying to come out above the trust bourgeoisie as well as above the revolutionary proletariat.

The fascist demagogues are hoping to win over the masses which are leaving the old bourgeois parties, and which have reached the point of desperate need and privations and are filled with hate for the financial oligarchy. It is precisely at this moment that it is vitally important for the Communists to find a common language with these masses, who are just becoming conscious of political life, and help them, on the basis of their own experience, to go over to the position of revolutionary struggle.

## VIII. THE REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE AMERICAN WORKER AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS IN MASS WORK

During the period of the Sixth Congress, the right majority leadership of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., led by the renegade Lovestone, developed the theory of the "exceptionalism" of American capitalism, denied the process of radicalization of the working class of America and the perspective of a growth of the conditions for a revolutionary upsurge in the U. S. A. In the spring of 1929, this Right opportunist group came out openly against the decisions of the presidium of the E.C.C.I. on the American question, which demanded that factions be liquidated, that the Party be purged of Right and conciliatory elements, that a struggle be waged against all kinds of deviations, that truly revolutionary cadres be forged and that the Party finally enter the broad road of mass political work. Lovestone stated that these decisions of the presidium of the E.C.C.I. would lead the American Party to ruin.

At the meeting of the presidium of the E.C.C.I., Comrade Stalin answered these threats.

"No, comrades, the American Communist Party will not come to ruin. It will continue to live and thrive as a warning to the enemies of the working class. The fact that one small factional group may come to political ruin in no way means that therefore the American Communist Party must do the same. And if this small factional group is destined to perish, then let it perish with our good wishes—if only the American Communist Party thrives and develops."

Comrade Stalin's prognosis was justified. The American Communist Party comes to the Seventh Congress, free from factionalism, having consolidated its ranks on the basis of the Leninist-Stalinist line, having trebled the number of its members in comparison with the period of the Sixth Congress. The party is ideologically and organizationally prepared to enter the broad highway of mass political work. The situation demands that it does not postpone the solving of these tasks, does not solve them at the ordinary rate, but at a quickened tempo; for time does not wait and the Party cannot allow events to find it unprepared.

Considerable strata of workers are already drawing away from the capitalist parties. It is especially imperative for the Communists to solve the task of being not only a conscious, convinced, ideological propagandist but also the practical leader of the *masses* in the revolution. Communists can and must solve this task.

In America, the Communist Party has already matured into practical mass political action and those tactical tasks which stand before the Party in connection with the sharpening attack of capitalist reaction, which has succeeded in abolishing Section 7a, which it hates, can be solved from this point of view. There is no question of the fact that the American workers are prepared for mass action for decisive resistance to the employers who, on the very day following the liquidation of the N.I.R.A., intensified all forms of exploitation.

Various strata of the American workers, regardless of whether they did or did not understand the "complicated mechanism" of the N.I.R.A. previously, not only feel the approaching danger, but in some places are already struggling against it. This is shown by the partial strikes which *immediately* broke out in various states in answer to the worsening of working conditions by the employers. This is shown by the initiative of the local organizations of the A. F. of L. which showered the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. with information on the predatory march of the employers which was already beginning. This is also reflected in the fact that the trade union bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. often repeat that there is danger of a general strike, and some of them (Gorman) call on the workers to immediately answer the abolition of the code conditions by the bosses with strikes. We can see how widely disturbed the workers are by the fact that the big monopolies prefer to *wait* until this period of strengthened activity and vigilance on the part of the workers ends, and to refrain, temporarily, from a general, developed offensive on the proletariat.

Should the Communists under these circumstances concentrate their agitation on repeating the old, on the whole correct, exposure of the characteristics of the N.I.R.A., or should they present the case in a way to show that the difference between the existence of the N.I.R.A. and its abolition is "petty and unimportant"; or should they refrain from changing the arguments exposing Roosevelt before the masses, continuing to criticize him only as the author of the N.I.R.A.; or should their attitude to the statements of the trade union bureaucrats on developing strike struggles be defined merely from the point of view of the subjective frankness of Green and Company, and answer the advice to strike which Gorman gives the textile workers only by an exposure of the shameful treacherous role of Gorman during the textile workers' strike.

Of course such tactics would be incorrect and would not help the Communists to take the lead of that fermentation which has seized the masses and, on the basis of a broad united front, direct this fermentation along the path of revolutionary action against the offensive of capital. Without in any way shading the principle position of the Communists, at the present time most important is not the emphasizing of the differences in the estimation of the N.I.R.A. by the revolutionary workers and the estimation of the N.I.R.A. by the workers under the influence of the reformists, but to emphasize that which unites these workers—the consciousness of the need to deal an economic and political blow at the offensive of bourgeois reaction. It is important to kindle the class alarm of the more or less conscious working masses to the fact that the abolition of the N.I.R.A. creates additional new difficulties in the path of their economic struggle, difficulties which must be answered immediately by the establishment of unity within the ranks of the workers and by strengthening their position against the class enemy. It is not enough merely to expose the maneuvers of the trade union bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and the Right leaders of the S.P., who demagogically chatter about strikes, but, at the same time,

call their bluff and develop such a militant mood among the organized workers that the leaders will be forced to talk strike. We must put forward a program of measures for mobilizing and organizing the forces of the workers to carry out strikes and mass actions, for strengthening the trade union organizations and for setting up united front committees in the factories, etc., emphasizing the fact that the Communists are ready to discuss and support all proposals directed toward development of the strike struggle.

The trade union bureaucrats, feeling the moods of the masses, have appealed to the unorganized workers to join the trade unions. The Communists have every reason to support this appeal to give full rein to the desire of the workers to join the trade unions, so that no formalities will hinder the development of a new influx of workers into the trade unions, the revolutionization of the trade union movement and development of the strike struggle. From this point of view, the formation of a special mass labor party in the U.S.A. assumes significance.

“The bourgeoisie in America have two parties, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. But the American workers have no mass party of their own. Do not the comrades think that the absence of such a mass workers’ party, even if it were like the British Labor Party, weakens the working class in its political fight against the capitalists?” (Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 392.)

Now, in 1935, the Communist Party has become sufficiently strong to answer this question with action, to take leadership of the growing desire of the masses for a labor party, strive to bring it forth on a platform of class demands, acceptable to the broad masses and capable of hastening and strengthening of the process of the revolutionization of the ranks of the working class.

The tactic in the questions of the allies of the proletariat is determined by the extent to which Communism has matured in practical mass political activity.

“The problem of the toiling masses of the petty bourgeoisie, both urban and rural, the problem of winning over these masses to the side of the proletariat, is of very great importance for the proletarian revolution.” (Stalin, *“Leninism”*, Vol. I, p. 108.)

The inevitable failure of the A.A.A. which the bourgeoisie will at best support only until the end of the presidential elections, will be a stimulus for the development of a spontaneous movement of the farmers. The task facing the Communists is immediately to find such forms of organizing the farmers’ movement as would give the assurance that this movement would not fall under the influence of the fascist bourgeoisie, but would become a reserve force of the proletariat in its struggle against fascism and the danger of war, in the struggle for the proletarian revolution.

The appeal of the Communist Party to the Socialist Party at the

time of the abolition of the N.I.R.A., proposing the formation of a united front of struggle against the increasing offensive of capital, against the danger of fascism and war preparations, confirms the fact that the American Communists have learned to understand the directives of Lenin on the necessity of never missing a single serious opportunity when the bourgeoisie forces the proletariat to rise in struggle, to learn to determine correctly the moment when the proletarian masses cannot help but rise with us.

The position of the ruling bourgeoisie of America has not yet been undermined as deeply as that of the European continent. The political estrangement of the broad masses of workers of the bourgeois parties is only beginning. The revolutionary crisis is less mature in the U.S.A. than in the countries of continental Europe, but it is developing at a significant tempo and is continuing to grow.

# Fascism and the United Front in France\*

By MARCEL CACHIN

**F**OR several years the Communist Party of France repeatedly and vainly proposed a united front to the French Socialist Party. And only on July 14, 1934, did the Socialists agree to an official meeting with us, and negotiations were begun between representatives of our Political Bureau and their leaders. This meeting was a decisive one. The delegates of the Socialist Party behaved at this first joint meeting as though they were surprised at our visit and at our far-reaching proposals for unity. Leon Blum said approximately the following:

“I am surprised at your new, cordial tone, a tone to which we are not accustomed. My friends and I ask ourselves whether there isn't some maneuver behind this appeal of yours.”

We replied that our only impelling motive was to bring about unity of action of the working class, and that we had come to meet them quite honestly and without any secret purposes, but only with the desire to fight honestly alongside the Socialist workers against the danger of fascism, which was exceptionally real in France.

The next day there was a meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Party, a body which includes representatives of all its federations. The National Council unanimously adopted our proposals which had been passed on to them by those who had participated in the previous meeting with us.

The experience accumulated during the course of a whole year shows now that the united front was of great use to us in the struggle against fascism. We may say that in the process of joint action, there was not a single expression of fundamental disagreement or even of serious differences on small questions between the Socialists and Communists. I will not go into detail as to our joint actions that took place during the course of the year. I only wish to sum up the results in connection with the discussion that took place at the recent Congress of the Socialist Party in Mulhouse.

At this Congress there were critical opinions expressed in respect to unity of action. These remarks were expressed by the Right elements in the party and by the representatives of the majority. The character of these opinions was as follows: The Communists have gained more from the united front than we, the Socialist Party, have. In the year gone by the Socialist Party has lost a number of its members and subscribers to its newspaper, and has not increased the number of its supporters at the elections to the extent that the Communist Party

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\* This article by Comrade Cachin was written prior to the huge demonstration of the People's Anti-Fascist Front on July 14.—Ed.

has done. On this basis, Paul Faure, the Secretary of the Socialist Party, in the name of the majority, called upon the members of the Socialist Party henceforth to devote more energy to their own work, and to display less activity in joint action with the Communists.

It should be stated that in spite of the speech made by Paul Faure, a third of the party members voted at the Congress for a resolution which demanded closer collaboration with the Communists. These members declared through Jiromski that:

"We, a third of the members of the Socialist Party, are desirous of coming closer and closer to the Communists, and as far as concerns their international policy, we are now in agreement with it."

After the Socialist Party Congress in Mulhouse, our party declared that it would continue the fight for the united front more than ever, that it would continue to appeal to the Socialists, and that it remained an unyielding supporter of working class unity.

We consider that unity of action is more than ever necessary now. The Socialists who agreed to united action with reservations are now demanding of us that we agree to organizational unity and the establishment of a united party. We have expressed our agreement to be represented in a commission which shall prepare the question of the possibility of bringing about organizational unity.

#### THE GROWTH OF THE DANGER OF FASCISM

The fascist danger in France is becoming so serious that our Party considers that unity of action with the Socialist Party is insufficient to successfully resist fascism.

*In actual fact, during recent months and even weeks, fascism has achieved important successes in France. Fascism, in the specific form in which it has developed in France, has grown into a serious menace.* This has been prepared during the course of the last five years. Five years ago an organization was established calling itself the *Croix de Feu* (Fiery Cross). For four years it had to compete against other organizations, which were to a greater or lesser degree its competitors. But it is only during the last year that it has begun to advance, and during the last few months it has been growing at a rapid rate. The leader of this organization, Colonel de la Roque, is now declaring that the *Croix de Feu* has 300,000 members and that their ranks are growing from month to month by 15,000 members.

What is the composition of these fascist detachments? Firstly, the majority of French officers on reserve have joined it. Many of them have joined it, several tens of thousands, between 40,000 to 50,000. Further, regular army officers have joined, especially staff officers, officers of the aviation, cavalry, and motorized detachments. As we see, this is an organization which derives its support from the military elements. Its emblem is a skull.

The French fascists are *openly* supported by the biggest capitalists

who are personally members of the *Croix de Feu* organization. We need only refer to the support which the fascists receive from the *Comité des Forges* (Committee Governing Heavy Industry), we need only mention the name of DeVendel, the steel magnate, chairman of the *Comité des Forges*, Mercier, the head of the electrical trust, and the rubber kings, Michelin and Bergougin, etc. They are all officially members of this organization.

In addition, there are a considerable number of engineers, technicians and foremen in its ranks. The support given to it by the Catholic Church gives it a corporative character, based on the unity of the classes. The Catholic Church is an active element of the *Croix de Feu*, a fundamental driving force of fascism in France. It fulfills the slogans advanced by the Pope in a disciplined fashion. In September, 1933, the Papal legate at the International Catholic Congress in Vienna expressed the following views:

"The Pope has no greater desire than to see Bolshevism driven back and crushed. It is a joy to him when on any occasion, even a small section of the territory of any country is cleansed of this pest. He is impatiently awaiting the day when Russia will be delivered from it. To achieve this end, every state must use any means available."

This is how the representative of the Vatican spoke. And the *Croix de Feu* organization, composed of faithful Catholics, sets itself a triple objective—to crush Communism in France, to destroy the Comintern, and to smash the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact.

The successes that we gained recently in the suburbs of Paris at the recent elections in May and June have very much frightened these people. The fascists are aware that the economic and financial condition of the country is continually growing worse. They know, on the other hand, that the present government of Laval and Herriot, which is composed of two hostile factions, is a weak one. It may be stated that it is of such a character as that of the Fakt government in Italy (the government which existed on the eve of the fascist march on Rome). That is why the fascists are openly declaring: "The hour has come for us to advance, we shall be in power in a few weeks' time."

The *Croix de Feu* held a big meeting in Paris, attended by 25,000 people. At this meeting their leader declared that "*We are on the eve of the day when we shall have to resort to arms.*"

The menace of fascism is a real and immediate one. The fascists are armed. They are in receipt of unlimited subsidies from the big capitalists. Up to the present time the government has tolerated their actions without making any attempt to hinder them. The government has even created favorable conditions for their actions. The fact is that reserve officers have the right to keep their firearms with them. Those of them who are fascists keep these firearms and will use them when they consider the time suitable. When the Communists demanded that they should be disarmed, the fascists officially declared that they would shoot anybody who tried to deprive them of their firearms.

## THE PEOPLE'S FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The new situation demands that the united front be very much extended. Hence, we wish at first to strengthen our alliance with the Socialists. Our comrades of the C.G.T.U. (the Revolutionary Trade Union Federation) are making all kinds of concessions so as to bring about trade union unity in France. A few days ago the representatives of the C.G.T. (Reformist Trade Union Federation) and of the C.G.T.U. discussed the means of bringing about united action.

But even if working class unity is brought about in the trade unions and the political organizations, it will be insufficient to bar the advance of fascism in France. We must first and foremost win over the peasants. The majority of the peasants, especially in the south, as a section of the middle strata of the population, follow the Radical Socialist Party. That is to say, the united front must be extended and be transformed into a people's front to include the Radicals. The Communist Party has been proposing this for several months and it has finally succeeded in establishing a broad people's front.

After the open declaration made by de la Roque, the fascist leader, that: "We will wipe up the republic", a delegation composed of Communists, Socialists and Radical deputies went to the Prime Minister, Laval, to compel him to take action against the fascists. Laval was compelled to reply as follows:

"I will not allow any more public demonstrations on automobiles where firearms are displayed, and the use of airplanes."

This delegation was headed by Maurice Thorez, Leon Blum, Daladier, and Yvon Delbusse (a Radical, a close friend of Herriot, chairman of the parliamentary fraction of the Radicals). Thus, all the Left elements, from the Communists to the Radicals, participated more or less unanimously in this approach to Laval. After this, the leaders of the Radical Socialist Party ratified the agreement regarding the People's Front.

In the "People's Front" there are members of the "Vigilance Committee" (an organization of the French intellectuals). There are now 7,000 intellectuals affiliated to this committee. The most famous scientists, artists, writers and representatives of all fields of thought are affiliated through this committee to the People's Front. They are all full of fighting enthusiasm. They formulated their affiliation to the People's Front in the following way:

*"We place ourselves at the disposal of the working class, and do not pretend to lead them, but are prepared to serve them."*

It should be stated that in the recent period the Party has carried on successful work among the small shopkeepers, especially in Paris. In the recent period we have established contact with influential organizations of the small and middle shopkeepers and handicraftsmen. We take part in their meetings, and our slogans predominate there.

It is clear that fascism in France in its present, military or semi-

military, form differs from fascism in other countries in that it is not a mass movement, but a movement preparing a military fascist *coup d'état*. It is clear that French fascism also attempts to penetrate into the ranks of the working class. This winter, for instance, they organized free feeding ("soup for the people") for the unemployed in all the outskirts of Paris. The fascists are trying to bribe the unemployed by this means. But the unemployed ate these dishes and cried "Long live the Soviets". The working class of Paris are not to be bought with a free meal.

#### HAS FRENCH FASCISM A MASS BASIS?

The fascists put forward the slogan that "Members of the *Croix de Feu* will not be without work". The fascists, who have many big employers in their ranks, are able to supply work to their unemployed supporters. Thus the fascists who met with failure in the free distribution of meals, have turned to more cunning methods of work. In the factories they are spreading rumors to the effect that members of the *Croix de Feu* organizations will always, under all all circumstances, be assured of work. It is in this way that the fascists recruit new members in the enterprises, and set up their groups there.

We shall have to pay very much attention to the propaganda being carried on among the workers by the *Croix de Feu* organization. The Party must be specially watchful in relation to the electrical industry, which is of tremendous importance as far as industry and transport are concerned, and which is in the hands of the fascist leaders.

Now about the village. In the village the fascists are coming up against not only the Radicals who have the support of many middle and poor peasants, but also against our Communist organizations who during recent times have seriously developed their work in many provinces.

In the village, fascism derives its support from the big landowners, aristocrats with big aristocratic estates. For this reason, it cannot have authority among the peasants, among whom democratic traditions are strong.

We cannot say that the middle sections have completely been secure from fascist influence. But this influence at the present time has been very much shaken by the anti-fascist propaganda which has been energetically developed in France. We can say that the People's Front now has the support of a considerable section of the middle strata of the population in France. It must not be forgotten that a big number of the office employees in France (100,000) are decisively opposed to fascism.

To characterize the attitude of the masses to fascism, it is important to take account of the fact that the leader of the fascists, de la Roque, is a colonel and an aristocrat (a count). The fascist leaders are officers, landowners and priests. And in France not only the workers but the petty bourgeois families in the provinces, from generation to generation, hate the alliance of the "Sword and Censer," *i. e.*, the military and the churches who at the present time are the bearers of fascism. This facilitates our anti-fascist work among the masses.

In France, Republican and Jacobin traditions are strong among the working class, among the middle strata of the population, especially among the majority of the intellectuals. We want to unite all these elements in the "People's Front". At the present time we can speak of serious results which our work has brought in this sphere. We Communists will fight to extend the People's Front so as to include all honest democratic elements in the country in the joint struggle against fascism.

#### THE FRANCO-SOVIET AGREEMENT HAS STRENGTHENED OUR POSITION

The position of the Communists in the People's Front in France is a powerful one. The agreement for mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and France has still further strengthened this position.

Now, during the joint demonstrations in which the Radicals, Socialists and Communists take part, our Party is always in the advance guard. The Communist workers act as a sort of ferment to the discontent among the masses. The increase of our influence among the masses is proved, for instance, by the increase in the circulation of *L'Humanite*. No sooner does any political activity, strike or other important event take place than the circulation of *L'Humanite* increases. At times it has reached 600,000. This means that when the workers feel they are in danger, they come to us. The recent elections, which took place after the publication of the information about the Moscow conversation between Stalin and Laval, resulted in a considerable increase in the influence of the Communist Party (new members) which shows that the working class endorses the peace policy of the Soviet Government and the position of the Communist Party of France.

As regards the middle strata of the population, they consider that at the present time, in face of the Hitler menace in Europe, the agreement for mutual aid between France and the Soviet Union is a most important factor for the preservation of peace. Therefore, the Left press has taken up a position for support for the Soviet Union.

An important demonstration has taken place in Paris (the Congress for the Defence of Culture) where writers from all parts of the world gathered together. And not only foreign writers, but also the most important French writers solemnly declared their support for the Soviet Union and Communism, and declared war on fascism, recognizing that fascism brings in its train the downfall of culture.

All these various trends fundamentally consolidate the People's Front in our country.

#### ON THE EVE OF DECISIVE CONFLICTS

A conflict between the fascist and anti-fascist forces in France is coming to a head. All the events of recent times must be regarded from this angle.

The People's Front in Paris and in France consists as we have already stated, in the main, of Socialists, Communists and Radicals, and of the masses who support them, *i. e.*, of the majority of the French people. The fascists are trying to smash this force by a coup d'etat in which the military clique will play the chief role, as Storm Detachments,

All the organizations composing the People's Front decided to demonstrate in Paris on July 14, on the day commemorating the seizure of the Bastille. This implies that hundreds of thousands of workers and representatives of the middle strata will come onto the streets of Paris on this day. The *Croix de Feu* on their part have decided to organize a counter-demonstration on this day. The situation is a tense one. On June 27, *L'Humanite* wrote: "The people are in danger".

On July 14, tremendous masses of Parisians will declare their readiness to defend the Republic. On the other hand, the fascists have declared that they would prevent this demonstration taking place. We do not know in advance what position will be taken by the government, although it promised to forbid an armed demonstration of the *Croix de Feu*. We need only call to mind the fact that on the 19th of May 200,000 Paris workers took part in a demonstration to Pere La Chaise cemetery. The workers of France are anxious to enter the struggle. Their faith in the Communist Party and the Comintern is growing. They will not give way to the fascists without big struggles.

The Communist Party has in its ranks the most courageous sons of the proletariat. Its policy is one of defending all the immediate demands of the working class. Hundreds of Communist municipal councils defend the interests of the workers. The Party struggles against wage cuts, reductions in pensions, etc. The Party is with the workers everywhere, and is at the head of the mass struggles for the daily bread of the workers. The Party is appealing to the peasant poor, the ex-servicemen, and the small handicraftsmen and traders who are crushed by the crisis.

We have a precise program. We propose that the government, which is in difficulties as regards balancing the budget, should fix a high tax on big fortunes, and tax the rich but should not touch the wages of the workers nor the salaries of office workers, nor the pensions of ex-servicemen. We are firmly and stubbornly carrying on this work; it is the basis of our propaganda. The Communist Party is thus becoming more and more closely linked up with the workers, it is with them always and everywhere, defending their interests in the factory and in the street.

Up to this point I have spoken exclusively about Paris and the Paris district, where the Communist Party is stronger than all other political parties. I will say still a few words about the provinces. The influence of the Socialist Party is paramount in many big industrial towns in the provinces. But the Communists are in the majority in 300 municipal councils in the provinces, among which are some important ones. In general, it must be recognized that hitherto the Socialists have been stronger than we have been in the provinces.

The workers in the provinces, like the workers of Paris, are fully determined to fight against fascism. In the provinces the united front has been established everywhere, and the Communist Party is growing in the provinces as well. This has been shown by the elections in Toulon, where a riverside worker, a Communist, was elected to parliament in place of Renaudal. We are convinced that throughout the whole country

the Socialist workers and the Socialist youth will with their brother Communists give a bold repulse to the attacks of the fascists.

The united front and the People's Front which up till now have ensured that the advent of fascism to power in France has been prevented, will continue in the future as well to bar the road to fascism.

#### WHAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE EXPECTS FROM THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Communist Party of France expects first and foremost that the Seventh Congress will give a precise and profound analysis of fascism to correspond with the situation that has arisen at the present moment. We know that from the very first moment when fascism came on the scene, the Comintern at all its Congresses and Plenary Sessions of the E.C.C.I. showed that it clearly understood what fascism is. But there is no doubt that fascism evolves in the forms which it assumes, and that they change, depending on the country concerned.

French fascism is distinct from fascism in other countries. We need very seriously to estimate the specific physiognomy of French fascism, so that not every manifestation of reaction should be called fascism, as has frequently been the case hitherto. When analyzing the forces of fascism in France by comparison with fascism in other countries, we will have to clearly define the slogans of the day to day struggle against it. This is what the Seventh Congress must provide us with. Its decisions will be of tremendous importance at the present moment when the black slur of fascism is extending ever wider over the globe.

The Seventh Congress will also of course be faced by other important problems, namely, the struggle for peace, and the position of the proletariat in case of war. Here again, as in the case of the problem of fascism, the resolutions of the Sixth Congress will have to be brought more up to date. Now, since the establishment of the National-Socialist dictatorship, the war danger is different to what it was in 1928. The Seventh Congress will have to show how the crisis of capitalism was reflected in international relations at the present time, the danger of the anti-Soviet war.

The Seventh Congress will determine our tactical tasks in the struggle against fascism, war and the capitalist offensive. It will insistently stress the necessity for the establishment of the united proletarian front and the people's fighting front based on it, using the example of France.

The tremendous successes of the U. S. S. R. in constructing classless, Socialist society will become an ever more important factor in revolutionizing the workers throughout the world. These successes will also be summed up at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. The workers throughout the world are awaiting the decisions of the Seventh Congress with great impatience. They are directing their gaze towards Moscow, towards the Communist International, the most tested and trusted leader of the toilers throughout the world.

# Preparation for the Seventh Congress in the Press of the Sections of the Communist International

**T**HE September 4, 1934, resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. directed the Party press of the various sections of the Comintern to "commence at once to examine the questions on the agenda of the Seventh World Congress". The Communist Party press was faced with the task of mobilizing the Party actives and the entire mass of Party members for serious preparation for the Congress.

A number of Communist Parties discussed the problems of the Seventh Congress in their press. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties adopted special decisions on the preparations for the Congress. These decisions were published in the Party press in the corresponding countries, as well as in *The Communist International*.\*

The Communist Party of the United States of America and the Communist Party of England devoted special issues to the Congress, in which issues the general questions of the Communist International, as well as the experiences of their own Parties, were placed for discussion. The illegal press of the Communist Parties of Italy and Poland developed very wide preparations for the Congress, in which preparations the theoretical organs of the Party, as well as the newspapers, actively participated. The Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and Denmark issued special pamphlets—collections of articles—in preparation for the Congress.

In the majority of the Communist Parties which carried this discussion in preparation for the Congress in their press, at the center of the discussion was placed the problem of the united-front struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and war.

The problems of the united front, the positive and negative experiences in the carrying out of the tactics of the united front by the Party organizations, were discussed on the pages of the Polish, English, American, Holland and Czechoslovakian Party press in connection with the Seventh Congress. In their press these Communist Parties seriously noted a number of mistakes and shortcomings which should be avoided in Party practice in the application of the united front.

It is to be regretted that the press of these Communist Parties which have richer and more valuable experiences in the struggle for the united front—the Communist Parties of France, Austria and Greece, as well as the Communist Party of Germany—did not summarize their experiences for a deep and all-sided preparation for the Congress.

It is necessary to note that even those countries, where the Com-

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\* See "Decision of the Politburo of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of Germany and Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on preparations to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, published in *The Communist International*, 1934; the appeal published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.; decision of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Spain; decision of the Communist Party of England and Yugoslavia and resolutions of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of France, published in *The Communist International* during 1935.

munist press discussed their experiences in carrying through the united front, did not sufficiently link up their experiences with the experiences of other parties, with the experiences in the struggle for the united front on an international scale.

In the articles by the American comrades in the January issues of *The Communist* the question of the united front was correctly linked up with the main slogan of the international Communist movement—the slogan of Soviet power.

In discussing the international questions in connection with the Congress, the entire Communist press utilized the material published in *The Communist International*, and particularly the editorial, "From Shaken Stabilization to a New Round of Revolutions and Wars". This editorial was reprinted in the Communist organs of a number of countries. But some organs of the Party press considered it permissible to limit themselves to merely reprinting this editorial without giving any of their own theoretical material, material which might deepen and enrich the problems to be discussed by the Congress. *This, for example, happened in the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of France.*

In spite of the achievements of some of the Communist Parties in developing in the press, preparations for the Seventh Congress, they, undoubtedly, did not utilize all the available possibilities for a deep and all-sided carrying through of these preparations. It is, therefore, desirable that the press of the Sections of the Comintern be found on a higher level in discussing the results of the Seventh Congress.

Below we print a review of the press of a few C. I. Sections.

THE THEORETICAL MONTHLY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.  
ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS

In the January number *The Communist* began the discussion of the questions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. Unfortunately, however, the four following numbers of the magazine (February, March, April and May), while they also gave interesting material, did not pay attention to a direct discussion of these questions.

The June number, which we are here reviewing, contains mainly material analyzing the questions of the Seventh Congress. This number contains the following articles: Stachel, "The Fight of the Steel Workers for their Union"; Harrison George, "The Filipino Masses Enter the Stage of Armed Struggle for Freedom"; Hathaway, "The Struggle for the United Front" (Contribution to the discussion preceding the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern); Bittelman, "Approaching the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International"; Benjamin, "The Unemployment Movement in the U.S.A."; Shaw, "Initiating Labor Party Tickets"; Brown, "Toward the Study of Fascization in the United States" (a discussion article), and finally a resolution adopted by the Chicago District Committee of the Communist Party on the development of struggle for Negro rights.

Comrade Stachel, in his article, analyzes the trade-union work of the Party in its most important field—among the steel workers and within their union. The Communist Party of the United States of America correctly raised the slogan of trade-union unity and is fighting

to strengthen the existing trade unions of the A. F. of L., to turn them into organs of struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and war. The Communists have undertaken to strengthen the tottering steel workers' union with particular energy and have begun to organize struggles. The members of the revolutionary steel workers' union went into the American Federation of Labor union. In answer to this the trade-union bureaucrats have begun to provoke a split in the unified trade union through expulsions. But the Communists and the "Left" workers and functionaries have not yielded to this provocation and are continuing to carry on further work in strengthening the union; they are striving to isolate the reactionary bureaucracy and assure the unity of the union. The experience gained in this struggle has great significance not only for the Communist Party of the United States of America, but also for other Sections of the Comintern.

Comrade Harrison's article correctly emphasizes the duty of the Communist Party of the United States of America to support the national-revolutionary struggle of the Philippines. It is possible that Comrade Harrison somewhat exaggerated the weaknesses of the Party in this field, and we hope that in reality the Party gave serious, practical assistance and support to the Philippine national-liberation movement, as advised by the Second Congress of the Comintern.

The fact that the Chicago District Committee (in the resolution published in this issue of the magazine) made a self-critical analysis of the experiences and shortcomings of the work of the Party in the "Black Belt" of Chicago (the Negro area of the city), must be greeted.

Let us now turn to the articles which discuss the problems of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern directly. Comrade Hathaway's article gives the history of the development of the Comintern struggle for the united front and explains the tactics of the united front. (The second part of the article will deal with the problems of the united front in the U.S.A. and will appear in the next issue of the magazine.) Comrade Hathaway's article will help the Party explain the united front tactics of the Comintern in the present period. But it seems to us that while Comrade Hathaway correctly emphasizes the great significance of the development of the united front from below, he forgets to explain the role which a united front and united front pacts between the Communist and Socialist Parties and organizations plays in giving full scope to and developing the united front from below.

Comrade Bittelman in his article writes about the experiences of the Party in connection with the problems which will be taken up at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. The article is not badly written. We wish to make only a few remarks on the content. Comrade Bittelman writes that in calling for a bigger and stronger N.I.R.A., in supporting the Wagner Bill, etc., the reformist leaders are calling for "more and quicker fascization". It is true that Comrade Bittelman appears to speak about the Right reformist leaders who undoubtedly show elements of fascization here and there; but in as much as Comrade Bittelman says practically nothing about the other reformists and emphasizes only the need for a united front from below, the result is that the question is placed in a one-sided manner.

It also seems to us that while in some places Comrade Bittelman emphasizes the fascist features of the Roosevelt policy and of those strata of the bourgeoisie which support him (for example, on the Wagner Bill), he does not sufficiently expose the fascist tendencies of the more reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. (the Republican Party, the Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association, etc.), and the role of the openly fascist and semi-fascist organizations and demagogues (Liberty League, American Legion, Long, Coughlin, etc.).

Comrade Brown's article is valuable in that it is the first attempt to analyze fascism in the U.S.A. The statement made by Comrade Brown that the policy of Roosevelt bears features of fascization is undoubtedly correct. It is also correct to say that in its first period this policy was the main source of fascization for the bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. But in the present stage, fascism in the U.S.A. emanates first of all from that section of the bourgeoisie which achieved the liquidation of the N.I.R.A. Unless one is clear on this, one cannot successfully fight for the formation of an anti-fascist front.

Comrade Benjamin's article is devoted to the experiences of the Party among the unemployed since the beginning of the crisis, and to the present tasks of the Party.

Comrade Shaw in his article gives the results of very interesting experiences of Party work in the 1934 elections in the mining communities of Southern Illinois. In some places Communist candidates participated in these elections on a local Labor Party ticket. Experience has shown that the Party correctly and opportunely raised the slogan of building a broad Labor Party.

Thus the June issue of *The Communist* contains sufficiently rich material for a discussion of the problems of the Seventh Congress. Some of the points in the articles require further discussion. This is quite obvious. By strengthening its work and expanding the scope of the questions discussed in *The Communist*, the Party will be aided in thoroughly understanding the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and in decisively advancing the struggle against the offensive of capital and fascism and the threat of war, against capitalist exploitation, for the united front, for the proletarian revolution. (I.M.)

#### THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE SEVENTH CONGRESS IN THE PRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND

Preparations for the Seventh Congress of the Comintern were begun in the Communist Party press of Poland in January, 1935, with a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland on preparations for the Congress and an article by Comrade Lensky: "The Communist Party of Poland Before the Seventh Congress of the Communist International."

The central place in the preparations for the Congress was occupied by the problems of the united front. Under conditions of a very sharp fascist offensive, the Communist Party of Poland has been successful in achieving substantial results in applying united-front tactics as well as in developing strike struggles. The articles devoted to the preparations

for the Congress carefully analyze the most important examples of action of the Polish proletariat on the basis of a united front.

In these articles, and particularly in Comrade Lensky's article, a number of mistakes and shortcomings, which were made in carrying out the tactics of a united front, are pointed out. The most important are:

1. As yet insufficient penetration into Socialist organizations. In many cases when establishing the united front, our organizations limited themselves to the trade unions alone. The necessary counter-action to the pressure of the leaders of the Socialist Party of Poland and the Bund, who forbade the local organizations to enter into negotiations with the Communists, was lacking.

2. The tendency in a number of organizations to make a passive, declaratory united front, to sign abstract declarations instead of concrete fighting agreements.

3. The tendency existing in some links of the Party to carry on a correspondence with the leadership of the Socialist Party and passively wait for an answer from them, instead of carrying on independent work among the masses and actively struggling for the united front.

4. The existence, as yet, in some places, of sectarian disregard and distrust of the possibilities of organizing the united front, underestimation of work in reformist trade unions, a "haughty" inattentive attitude toward those opposition elements in the Socialist Parties which are swinging to the Left and desire unity of action.

The preparations for the Congress in the press of the Communist Party of Poland were conducted under the slogan of creating a united front of the proletariat and a broad people's anti-fascist front. The Communist Party press of Poland fought against the Right opportunist distortion of this tactic, as well as against the "Left" sectarian tendencies. In a dispute with the Socialists who oppose the people's anti-fascist front, the *Novy Psheglond* in particular, explained that in forming a people's anti-fascist front on the basis of partial political demands, with the toiling peasant masses for example, the Communist Party does not make it a condition that they recognize the Communist program.

The Party press criticized the shortcomings in the trade-union movement with all its force. At present it is not only a question of Communists entering mass trade unions and exposing the reformist leaders. *The main task now is to draw entire trade unions together with their leadership into the struggle against the offensive of fascism.* Because of this it is necessary to apply more flexible tactics. Comrade Lensky, in his article "The Struggle Decides" points out the mistakes of the Warsaw Left trade-union opposition which, in its negotiations with the Socialist Party of Poland concentrated all its attention on organizational forms, and writes:

"The chief attention must be directed on the struggle, on demands and slogans. The Communists recognize the leadership of the trade unions in the organization of struggles and they cooperate with them if the given leadership really carries on a struggle. The Communists consider that the most effective form of leadership, the form which gives the best guarantee of the success of the struggle is committees chosen by the masses and

closely connected with them. . . . But if there has been no success in forming such committees to lead the strike and if the trade union is leading the struggle with the help of other organs, then the Communists should enter these organs as a minority, activating them and drawing the masses into participation in the leadership, while at the same time trying to create mass organs and to win the support of the majority of the workers for their proposals and slogans."

The Communist Party press of Poland devotes much space to a discussion of questions connected with work in the village and with the policy of the Party in regard to the peasantry. A careful analysis has been made of the reasons for a certain weakening in the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry in Poland in the period after the insurrectionary acts of the peasants of Middle Galicia in 1933 up to the autumn of 1934 when the movement again began to rise. This question is analyzed in detail in the article by Comrade Henrikovsky, "On Our Tactics in the Village" (*Novy Psheglond*—January, 1935).

Comrade Henrikovsky writes that the chief weakness of the work of Party organizations in the village is their inability to change their tactics quickly to correspondent with those upheavals which have taken place in the village, particularly in connection with certain changes in the fascist policy on the question of the peasantry. A certain unprogressiveness and triteness was to be observed in putting forth demands and in choosing one or the other form of struggle. After the crushing of the Galician uprising, when the government began to shower demagogic promises on the peasantry with a generous hand and soon after put forth a program of the liquidation of the debts in the village, many Party organizations limited themselves to general agitation for the boycott of taxes and were not able to *organize the movement* of the peasantry for a refusal to pay taxes sufficiently flexibly and concretely.

The Party must become the leader and organizer of a broad, anti-fascist front; it must head the resistance of the toilers against fascism. The Party organizations do not as yet cope sufficiently well with the task of drawing entire sections of the Peasant Party into the anti-fascist front of struggle. The Communist Party press of Poland criticized the shortcomings of the work of the Party in the village and criticized various manifestations of sectarianism as regards the Peasant Party. It raised the question of the need for consolidating work among the agricultural proletariat as the main support of the Party in the village; it pointed out the shortcomings and showed how to overcome them.

A number of articles in the *Novy Psheglond* (Comrades Belevsky, Albert) and in *Chervony Standard* are devoted to Party organizational questions. Within the past five years the Party has almost tripled its membership. In this connection the political education of the many thousands of young members of the Party and the training and promotion of Party cadres assume particular importance. The new methods of carrying out united-front tactics, which make it necessary for the illegal activists to negotiate with legal organizations, have intensified police terror still more, making the problem of training and promoting new cadres an especially important one. The Party can already record a

number of cases of the successful promotion of worker-activists to leading positions. But much remains to be done in this field, for the question of renewing and extending cadres is a question of the perspectives of development of the Party and the entire movement. Comrade Belevsky, in his article places the question of increasing inner-Party democracy as one of the conditions of training and promoting cadres.

It is impossible for us to list here all the problems raised in the Communist Party press of Poland in connection with preparations for the Seventh Congress. Worthy of note are the articles on the national question in the practice of the Communist Party of Poland, on work in the trade unions, among the youth, on unemployment, on the war danger.

The article "Unity of Action on the Front of the National Struggle" (*Novy Psheglond*) gives the international experience of the Communist Parties in the application of united-front tactics in the national-liberation struggle (Saar Basin, Alsace). The breaking up of the agencies of the Communist Parties of Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, the struggle against the concrete preparations by fascism for an anti-Soviet war—all these questions are discussed in the Party press.

In the article "The Struggle for the Youth", Comrade Brunn strikes the alarm on the question of the threat of a consolidation of the position of fascism among the masses of toiling youth. All efforts must be made to strengthen and expand Communist work among the youth, applying more flexible methods in this work. The Young Communists of Poland should live the life and problems of the youth and should not replace the Party, as has sometimes happened.

In conclusion it is worth mentioning the fact that *The Communist International* editorial "From Shaken Stabilization to a New Round of Revolutions and Wars" served as the basis for the preparations for the Seventh Congress in the Communist Party press of Poland. The editorial was printed in Polish in the *Novy Psheglond* and appeared as a separate pamphlet in the White Russian and Jewish languages.

#### DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY PRESS OF ITALY

The Italian Communist Party began discussion in connection with the Seventh Congress in June, 1934. The agenda of the Congress was printed in No. 6 of the illegal Party newspaper *Unita* and the comrades were invited to discuss the chief questions of the Communist Party of Italy on the basis of the experiences of their district organizations.

An article on the Congress was published in the *Stato Operaio*, theoretical organ of the Party, under the heading "Party Life". This article emphasized the significance of the assistance given the Communist Party of Italy by the Comintern in the struggle against the doctrinaire "Left" opportunism represented by Bordiga and in the struggle against Right opportunism in 1929-1930. Further the writer of the article emphasized the need for popularizing the problems of international policy and the international labor movement among Party members and pointed out that the campaign in preparation for the Seventh Congress of the Comintern should proceed from a re-study of the decisions of

the last Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and an accurate critical check-up of the application of these decisions by the Party. This check-up and study must be accompanied by the study and popularization of the results of the Comintern policy in all fields.

The article explains the counter-revolutionary essence of Trotskyist ideology, emphasizes the importance of the struggle which the Party has carried on and must carry on against remnants of Bordigism, against sectarianism and Right opportunism, for raising the international spirit of the Party members. The struggle for the line of the Comintern and against opportunism is, for the Communist Party of Italy, a struggle to reestablish contact with the masses, to overcome sectarianism and lack of confidence in the fighting ability of the toiling masses.

The question—what is fascism and how to fight against it—is raised in No. 8 of *Unita* under the heading, "Preparation for the Seventh Congress of the Comintern". The article criticizes the work of the Party in its inability to make a timely turn to mass work within the fascist organizations.

In the article, "Our Party Must Become the Recognized Leader of the Italian Working Class and of All Toilers" (*Unita*, No. 10) the tasks of the mass work of the Party are also discussed. Towards the end of 1934 an article by Comrade Madji appeared in *Stato Operajo* reviewing the activities of the Comintern. "The Struggle for the Bolshevization of Our Party from the Sixth to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern" was published in No. 12 of *Unita*. The article analyzes the struggle of the Communist Party of Italy against Right and "Left" opportunists and points out that sectarianism has not yet been completely liquidated in its ranks. Indisputable remnants of Bordigism still exist among many comrades who want to "First organize and then carry on mass work", who fear mass work and treat the workers who are members of mass organizations as fascists with whom it is impossible to work. The need to struggle against these remnants of sectarianism is correctly emphasized.

In 1935 the Communist Party of Italy continued to discuss problems connected with the Congress, in its press. An article entitled, "How Our Organizations Should Prepare for the Congress", appeared in the first number of *Unita* for 1935. This article contains a list of political questions which the comrades should study and examine closely:

1. The appraisal of the world situation as given by the Comintern and the appraisal of the situation in Italy as given by the Communist Party of Italy. The fascist "Corporate State" the organization of intensive exploitation of the masses; economic, military, and ideological preparation for war. If fascism is seeking a way out through war, the working class and toilers are seeking a way out through the overthrow of the fascist and capitalist system—through revolution. The workers must fight against war and for revolution under the leadership of the C.P.

2. No power will fall of itself; it must be overthrown. A revolutionary party which is able to lead the revolutionary masses is needed. The mass work of the Party and its special tasks under the conditions of the fascist "totalitarian" regime. The experiences of the Party organizations in mass struggle, on the basis of the directives of the Party, in the field of economic, trade union and political struggle;

in the field of the struggle against war and the militarization of peasant labor; in the field of work for winning the youth, the masses of women, etc. The united front as a very important means of broadening the mass, anti-fascist struggle: the experiences and criticism of the work carried on in this sense.

3. Organizational forms and experiences of mass work (in the trade unions, mutual benefit societies, etc.). A change in the methods of this work in connection with the corrected line of the Party in mass work.

4. Party—organizational questions in mass work.

In connection with preparations for the Seventh Congress, the Italian Party press and the articles of the Italian comrades in the discussion pages of *The Communist International*\* paid the greatest attention to analyzing the policy of the Party in its struggle against fascism. For example, an article entitled, "The Struggle on Two Fronts for the Revolutionary Party Line", was published in the *Unita* (No. 3, 1935), in the section devoted to the preparations for the Seventh Congress. The practical manifestations of Right and "Left" opportunism in the work of the Communist Party of Italy are analyzed in this article, and concrete advice is given on how to struggle against these manifestations.

The articles by Comrades Ercoli and Roncoli published in *The Communist International* and *Stato Operaio* give an analysis of the essence and policy of Italian fascism and point out a number of shortcomings in the work of the Party in the struggle against fascism.

In his article, Comrade Ercoli shows that fascism gave the Italian bourgeoisie that which it always lacked—a strong, centralized, united Party which has its own armed forces. The fascist party is a party of the bourgeoisie and is adopted to the period of the collapse of capitalism and to the period of the proletarian revolution; is adopted to the conditions of open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and the broad masses of the toilers.

At the same time Comrade Ercoli points out the growing dissatisfaction of the workers and of part of the petty-bourgeoisie elements who supported the fascists until recently. The mass base of the fascist party is already showing cracks and these cracks can be made wider and deeper if the Communist Party shows itself capable of strengthening its ideological and political struggle against fascism.

In characterizing the lagging of the Communist Party of Italy behind its tasks in the struggle against fascism, Comrade Ercoli writes:

"At the same time that we spoke about the historical inevitability of the proletarian revolution we forget that the most essential is the creation of political and organizational conditions under which the working class can develop its revolutionary struggle. . . . Our Party was not able to adapt its tactics and organizational forms to the new situation and maintain its contact with the masses. . . . It did not understand in time that the

\* See Comrade Roncoli's article: "The Basic Lessons of the Struggle of the Communist Party of Italy Against Fascism under the Conditions of the 'Totalitarian' Regime"; Comrade Ercoli's article "Weakness in the Work of the Communist Party of Italy in the Struggle Against Fascism (*The Communist International*); the article by Comrade Roncoli "The Communist Party of Italy Must Come Out of Its Underground Position" (answer to Comrade Tunelli). All these articles have been published in Italian in *Stato Operaio* (Nos. 4, 5, 6, 1935).

pivot of work could and should have been, not the distribution of literature, but the direct work of the Party members in mass fascist organizations, in the trade unions, cooperatives, "Dopolavoro", mutual aid societies, etc."

Comrade Roncoli also criticizes the work of the Communist Party, pointing out considerable remnants of sectarian reticence in the work of the Party organizations.

"The basic mistake of the Party," writes Comrade Roncoli, "was that it allowed the fascist reaction to chase it far underground."

The articles by Comrades Ercoli and Roncoli give a critical estimation of the Party work of the Communist Party of Italy. This cannot be said of Comrade Nikoletti's article in *Stato Operaio* (No. 4-5, 1935). This article demands special analysis.

Comrade Nikoletti correctly takes a stand against the liquidationist and capitulatory tendencies which appeared in the camp of Social-Democracy during the years of the fascist dictatorship. He is also correct when he says that only the Communist Party has been able to hold out and fight under the conditions of fascist reaction, that the Party fought against liquidators and Right and "Left" opportunists, clearing them out from its ranks. It is also true that the Party continually tried to maintain contacts with the masses in order to lead the struggle. But, regardless of this, the general line of Comrade Nikoletti's article is absolutely different from the lines of all the other articles published in *The Communist International*, *Stato Operaio* and *Unita*. The analysis which Comrade Nikoletti makes of mass Party work does not correspond with the views expressed by the other comrades and is incorrect. Comrade Nikoletti writes, among other things:

"In answer to those who slander mass work under conditions of fascist dictatorship, those who still dare to state that this work is not being carried on or is not bring positive results we say that, considering the fact that fascism is still in power and that there have been no general strikes and uprisings in Italy which have directly threatened fascism, *the results of our mass work in Italy are definitely positive* in spite of those great sacrifices which it demands of the working class and its Party."

Comrade Nikoletti is mistaken when he says that the "results of our Party mass work are definitely positive".

If what Comrade Nikoletti writes were true, then it would be useless to spend so much time and energy looking for the reasons which led to the isolation of the Party from the masses over a period of a number of years; it would be nearly useless to search for the mistakes and shortcomings which were made precisely in the leadership of mass work.

The persistence with which the Party has continued to exist and has striven to move forward, the heroic and brave struggle of its members, many of whom are doomed to long years of hard labor and exile—all this is political capital of which the Communist Party of Italy can be justly proud. But this in no way means that the results of the mass work of the Italian Party have always been positive.

It is true, of course, that the activities of the Communist Party of Italy moderated the appetites of the employers in their wage-cutting campaign. The Party was absolutely correct in stating that the fact that the bourgeoisie was forced to abolish the Bedeaux speed-up system is a victory for the Communists and the General Confederation of Labor. But we cannot pass over the fact that of the thousands of strikes which are mentioned in the report of the Italian Minister of Justice, only a small part were organized and led by the Communists.

Comrade Nikoletti exaggerates the role of the Communist Party in the strike of women workers on the rice plantations in 1931 and in the strike of the Milan metal workers in 1933. One may not object to Comrade Nikoletti's appraisal of the strike of women workers on the rice plantations, but can one deny that during the strike the work of the Party was practically entirely limited to the distribution of printed material, and that after the strike—as well as during the strike—the Party was unable to maintain contact with the women strikers? This strike is an example of how mass work should not be conducted.

The work of the Communist Party of Italy was still weaker in the strike of the Milan metal workers. The Party distributed thousands of proclamations, but did nothing concrete to draw the masses into participation in the meetings of the fascist trade union. As a result of this, only a few tens of thousands of workers of the hundreds of thousands who were interested in the struggle against wage-cuts participated in this meeting. However, there where the Party is able to utilize correctly legal possibilities, there where the comrades carry on real mass work, there the majority of workers come to trade-union meetings.

The same shortcomings in the work of the Communist Party of Italy, as in its work during the rice and Milan strikes, are evidenced in the other strikes as well to which Comrade Nikoletti refers.

One must be honest enough to recognize the fact that *only* in the past few months has the Italian Communist Party begun to do real mass work adapted to the conditions of the fascist dictatorship. It has begun this work in spite of the resistance of some elements inside the Party and even on the Polbureau. But it would be a serious political mistake to say that the mass work of the Party already deserves a positive appraisal. In the course of work and struggle, the Communist Party of Italy, under the leadership of the Comintern, will succeed in clearing its ranks of sectarianism and passivity, the great obstacle in its mass work up until now; its first successes in the concrete application of the correct political line will become broader and deeper.

On the whole we can say that the Communist Party of Italy has made a significant contribution to the discussion on the preparation for the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

The chief problems which the Communist Party of Italy analyzed and penetrated into in this discussion were the following: the essence of fascism, its organizational forms, its policy and social demogogy, the work of the Communist Party, its mistakes and shortcomings, especially the weakness in its mass work.

The united front and the youth question were not covered deeply enough in the discussion. One must also mention the fact that the middle and lower cadres of the Party did not participate sufficiently in the discussion.

# On the Trail of the N. I. R. A. \*

By F. I. MINGULIN

**T**HE epic of the National Industrial Recovery Act has ended. The Recovery Act was adopted two years ago—in June, 1933. It would be safe to say that no single legislative act passed by any bourgeois government has ever given rise to as much literature as has Roosevelt's Recovery Act. Within the short period of one and a half to two years, the N.I.R.A. caused an increase, first of all, in the publishing business. In America alone, dozens of thick books, written by representatives of all tendencies, have appeared. Professor Howard Piquet's book, containing only the laws passed in connection with the N.R.A., is itself a good-sized volume which has already been published in more than one edition.

*The Economic Consequences of the New Deal*, by Stolberg and Winton, published this year, is one of the last books written during the existence of the N.R.A. It shows how those social elements who praised the N.R.A. at the beginning, are now turning away from it and criticizing it. At the same time, it also shows, although not from a proletarian point of view, how the policy of the N.R.A. has served the interests of big capital.

The authors of the book—both well-known journalists—compare the present crisis in the U.S.A. with the crisis of 1776 and 1861. They speak "in the name of the people" against big business. "That what is good for Big Ownership is bad for the rest of us" (p. 4). In their opinion, Roosevelt did not understand this: "He did not rise up to Washington and Lincoln". "His whole policy is bent on ignoring the contradictions in our economy". Roosevelt, according to the authors of the book, wanted to please both sides. As we see, they criticize Roosevelt from a liberal standpoint. The book, though, is written in a lively style, is condensed, and the material has been skilfully chosen.

The authors spitefully ridicule the "New Deal", which they show to contain nothing new, just as there was nothing new in the "New Era" and "New Freedom", etc., which preceded it.

"The Brain Trusters are nothing but settlement workers who want the big bad bankers and the good little workers to play together in peace" (p. 12).

After such an introduction, the authors attack the policy of recovery from all sides beginning by knocking "prosperity" off its pedestal.

"It has cost America \$20,000,000,000 to learn the simple economic lesson that a 'favorable balance of trade' is neither favorable nor balanced" (p. 13).

A balance which is endlessly favorable becomes a boomerang, for, in the long run, the other countries turn out to be insolvent. The same is true of prosperity. "Prosperity is nothing but a boom in the 'favorable' balance of Big Ownership". This balance is finally exhausted as a result of the insolvency of the robbed masses.

\* *The Economic Consequences of the New Deal*—B. Stolberg and W. Winton.

This is particularly well-illustrated in the cigarette industry, where four companies are in almost complete control. Here 53,119,000,000 cigarettes were produced in 1919 by 24,474 workers. In 1931, 117,064,000,000 cigarettes were produced by 20,146 workers in this trade. Thus, while production increased by 120 per cent, the number of workers decreased by 18 per cent. Who gained and who lost? The wages of those workers who still remained employed fell from \$853 in 1919 to \$727 in 1931, and \$613 in 1933. The wages fund of the workers in the tobacco industry was 30 per cent lower in 1931 than in 1919, although production had doubled. The workers were "penalized", so to speak, for the twofold production and improvement in technique. The farmers, who raised the tobacco, also lost. The monopolists decreased the price of the raw product from 32 cents per English pound in 1919, to 8.2 cents in 1931, and neither did the smokers gain anything since the price of cigarettes remained as it had been.

Who gained? Big capital—factory owners, board members, directors and advertising firms were the winners. The president of the American Tobacco Company, George Washington Hill, officially received \$825,600 in 1931, or \$16,000 per week, while the wages of the workers were \$14 per week. The invested capital of the four companies showed earnings of 10.1 per cent in 1920, and, in 1931, 16.3 per cent, or 25.5 per cent on the basis of the capital of 1920. The wages of the workers in 1931 were only 1.9 per cent of the cost of production. If the company had raised the wages of the cigarette workers by 10 per cent, this would have cost them only 1 per cent of their yearly profit.

However, although during the N.R.A., 90 per cent of American industry was under the code system, the tobacco industry resisted its introduction. More than that, even though the bosses of the tobacco industry rejected the codes, they immediately utilized the price-raising policy. The tobacco companies raised wholesale prices by \$60,000,000, under the pretext that the price of raw materials had increased by \$10,000,000, because of Roosevelt's policy of subsidizing the planters for decreasing the sown area. This is the "New Deal", and Mr. Roosevelt, who fully appreciated the services of Mr. Clay Williams, president of the Reynolds Tobacco Company, appointed the latter president of the National Industrial Recovery Board.

Three chapters of the book are devoted to an analysis of the condition of big capital, of the petty bourgeoisie (including the farmers), and finally, those of the workers under the N.R.A. "The bigger the ownership, the better it did" (p. 22), write the authors. They further show that this also applies to the period of "prosperity", to the pre-Roosevelt crisis period, as well as to the period of the N.R.A.

The authors criticize with particular heat the position of the "forgotten man", on whose shoulders Roosevelt came into power, and about whose soul the Republican Party is now getting so excited.

"The New Deal cannot help the small investments of the 'forgotten man' without thereby remembering those of the House of Morgan" (p. 27), since "under capitalism, not man, but property is free and equal" (p. 27).

"Thus, under Roosevelt", write the authors, "the rich have done vastly better than the rest of us" (p. 35), "at the expense of all the rest of us" (p. 36), "the middle classes save so that the rich may own" (p. 41).

The authors criticize particularly sharply the attempts of American big capital to achieve its aims through the N.R.A. by limiting production, destroying crops, etc., *i.e.*, by creating a shortage.

"The World War", write the authors, "was the greatest Public Works project in all history. . . . But what most pleased Big Ownership about this wartime project was that the Public Works created by it were immediately shot to hell in defense of its 'freedom', and not left over to get funny and compete permanently with private property."

In such a spiteful manner do the authors sum up their criticism of the "New Deal" and the N.R.A.:

"There is nothing the New Deal has so far done that could not have been done better by an earthquake. A first-rate earthquake, from coast to coast, could have re-established scarcity much more effectively and put all the survivors to work for the greater glory of Big Business—with far more speed and far less noise than the New Deal" (p. 85).

Such is the criticism. But what are the conclusions? How should Roosevelt's policy be fought against, and what should be counterposed to it? Here, the authors can squeeze nothing more out of themselves than general phrases about the need of "socialist planning". But how can one attain socialist planning? There are not a few people in the Second International who even now have nothing against calling Roosevelt's policy, so successfully exposed by the authors, "socialist planning"—who say that it needs only to be carried out by "Socialists". Furthermore, the Socialist leaders of the Second International called this policy "a step toward socialism". But the authors of the book have well shown who gained from such a "socialism".

At present the New Deal does not satisfy big capital—the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., the Manufacturers' Association, the bankers, and the Republican Party. These more reactionary circles of finance capital are utilizing the dissatisfaction of the masses with the N.R.A. to stealthily burden them with even greater exploitation and in order to strengthen fascism. This demands the concentration of the forces of the workers and toilers against reaction and fascism, which are raising their heads. Fascism can be stopped and destroyed only by force, by victories in battle, and in the revolutionary class struggles.

How to struggle against fascism, the authors do not tell us.

The Communists give their answer to this question. Those in whose name the authors desire to speak, *i.e.*, those classes which big capital exploits, the great mass of the American people, are now beginning to rally for struggle against finance capital, hunger, fascism and war. The Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class and of all the toilers will lead this struggle, rallying the toiling and oppressed masses of the city and village around the revolutionary proletariat.

# V. I. Lenin: Selected Works, Volume I.

*Reviewed by T. B.*

**T**HE workers of the English speaking countries are fortunate in being provided with the new collection of Selected Works of Lenin issued by the Cooperative Publishing Society for Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., Moscow. This enterprising society of publishers is projecting to issue in twelve volumes, and in a number of languages, a selection of the most important articles, speeches, documents, books and excerpts from books, contained in the complete Russian edition of Lenin's works, which runs into 30 volumes.

Already six volumes of these *Selected Works* have appeared in English, carefully translated and prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of Moscow. It is a veritable treasure in economic and political literature. Before us lies the first volume. This volume deals with the prerequisites for the first Russian Revolution (1894-1899). By way of introduction to the whole twelve volumes this first volume following a brief preface contains an authenticated biography of Lenin running into a hundred pages. Compact, documented by reference, and dated, the author, V. Sorin, gives the reader a graphic chronological account of Lenin's life and work embracing his activities in every sphere of his life, as youth, student, propagandist, organizer, author, exile, emigrant, editor, Party leader and genius of the proletarian revolution.

As companion to the short biography the book contains a valuable essay on the international significance of Leninism and how to study Lenin, by V. Adoratsky, director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of Moscow. Adoratsky directs attention to the necessity when studying Lenin's literary works, closely to combine this with a study of the activities and conditions under which Lenin worked.

In studying the prerequisites of the first revolution this volume opens with an essay on "The Agrarian Revolution in Russia at the End of the Nineteenth Century", which was written for Granats Encyclopedic Dictionary in 1908. Forbidden to be published by the tsarist censorship it was not till 1918 that it appeared in pamphlet form. This essay deals with the problems of agrarian theory and expounds the Bolshevik Agrarian Program in the conditions of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

With voluminous facts and statistics in hand, Lenin analyzes the growth of the process of capitalist development in agriculture, especially following the abolition of serfdom in 1861, tracing the development of capitalist relationships in the countryside beneath the survivals of serfdom. He conducts a brilliant polemic and exposure of the petty-bourgeois theories of the Narodniki (People's Movement) which under cover of "socialistic" phrases and ideas in reality sought to preserve and consolidate small enterprises within the framework of capitalism.

The English reader will find in this essay a theoretical analysis of agricultural problems still standing before the proletarian revolution in England and Ireland. Lenin's arguments, though based upon the condi-

tions of agriculture in the Russia of the 'nineties is surprisingly fresh and applicable to present day problems in England and Ireland. His thrusts at the Narodniki will be found to be applicable to our labor and "socialist" reformists and petty-bourgeois land reformers of today.

One of Lenin's fundamental works consisted in writing a book on *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Arrested in December, 1895, and kept in prison for fourteen months, Lenin was then exiled to Eastern Siberia for three years. While in prison he began to work on this great book which he completed in 1899 when in exile. *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* gives the reader a profound analysis of the social and economic system, and consequently of the class structure of Russia in the pre-revolutionary epoch. With an amazing abundance of statistical materials, which he contrived to smuggle through under the most difficult conditions, he traces the trend of development of economic relations in the countryside, and, answering the arguments of the Narodniki, conclusively proved that the Russian countryside was developing towards capitalism.

The value of this stupendous work lies in the emphasis it places upon the importance of the proletariat to the peasantry in the economy of the country; and in that it explains the bourgeois-democratic nature of the impending revolution and the leading role which the working class would inevitably have to play in it. A study of these selected chapters is indispensable for every student of Marxism-Leninism, particularly for the leading cadres of Communist Parties in the English speaking countries.

Under the heading "The Fight for the Hegemony of the Proletariat" this volume contains excerpts from another brilliant pamphlet "What the 'Friends of the People' Are, etc.", a reply to "The Critical Remarks on the Question of the Economic Development of Russia" by P. Struve, entitled "The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book"; draft and explanation of the program of the Social-Democratic Party, and "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats".

Lack of space does not allow us to deal with all these important works of Lenin. We would only direct attention to the Draft Program. After presenting the tasks before the Russian Social-Democratic Party a series of demands are formulated for the urban proletariat and for the peasantry. Lenin then proceeds to give a detailed explanation of the Program, taking point by point, analyzing and explaining each with meticulous care. As a model in method and popularity in explanation applied on the basis of Marxism we recommend this work to the cadres of our brother Parties in the English speaking countries who are now confronted with programs for Soviet Power.

A valuable appendix to the book, the whole of which runs into 560 pages is the series of Explanatory Notes in small type of 30 pages. These Notes are a mine of historic facts and reference serving to elucidate the text and simplifying problems for the reader, and well as reconstructing a number of the outposts in the history of Leninism and the Bolshevik Party.

The book is artistically got up in stiff dark green covers with gold lettering, printed in clear type and on thin paper with statistical tables admirably arranged. With such a library at our disposal the development of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, in the English speaking countries, will be given a tremendous impulse forward.

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