THE COMMUNIST

OCTOBER, 1930 25c

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF THE COMMUNIST, published Monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1930.

State of New York
County of New York

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Marie Reiss, who, having been duly sworn, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Communist, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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Publisher, Communist Party of U. S. A., 43 East 125th St., New York City.

Editor, Max Bedacht, 43 East 125th St., New York City.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, Marie Reiss, 39 East 125th St., New York City.

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

Communist Party of U. S. A., 43 East 125th St., New York City.

Max Bedacht, Earl Browder and Robert Minor, Secretariat, 43 East 125th Street, New York City.

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

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

MARIE REISS, Business Manager.

(Seal)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1930.

MAX KITZES. Notary Public.

(My Commission expires March 30, 1932)

THE COMMUNIST

A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism

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MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

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Notes of the Month

THE American workers will not only gain from the experience of the struggles in Germany, but will also learn that throughout the world the Communist International is the only formidable force fighting capitalist reaction—the correctness of its policies has been proven by life itself.

On September 14, the German working class demonstrated its determination to fight back, not only the attacks of its own capitalist class, but also of its foreign oppressors. American imperialism is especially concerned with the developing situation in Germany. The proposed measures of the Bruening government, which aim to grind more gold out of the wretched bodies of the German workers, are nothing else than the original plans proposed months ago by the American reparations agent, Mr. Parker.

What have we to learn from the German elections—what is their political significance? They have shown us the political consequences of the economic crisis which in Germany is rapidly maturing into a revolutionary situation. They have shown that the stabilization of capitalism has been cracked wide open and is now in the beginning of its finish. They have shown how social democracy in the course of its rule, laid the basis for fascism; that social democracy is no longer in a position to head off the revolutionary struggles of the German working class, but now stands exposed before the masses as the Party of social fascism, merged with the fascist state apparatus. They have shown that capitalism can no longer rule under the guise of democracy and now has to resort to open fascist dictatorship, no matter whether it is a coalition of the capitalist parties including the Socialists, or an open dictatorship headed by Hitler.

Millions of the German proletariat recognized not only the Communist program as the sole weapon that can bring their class emancipation, but that the Communists are also the only ones capable of defending their daily economic interests. Through its correct tactics, the German Party succeeded in convincing millions of German workers of the treachery of the Socialist Party and secured the support of these workers. As one leading American financial magazine remarked, "No doubt the Socialists' loss was the Communists' gain; it was the more shocking because for the first time they were openly supported by the organizations of the Labor Federation."

For some American workers, however, the victories of the

National Socialist (Fascist) Party, may be puzzling. The victory of the fascists has a double meaning: First, it shows what the bourgeoisie temporarily succeeded in preventing discontented backward sections of the German working class from following the leadership of the Communist Party. Secondly, millions of German proletarians, particularly the agricultural proletariat and the small artisans and government employees, were misled by the anti-capitalist agitation of the fascists and believed that the National Socialists are real fighters for the liberation of the German masses from the yoke of the Versailles treaty and the Young Plan. The very program of the National Socialists and the course they took immediately after the elections will soon disillusion their proletarian followers and bring them into the camp of Communism.

What are the major aims of Hitler as the leader of the German Fascists? He himself made them clear in a cable to the Hearst press: "I AM FIGHTING TO SAVE GERMANY FROM BOLSHEVISM," which means that he is fighting to prevent the German workers from resisting wage slashing and the lowering of their standards of living. He is fighting the unemployed who refused to starve and who demand more unemployment relief. On the other hand, he is fighting to help German capitalism get out of the present crisis by placing additional burdens upon the masses.

Let no one think that the fascists are sincerely against the Versailles treaty and the Young Plan and are capable of achieving the national liberation of Germany. The reactions of the capitalist world to the success of German Fascism are not because the fascists are anti-capitalist in principle, but because the interests of German capitalism conflict with the capitalism of the other countries. The stream of assurances that come from banking interests, proves that foreign capitalism is not afraid that the fascists will repudiate Germany's obligations to foreign capitalism. They understand that this occurs only when a proletarian party comes to power and the dictatorship of the proletariat is established. This is particularly made clear in a statement of leading Wall Street bankers, Stone, Webster & Blodget, Inc.:

"Contrary to its name (National Socialist—editor), the Party has no program for the confiscation of property or the impairment of Germany's foreign obligations, since the Party is not a socialist, but really a capitalist party, including among its members many leading industrialists."

No matter in what form the fascist dictatorship of capitalism is expressed, through Hitler or a Bruening-Socialist Coalition,

the financial program of the present government, which calls for a wage cut for the civil service employees of 6 per cent on top of a recent 5 per cent wage cut, and a wage cut for industrial workers of 10 per cent and unemployment premium raised by workers to be increased from 4½ to 6½ per cent with a proportionate decline in the share paid by employers, coupled with a large tax cut for capitalism and a duty increase on the immediate necessities of life, is now being carried through with the direct assistance of the Social Democracy. All this will further pauperize the German working class and diminish still further, the buying power of their starvation wages. To think that the German workers with traditions of revolutionary struggle, will meekly submit themselves to these additional burdens without an open revolt, is, as Comrade Stalin expressed, "to take leave of reason altogether." It is precisely the fear of this inevitable revolutionary struggle that prompted the former Chancellor Marx to write:

> "An earnest and grave warning must go out to all the bourgeois parties in Germany, irrespective of what policies they have heretofore represented, to lay aside all petty partisan wishes and interests in view of the extraordinary dangerous position in which Germany now finds herself."
>
> "It must particularly be expected of the Socialists that they abandon their petty policies and regard the welfare of the state higher than the partisan interests of their own Party."

Capitalism, feeling the inevitable consequence of its rule, calls upon all bourgeois Parties, including the Socialist Party, to save capitalism again and crush the unavoidable revolutionary struggle of the German proletariat against a fascist Germany and for a Soviet Germany.

* * * *

THE economic crisis now gripping the capitalist world is turning into a political crisis not only in Germany but in a number of other capitalist countries. In Europe it finds its expression in the dissolution of the Sejm and the concentration of power in the hands of the fascist Pilsudski dictatorship; in the advance of fascism in Finland; in the present situation in the Balkan countries, and in the general strike and the political struggles in Spain. In the Western Hemisphere, it is expressed in the recent revolutions in Argentina, Bolivia and Peru, as well as in the great political unrest and local revolutions in Brazil and the revolutionary situation in Cuba.

In the Far East, the military defeat of the Northern Alliance has not brought the unification of China one iota nearer. On the contrary, the struggle between the United States and Japan for the control of China will inevitably lead to a more destructive civil war between Mukden and Nanking.

The horizons of the capitalist world are beclouded with a deepening and broadening crisis and preeminent war, as the capitalist method of the solution of this crisis. Only a few days ago, Mussolini spoke of the possibilities of keeping his house in order, "If no unforseen and irreparable events, such as war, occur." The war question comes up sharply in the debates between imperialist statesmen. The air at the recent League assembly was suffocating with imperialist antagonisms and war activity. The spokesmen of imperialist powers gave up their phrasemongering concerning the impossibilities of war and we now hear them clamoring about how to avoid the coming war. The complete breakdown of the French-Italian negotiations, the war maneuvers of Italy and France, the establishment of an economic blockade against the Soviet Union under the leadership of France and the attempts to place the blame for the economic crisis and the unemployment upon "Soviet dumping" are a few factors which have recently developed in the continually growing war situation. The tenseness of the war situation and the deepening of the imperialist antagonisms have reached such extents that they forced the indefinite postponement of the League disarmament conference.

The crumbling of the foundations of the British Empire is being clearly exposed at the London Empire Conference. In spite of the strenuous efforts of the British Labor Government, the British ruling class finds it impossible to preserve the unity of its empire.

The world crisis of capitalism can no longer be concealed. The boureoisie is afraid to face the political consequences of the crisis. The Council of the League of Nations at its recent session appointed a commission "to investigate the causes of the world depression." The Socialist spokesman of the British Labor government, in the League Assembly, wanted to know "Why are millions starving when the world has a surplus stock of wheat of 500,000,000 bushels?" The British socialist may be mystified by the inherent contradictions of capitalist society, but the more frank capitalist politicians like the former French premier, Mr. Herriot, are more sober in the situation, he states, "Poor Europe, stupid Europe, which does not hear the crackings of its obsolete construction!"

AMERICAN capitalism likewise tries to escape responsibility for the present crisis in industry and agriculture and for the great unemployment by blaming some outside forces like the Soviet Union for "undermining" American capitalist economy and "fomenting" revolution. For the last few weeks, the Hoover administration furnished news for the front pages of the countries' newspapers, saying that Russian wheat dumping is bankrupting the American farmers, that the Soviet Union is the cause of the present economic crisis. In a statement of September 18th, the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Hyde, stated, "There can be no question that this selling has contributed to the fall in price of wheat and to the injury of American farmers now engaged in their intensive marketing season." This was followed up by a statement of the other savior of the American farmers, the infamous chairman of the Congressional Committee to Investigate Communism, Mr. Fish, who stated, "Apparently, the Soviet Government has been operating in the United States for a long time to depress the wheat prices." The idiocy of these assertions speaks for itself. It is stupid to think that in a market like the Chicago Board of Trade which has a turnover of 50 to 60 million bushels a day, the sale of 7 million bushels during several days could in any way effect the price of wheat, or that the sale of a few million bushels of wheat could have any bearings on the international price of that product, in a situation where the world has a surplus of 500,000,000 bushels of wheat. The fall of price of agricultural commodities cannot be attributed to the Soviet Union. If for example, we are to take another important agricultural product, cotton, which at the present time has reached the low level of 10c per pound—the lowest price in a period of 15 years —who is responsible for the fall in price of this agricultural product? The Soviet Union is not selling cotton. On the contrary, it is buying cotton from the United States, yet the price of cotton sharply declined. Or who is responsible for the fall in the price of copper—now selling below 10c a pound? Certainly, this cannot be attributed to the Soviet Union and therefore must be attributed to the very nature of capitalist economy and the policies of finance capitalism.

What then is the reason for the poisonous agitation initiated by the Hoover administration—that the Soviet Union is bankrupting the American farmer? The cause for this must be looked for in the very failure and collapse of the Farm Relief schemes of the Republican Party and the U. S. government, which is now trying to cover up its own bankruptcy in the present election

campaign period with the "Red Bogey." Even the more serious bourgeois press refuses to swallow this hypocracy. An editorial of September 23, in the *New York Times,* stated, "Probably the low price of wheat and the virtual break-down of the government farm relief experiments are responsbile for the rather hysterical manner in which Mr. Hyde, the Secretary of Agriculture, has approached the question of the 'Soviet sales!'"

Even Samuel P. Arnot, the former president of the Chicago Board of Trade, which has now definitely decided to bar Soviet wheat from the American market had to state that the government request to keep Soviet wheat out of the American market was "manifestly inspired by political expediency and a rather undignified exhibition of hysteria." The whole situation, however, is made more clear by a leading American economist, Bernhard Ostrolenk, who stated. "The sale of 7 or even 10 million bushels in a market with a daily turnover of 50 to 70 million bushels can have no appreciable effect on prices. It has been duly intimated that the Secretary of Agriculture has seized upon the Russian selling in order to try to escape the blame for the failure of the farm relief program with which he and other members of the present administration are so intimately concerned."'

Even the theoretical spokesmen of American capitalism cannot fail to see the hypocrisy of the Hoover administration in trying to cover up their robber policy and expropriation of the American farmers with the bug-a-boo of Soviet wheat "dumping."

* * * *

IT seems that the government still thinks that its statements concerning the liquidation of the crisis and renewed prosperity are taken seriously. From a recent statement of Secretary of Commerce Lamont which reads: " . . . it is perfectly clear that business on the whole has ceased the marked decline which was characteristic of a number of earlier months and there are some distinctly encouraging features," one would think that the crisis was already liquidated. However, an examination of the activity of some of the basic industries will show that the facts are to the contrary.

The Annalist Index of Business Activity for August was given as 82.1. This is within a half point of the lowest depths of the 1920-21 crisis (in March, 1921, the lowest point, 81.6, was reached.) The Index of Business Activity for the month of September will be still lower and therefore below the lowest figures of the 1920-21 crisis, which was, according to an Annalist

Index that runs as far back as 1884, the lowest in our history. Even the reports of the United States Chamber of Commerce for the month of September show that capitalism is not in a position to achieve its normal liquidation of the crisis, and the condition in every industry becomes worse.

Building contracts for all classes for this year through September 19th, showed a decline of $893,000,000 in comparison with the same period of 1929 and a $1,551,000,000 decline compared with the same part of 1928. Car loadings for the seven weeks ending September 16th were 16.3 per cent below those for the corresponding seven weeks of 1929. Street railway traffic in August 1930 showed a decline of 10.75 per cent compared with August 1929. Output of electrical power for August 1930 was 2.9 per cent below the output of the corresponding month of 1929. The sharpest decline, however, occurred in the automobile industry. Contrary to all the assertions and prophesies of the spokesmen of the Hoover administration August production in it, in the U. S. and Canada was 54.6 per cent under August 1929. Production during the first eight months of 1930 totaled 2,835,000 units, or 36.2 per cent below production in the corresponding months of 1929. The machine tool industry is now operating at 60 per cent theoretical capacity. The farm implements industry is operating at 50 per cent capacity. The bulk of orders for agricultural implements, however, are mostly placed by the Soviet Union.

Retail and wholesale trade, which is a good indicator of business conditions, shows that department store sales in August were 8 per cent less than in August, 1929. The value of American exports for the first eight months of 1929 showed a decline of 22 per cent.

The Annalist Employment Index for August stands at 88.3 (preliminary) as against 87.4 in July. It is now at the lowest point since October, 1921 and is only 1.7 point above the lowest point of 1921. We must also note that while the employment index shows a sharp decline, the Annalist Index of Payrolls shows that factory payrolls are declining much faster than employment. During the month of August, the Annalist Index of Factory Payrolls decreased 5.6 per cent which is the lowest since May, 1922. This just indicates the mounting wave of wage slashing which is the practical results of the promises made by President Hoover that wages will not be cut in this period of crisis.

What are the prospects of the present economic crisis in the United States? If we are to take freight car loadings, which is

the most important barometer of business activities in the United States, we will note that according to the analysis of the American Railway Association, car loading shipments of 29 principal commodities in the fourth quarter of 1930 will be 600,120 or 7.3 per cent below the corresponding period in 1929. The leading economic and financial organs of American capitalism, such as the Annalist, are ridiculing the idea that the slight increase in steel ingot production or the slight increase of our foreign trade for the month of August is an indication that the economic crisis has turned the corner and that American capitalist economy is now well on the road to recovery. Analyzing the future of business conditions in the country the October National City Bank Bulletin remarked: " . . . taking the situation as a whole the gains have been too uneven and have failed to touch too many important industries to carry the conviction as to the permanency of the uptrend."

It is also necessary for us to point out that the illusion of "low inventories" which was given as a factor by Hoover and Mr. Lovestone for the rapid recovery of American economy in this present crisis proved itself to be untrue. The recent report of the Standard Statistics Corporation had to state, "It would appear, therefore, that low inventories to which much reference is currently made, are not universal and that a near-term revival in business cannot be predicated wholly on the hypothesis of a wholesale replenishment of wants is imminent." If we are to take for example, the inventories of a number of well-known corporations in 1929 as compared with 1919, we will find the following situation:

Sears Roebuck & Co., inventory of $43,000,000 at the end of 1919, $78,000,000 at the end of 1929.
Montgomery Ward Co., inventory of $28,000,000 in 1919, $67,000,000 in 1929.
General Motors, $129,000,000 in 1919, $188,000,000 in 1929.
U. S. Steel Corp., $227,000,000 in 1919, $289,000,000 in 1929.
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., $36,000,000 in 1919, $66,000,000 in 1929.

In addition to this, we must remember that we have also a surplus stock of commodities sold on installment, which must be considered as inventories in the hands of the consumer amounting to 22 per cent of our retail trade, which is not paid for. Automobiles, furniture and other commodities sold on installment is also inventory, although it is not kept in the warehouses of the

manufacturers. This, therefore, shows that the illusions of "low inventory," which does not exist cannot serve as a factor in bringing an immediate improvement in the present economic conditions in the U. S.

* * * *

THE first signs of the political effects of the present economic crisis in the U. S. are already being definitely manifested. The political effects of the crisis will especially be shown in the present election campaign. In addition to the hypocrisy of Soviet "wheat dumping," the Hoover administration is resorting to the use of other demagogy in order to escape responsibility for the crisis. We are being told by the Republican Party that the world economic crisis is responsible for the American crisis, that the revolutionary struggle in India and China and the closing of the Russian markets to capitalist exploitation, keeps American made products out of a market where a half of the world's population is concentrated. The secretary of state, Mr. Stimson, in his key speech at the New York state Republican convention said that the economic crisis now gripping the U. S. was "deep rooted through the world and long ante-dated Mr. Hoover's administration." This approach is not only to show that American capitalist economy is not responsible for the crisis, or to cover up the failure of the Hoover administration to solve the crisis, but it is also a means of ideological preparation of the masses for war against the Soviet Union and to get them to support the American imperialist policies in the colonies. In the face of the present crisis and unemployment the capitalist parties recognize, that in order to get the support of the masses, they will have to raise certain working class demands and promise to "solve" these problems after their election into office. It has now become a national policy on the part of the so-called opposition parties, such as the Democratic, to utilize demogogically the economic crisis, the discrediting of the Hoover administration and the Republican party, unemployment and the radicalization of the working class to make political capital. The Democratic Party is now forced to make unemployment relief, social insurance and old age pensions some of its chief election issues. The extent of the demagogy of the capitalist politicians in the present crisis situation is best exemplified by the recent mayoralty elections in Detroit.

Judge Murphy, a leading figure in the Republican machine of Detroit, ran as an independent in the recent mayoralty elections on a platform of unemployment relief, old age pensions, a job for every worker and even came out for race equality and criticized the action of the Detroit police for splitting workers heads on

March 6. The Detroit elections resulted in Murphy being elected mayor of the city. The lessons of the Detroit elections are of national importance. They first of all demonstrate the effectiveness of the demagogic use of the crisis and unemployment by the capitalist party, and secondly, the serious dangers facing the party if we do not succeed in exposing the camouflage and the hypocrisy of such capitalist politicians. Let it be understood that Murphy was not an exceptional case, the same situation we must face in quite a large number of states, such as: Roosevelt and the Socialist Party in New York state, Pinchot and Davis and the Socialist Party in Pennsylvania, Morrow in New Jersey (who particularly specializes in the covering up the war preparations and the imperialist policies of the U. S. government), Couzens in Michigan, Lewis in Illinois, La Follette and the Socialist Party in Wisconsin, the Farmer Labor Party in Minnesota and so on.

While the Communist Party in the Detroit elections succeeded in increasing its vote 4½ times compared with any previous election, still our main attention must be centered on the failure of our Party to break through the barrage of demagogy of Judge Murphy, and expose him before the masses. This is primarily due to the fact that the Party was not concrete enough in its approach to the workers, that the election campaign was not connected with the daily struggles of the workers for their immediate economic demands and that the election campaign was not centered in the factories. These shortcomings of our campaign in Detroit must draw the attention of our entire Party.

The results of the elections in Detroit also show the methods that the capitalist politicians will resort to to solve unemployment. The organization steps taken by Murphy to solve the unemployment question will also be similar to those that Roosevelt will take in New York, La Follette in Wisconsin, Pinchot in Pennsylvania, and others. They consist, as usual, of a "study" of the unemployment question; not city relief as promised prior to the elections, but charity, attempting to "convince" employers they should hire an extra worker; and most important, attempting to get rid of the unemployed by restricting this charity only to those who have been in Detroit one year, which is to be determined by the police departments, and is to force the rest out of the city on vagrancy charges. These definite results must be told to all the workers in this present election campaign as a lesson of the value of the promises of unemployment relief made by the various spokesmen of the capitalist parties. The capitalist class, however, became a bit uneasy about the consequences of the disillusionment of the

masses with the fake promises of Murphy. The most outstanding open shop paper in Detroit, the Detroit Saturday Night, in an editorial of September 20th, stated, "It will not be helpful to lead the unemployed to expect too much and let them in for further disappointment."

* * * *

THE Socialist Party is not only taking advantage of the radicalization and discontent that now permeates the American working class. It now also assumes the political role of the savior of capitalism and attempts to prevent the revolutionary struggles of the workers. The Socialist Party also demands unemployment relief and social insurance. Not only do their proposals place the burden of this unemployment relief upon the shoulders of the workers, but they also considered the good political effects of such measures upon the working class. Politically, there are two reasons why the Socialist Party thinks unemployment relief and social insurance should be passed. They are: (1) To show that the government still thinks of the masses in a period of crisis, and (2) to show that the unemployment question can be solved by democratic methods and not by revolutionary struggles. This is particularly clearly expressed in a statement by Mr. Lewis Waldman, the Socialist candidate for Governor in the state of New York, "The importance of such a recommendation lies in the fact that it would encourage and convince the workers of our state at this critical hour that the government is not remiss of its duty and that grave social wrongs (meaning unemployment) can be remedied through democratic methods."

We have seen the Socialist Party as a strike-breaker in a number of local situations, but now the Socilaist Party is appearing in a more significant political role as the instrument through which the capitalist class wants to instill in the minds of the masses confidence in their desire and ability to do something for the working class and to persuade the workers to resort to democratic methods, instead of revolutionary struggle for unemployment relief, which in practice means no unemployment relief and no social insurance.

American Democracy on the Way To Fascism

By MAX BEDACHT

THE government of the United States is in a process of rapid fascization. The fascist transformation of Italy is not the example followed by American capitalism. In Italy the fascist movement developed as the immediate result of the war. Masses of declassed elements, mostly professionals who had served in the army during the war as officers, had been uprooted from their civil vocations and, with the end of the war, also thrown out of the army. These elements appeared at first, at least formally, with a program of struggle against capitalism. They wanted to share the profits of the war. Finally they took their share as the government of, for and by big capital.

In America, fascism does not develop even formally as a challenge against the capitalist government of the democratic republic. Here it appears rather as the logical development of American capitalist democracy—capitalist democracy "sans phrase" so to speak—the development of capitalist democracy into an undisguised capitalist dictatorship. The forms of political equality are essential to capitalist democracy only as long as they create and nourish illusions on the part of the masses. These illusions make the capitalist government appear to them as fundamentally rooted in the consent of the masses. Because of these "democratic" forms the masses do not see that the basis of the American capitalist democracy is not their political consent but is the principle of private property of the means of production.

Any political idea which jumps over the boundary lines of the principle of private property is considered not an exercise of a political right, but is treated as high treason—treason to "democracy," treason to capitalism. Capitalism therefore grants political rights, franchise, etc., only so long as these rights are exercised within the social framework of capitalism and only so long as their exercise recognizes the supremacy of capitalism and of the rule of the capitalist class.

The right of free speech, free press, free assemblage, franchise, etc., are dependent upon unconditional support of capitalism. Wherever these "rights" are exercised as a challenge to capital-

ism their exercise turns into crimes and provokes capitalist indictments for criminal syndicalism, incitement to insurrection, sedition, etc., etc. Wherever attempts appear to exercise political "rights" as a challenge to capitalism, the government "of the people" turns into the avenging nemesis against that part of the people that does not think, speak and act as the governing class decrees.

The democratic forms prevent these facts from becoming obvious to the masses and as long as these facts do not become evident to the masses, the democratic forms remain unimpaired.

The situation changes, however, when a sharpening of class relations acts as an eye-opener for the masses. Such a process we now witness in the United States. The economic crisis is pressing the masses to the wall. It forces them to formulate into political demands their economic prerequisites for existence. Capitalism, however, is increasingly unable and unwilling to grant these demands. Rationalization, speed-up, mechanization of production, etc., are eliminating increasing numbers of workers from the productive process. As long as the livelihood of these workers depends on their jobs, this development robs them of their absolutely indispensable income. Capitalism can not change that. Its mission is not to provide workers with jobs, but to get along with as few workers as possible. That is the command of capitalism's most powerful god—profit. That is why basic demands for unemployment relief, for instance, are considered by capitalist democracy as an attack on capitalism itself. That is why unemployed demonstrations are met with tear gas bombs, machine guns and penitentiary sentences. But that is also why the economic crisis eats into the roots of the democratic illusions of the masses. That is why every form of real working class organization and struggle today is a potential challenge to capitalism itself. That is why a most intensive revolutionary activity on the part of the Communists is so important at this moment.

That is also why the democratic forms of the present capitalist dictatorship greatly lose their value for the ruling class of America. This ruling class finds itself more and more forced to exercise its political dictatorship by other means. As a result a serious transformation of the forms of capitalist rule takes place.

The major reason why this transformation is not universally recognized is primarily its gradualness. The fascization of the American capitalist government is a process. But it manifests itself everywhere. One outstanding manifestation is the present form and extent of corruption.

Corruption is nothing new in American politics. In fact, American democracy was long a synonym for corruption; but the early stages of corruption were connected with primitive accumulation —with the amassing of original capitalist fortunes by expropriation. That was in the era of Tweed in New York, of Huntington and Stanford in California. Although the name of Tweed came down to us with the stigma of the arch-corruptionist, yet Tweed's right to this title is successfully challenged by John Jacob Astor, by Jay Gould, by James Fiske and many other grandfathers of the present day richest families of America.

Although corruption was practically a by-product of American democracy it was never typically American. It is rather typically capitalist. Karl Marx, writing about corruption in British elections in an article in the New York Tribune of September 4, 1852, writes: "What else was the usual corruption in the British elections than the brutal, as well as popular, form in which the relative strength of the struggling parties manifested itself. The means of their influence they use for a few days in an abnormal and more or less burlesque form." Marx also points out in this article that with the advent of the industrial bourgeoisie as a class representing the dominent interests of modern society, a change took place. This class felt itself strong enough to appeal to the voters on the basis of its representation of the dominant interests of society. Therefore it could afford to raise a cry against corruption and it fought for "clean elections." But as Marx emphasizes, this did not end corruption; corruption merely took on "more civilized and more hidden forms."

One of the present-day advocates of fascism in America, John Corbin, writes about this period in English history in his book, *The Unknown Washington.* Talking about King George III., he writes: "The "patriotic king" dined on boiled mutton and carrots that he might spend huge sums on his majority in the commons . . . but . . . this practice was not corrupt. Seats were legally recognized as property and their sale was held to be legitimate." This is brilliant capitalist logic! Let corruption turn from an exception into a rule, and it ceases to be corruption and becomes a "legitimate practice."

At present, however, capitalist corruption in America becomes a formidable political quantity. The organized underworld which feeds and fattens upon the unfathomable swamp of prohibition corruption has become a part of the government machinery in America.

With the growing fascization of the capitalist government of

America the position of the underworld has completely changed. In the past it was tolerated and maintained by corrupt individual capitalist officials. But now this underworld has become part of the power which maintains capitalist government itself. Early corruption was the result of the fast growth of American capitalism. Present-day corruption is a sign of the growing degeneration of capitalism. Then, young and vigorous capitalism could maintain itself with the masses in spite of corruption. Now, decaying capitalism maintains itself in part by means of corruption.

The political results of these facts are widespread political persecution. The agitational and legal machinery of the American capitalist state is decreasingly concerned with what is ordinarily termed "crimes" and is increasingly engaged in prosecuting demonstrators, leaflet distributors, street speakers, labor organizers, etc. District Attorney Crain, of New York, for example, a member of corrupt Tammany Hall, surrounded by judges that bought their positions, maintained in office by politicians that sell the judgships, contemporary of a mayor that challenges the record of corruption of A. Okey Hall, of Boss Tweed's infamous ring, could declare in a Fourth of July oration that the greatest achievement of his office was the conviction of the unemployed delegation to three years in the penitentiary. Vitale, Ewald, Vause, Tommaney, Healy, rotting carcasses of capitalist corruption, with District Attorney Crain sitting in their midst—but he does not smell anything. He does not hear nor see anything of this cesspool. All he perceives is a delegation of jobless workers who had advised the masses of hungry, unemployed to march to the City Hall and to demand bread. For this "crime" Crain with the help of his bought judges railroaded this delegation to the penitentiary. Another instance of the same function is the case of Billings and Mooney in California. Conspiracy and perjury were employed to railroad these workers to the gallows. Though this outrage has been public property for fourteen years, yet the innocent remain in jail and the scoundrels remain the jailors.

The recent persecution of the organizers of the Imperial Valley strike in California and their sentence of 42 years in prison is another case in point.

Murders are increasing rapidly; but capitalist justice closes both eyes to the murderers, and puts their associates on the bench as judges. Vitale is not an exception. In Chicago, members of the District Attorney's staff openly associate with known murderers and gangsters, and sometimes are shot down with

them as in the case of Wm. H. McSwiggin, Assistant District Attorney of Cook County. When Dion O'Banion, Chicago murderer and gang leader, was killed, judges and high politicians of all sorts were conspicuous in the procession of mourners at his funeral. Day by day it becomes clearer that the judicial machinery of capitalist democracy does not have as its major object the abolition of crime but the maintenance of capitalism. It devotes its activities to this function directly, and also to the protecting and shielding of the extra-legal forces of capitalism from punishment for their illegal activities. In so far as this extra legal machinery is made up of the organized underworld it receives its reward primarily out of bootlegging corruption. It shares this corruption with the police, with the judges and with the treasuries of the capitalist political machine. And with the funds thus secured the capitalist political machines carry on their political campaigns in which they raise a hue and cry about corruption.

The capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Socialist, etc.—manipulate their political campaigns on the corruption issue. But they are united on defending the system that produces corruption and that feeds on it.

Aside from the interdependent corruption and extra legal forces of American capitalism which are some of the fascist children of American democracy we also witness the systematic generation of legal fascist bodies and fascist laws. One of the outstanding examples of this form of fascization is the "Congressional Committee for the Investigation of Communist Activities in America" —the so-called Fish Committee. Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., is a blunderer and a bungler. He made a mess out of the job he undertook. Instead of keeping his eyes on the aims which the capitalist government in Washington desired to achieve, he kept his eyes on some clumsy forgeries in the circulation of which he himself had been instrumental even before the commission went into session. Thus, instead of accomplishing the job that was assigned to him, Mr. Fish tried to use his committee to stamp as genuine some clumsy forgeries that not even the most loyal capitalist protagonist could accept as genuine. This bungling of his job on the part of Fish leads may to the dangerous conclusion that the Fish Committee need not be taken seriously. At the cradle of the Fish Committee stood President Hoover, Speaker Longworth and other outstanding leaders of the ruling class of America. Before the Fish Committee went into action conferences of the leading politicians were held in Washington to give

Mr. Fish his instructions. Although Fish made a mess of it, yet the fathers of the Fish Committee are still determined to get what they set out for. Even these days we read of new conferences of Hamilton Fish with President Hoover to discuss the utilization of the Fish Committee as an anti-Soviet Union propaganda agency. The Fish Committee may become the political grave of Hamilton Fish, Jr., instead of becoming the pedestal of his future greatness; yet fertilized by the very rottenness of the Fish Committee there will sprout out of it new anti-working class action and new fascist laws.

There is already a proposal for an appropriation of $5,000,000 for the Department of Justice for the investigation and surveillance of the Communist movement. These five million dollars are to supply the Department of Justice with a labor spy apparatus. The Communists will be the first victims of this agency because they are recognized as the only militant spokesman and active organizers of the workers. But the measure itself is directed against the working class as a whole. The proposal for the establishment of this special apparatus in the Department of Justice is another step toward the fascization of the American government and another move toward the transformation of the government machinery into an open instrument of class oppression. The Fish Committee also aims at the establishment of what the capitalists call among themselves "real selective immigration." The committee is to achieve special congressional appropriations to allow the Department of Labor assignment of special agents to the consular offices of the United States in the European cities. It will be the duty of these agents to select the immigrants allowed to enter the United States most carefully, to ascertain by all means their political color and to assign and distribute the immigrants to such sections of the country and to such industries or such industrial establishments where they can be utilized as strikebreakers and as reinforcements for the continuous wage cutting and speed-up campaigns of the bosses.

Of course before the eyes and ears of the masses the laws and proposals that will spring from the Fish Committee will bear less conspicuous names; but they are all designed to forge new chains for the working class and to strengthen the political reins of the capitalist dictatorship.

We mentioned here only a few of the signs of the progressing fascination; but when put side by side with the rapid increase of executive power, and the increasingly direct execution of the

power by the leading capitalists themselves as accomplished in Hoover, Mellon, Morrow, etc., then the fascist trend becomes evident. The few instances cited here were selected to show the process of fascization in operation. This process of fascization is the act of capitalist democracy stripping itself of all of its trappings and frills and increasingly displaying the nakedness of its dictatorship.

It is a major duty of the Communist Party, especially in the election campaign, to mobilize the masses of workers against this transformation. In the struggle against this process of fascization the mobilization of the working masses for a struggle for political rights becomes a potentially revolutionary factor.

The Trade Union Line of Lovestone and Cannon—Muste Auxiliaries

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

I. The General Role of Lovestone and Cannon

OUR Party correctly fights the renegade Lovestone and Cannon groups as liquidators af the Trade Union Unity League and its revolutionary unions. These two groups, despite their wordy quarrels with each other have an identical trade union line, by which they serve as auxiliaries of the Muste (S.P.) wing in the A. F. of L.

The role of the Muste group is, with its parading of radical phrases, to disguise the class collaboration policies of the A. F. of L. and S. P. and thus to maintain and extend the hold of their fascized leadership upon the increasingly radical masses. It aims above all to keep these discontented workers away from Communist leadership and the program of class struggle.

The line of the Cannon-Lovestone groups brings them into objective support of the Muste program and into conflict with our Party. Their role is to lend a savor of "revolution" to Musteism, to theorize it and dress it up in pseudo-Leninist garb, and thus to confuse, or attempt to confuse, the more advanced sections of the workers, upon whom rests the burden of building the revolutionary Trade Union Unity League and organizing the masses. Summed up, the trade union line of Lovestone and Cannon is: For Musteism; Against the Communist Party. This is readily seen from even a brief examination of their trade union theories, program, and practice, in comparison with the line of our Party. First let us shortly state the Party line.

II. The Party Trade Union Program and Its Basis

a. *The Old Line.*

From 1921 until the 4th RILU Congress, in 1928, the general policy of our Party in trade union work centered in the struggle of the TUEL revolutionary opposition within the A. F. of L. and other conservative mass labor unions. In substance, we accepted the old unions as the mass labor movement of the working class. Our main strategy was to revolutionize these unions by

giving them Communist leadership (through organized minorities, and such official posts as we could conquer) by amalgamating them into industrial unions, and aside from partial support of existing independent unions in unorganized industries by organizing the unorganized masses into the old ones. The TUEL national center directed this general minority movement and challenged the A. F. of L. bureaucrats for leadership of the masses.

In the main, this policy was correct. It enabled us to conduct many effective fights. But we made numerous serious errors in its application, such as the tendency to cramp our activities within the limits of trade union legalism through overstressed fear of dual unionism; a failure to organize workers in unorganized industries into independent unions; and the making of united fronts from the top, often with fake opposition elements.

b. *The New Line.*

But since the 4th RILU Congress our policy has taken a sharp turn. Now our line is to build independent, revolutionary unions and to combine these into a new national trade union center. Thus the old TUEL, based on minorities in the old unions, becomes the TUUL, the general organization of the revolutionary unions. We no longer urge the unorganized workers to join the A. F. of L. but to affiliate themselves to the TUUL unions. The work of our organized groups in the reformist unions, based upon the tactic of the united front from below is subordinated to the building of the revolutionary unions. It is orientated upon drawing these trade union workers under the ideological leadership of the TUUL, and, as speedily as practicable, into mass affiliation with it.

Even before the 4th RILU Congress the Party was groping towards this basic change of policy. This trend was exemplified among other developments by the independent organizations of the Passaic workers; by the refusal of the cloakmakers and furriers to submit to the treachery of the reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom with the resultant maintenance of their New York Joint Boards as independent organizations and by the militant miners' "Save the Union" movement, which led inexorably to the formation of the National Miners Union. These three big movements burst tempestuously through our trade union legalism and anti-dual union fetishism. But the Party did not fully understand these vital mass upheavals nor give them the necessary aggressive leadership. In all three instances, we lagged behind the masses, who more keenly felt the necessity for unions independent

of the A. F. of L. In each case serious harm was done by our not proceeding earlier and more consciously to the establishment of new, revolutionary unions. It took the RILU in the face of strong opposition from the Pepper-Lovestone Party leadership, to correctly analyze the situation and to give the Party its present clear line.

c. *The Third Period of Capitalism.*

The new trade union line in the United States is part of the sharpened world line of struggle of the Comintern and Profintern. The Third period of post-war capitalism is characterized by the growing instability of capitalism, the intensification of its inner and outer contradictions, the development of its general crisis. This crisis, growing unevenly in the various countries, produces a great rationalization, wage cutting, speed-up drive by the employers, the fascization of their labor leader agents, the radicalization of the working class, an intensification of the class struggle, the sharpening of the war antagonisms among the capitalist powers and against the colonial peoples and of their joint attack upon the Soviet Union.

With the inception of the Third Period the Comintern and Profintern correctly adopted a policy of intensified struggle against the capitalists and social fascists and expanded the strategy of independent leadership—that is the formation of rank and file shop strike and action committees—in order to take more effectively out of the hands of the social fascists the organizational control of the strikes and other struggles of the masses. In this country the world strategy of independent leadership takes on its decisive phase in the formation of new, revolutionary unions.

The United States, at the time of the adoption of the new line, was already displaying the characteristic features of the Third Period. The capitalists had initiated a great rationalization offensive against the workers, manifested by increased speed-up, wage cuts, mass unemployment, governmental repression, and a general worsening of the conditions of the workers. Under this heavy pressure a wave of radicalization began to develop among the workers, especially the semi-skilled and unskilled. Their need for organization and struggle grew instantly. Particularly acute was the situation in the mining, textile, and needle industries.

But in the measure that the need of the workers for organized action grew, the possibilities of the old trade unions to serve as their organ of struggle diminished through the rapid fascization

of their leaders. These leaders turned the old unions into mere adjuncts of the capitalists rationalization and war program, by the "new wage policy" of speed up, suppression of union democracy, open strike-breaking, gangsterism, the industrial blacklist, mass expulsions, cooperation with the police against militant workers, exclusion of the unemployed, blatant imperialism, war-like attacks upon the Soviet Union, etc. The old unions lost their unskilled workers, being reduced almost entirely to skilled workers' organizations. All this made them incapable of organizing the broad masses of workers and defending their interests.

d. *The Reorganization of the TUEL.*

The general conclusions from this situation were inescapable. First there was developing a rising tide of broad mass struggle, and second, the trade union phases of this struggle could not manifest themselves through the old A. F. of L. unions. The organization of independent revolutionary unions grew imperative. The transformation of the old TUEL, based upon organized union minorities, into the new TUUL, based upon revolutionary unions, became historically necessary.

Life itself has definitely justified the new trade union line. For one thing, the TUUL unions, notwithstanding the employers' fierce opposition, have gained a wide ideological influence and laid the basis of organization in several industries and in spite of their many weaknesses and the glaring mistakes they have made in the struggle—(summerized in the 7th Party Convention trade union resolution.) Besides this, the general analysis upon which these unions are based is again shown to be correct by the development of the present great economic crisis which, with its accompanying mass unemployment, wage cuts, speed up, etc., is more and more radicalizing the masses and hastening the fascization of the trade union leadership, thus rendering the reactionary unions more completely useless as workers' weapons in the class struggle and re-emphasizing the necessity for building the new revolutionary unions. In the 1919-23 employers' offensive, the masses of workers were able, in spite of the reactionary leaders, to use the then broad unions, to wage against the employers the hardest strikes in American history. But in the present crisis, the old unions, function simply as brakes upon the masses to prevent them from struggling against wage cuts, speed-up and unemployment. Such real struggles as the workers have so far developed have been conducted almost entirely by the revolutionary unions.

III. The Lovestone-Cannon Opportunist Analysis

The Lovestone and Cannon groups, with almost identical argumentation, reject our whole analysis and the program of independent revolutionary unionism which flows from it.

a. *Underestimation of the Crisis and Radicalization.*

Both Cannon and Lovestone minimize the world capitalist crisis, especially as concerns the United States. They scoffed at the theory of the third period, Lovestone abandoning his former lip service to it and Cannon flatly condemning it as "an arbitrary proclamation intended to serve as the theoretical foundation for explaining away the past crimes and blunders of the Centrist bloc in the Internatoinal (Stalin-Bucharin)." (The Militant, June 14, 1930.) And this in the face of the revolutionary upheavals in China, and India, the great forward march of the Soviet Union, the swift world spread of the economic crisis, and the sharp intensification of the capitalist war antagonisms.

Lovestone's crassly opportunistic underestimation of the capitalist crisis essentially the same as Cannon's is exemplified by his ridiculous arguments that the crisis is not caused by the weakness of capitalism but by its strength. Thus his thesis (Rev. Age, June 15) says:

"The very growth in American imperialist strength has already reached a point where it is itself sharpening the inherent contradictions of capitalism in the United States."

We are accustomed to this characteristic Lovestone admiration of American imperialism, but now he spreads it over all world capitalism. His thesis says further:

"An examination of the present world-wide serious economic depression reveals that it is primarily brought on by the very level to which capitalist stabilization and rationalization have reached."

Lovestone, in those statements, grossly overestimates the power of the capitalist system. What Lovestone considers capitalist "strength" and "stabilization" is only the development of the productive forces. He does not see the system as a whole. He ignores the achilles heel of capitalism, the lagging markets and it is exactly in this inability of capitalism to sell the commodities produced, the growing disproportion between production and distribution resulting in overproduction that is the basic weakness of capitalism and the cause of its growing economic and political crisis. Lovestone's arguments are sheer Hooverism.

Flowing from this basic underestimation of the capitalist crisis,

Lovestone and Cannon also underestimate the extent and tempo of the radicalization of the American working class. Lovestone's bitter fight in the Party against a recognition of the growing radicalization is a matter of record. He continues it still and is joined by the "left," Cannon. Lovestone, in his new thesis, describes the present rapid radicalization of the broad masses of workers merely as "a growing tendency towards a leftward movement." Thus there is no leftward movement but only a growing tendency towards one.

b. *Underestimation of Fascization.*

Lovestone and Cannon, likewise minimize the reactionary swing of the A. F. of L. and S.P. bureaucrats and their vice-like grip upon the unions. They viciously attack the Party's correct designation of these fakers as fascists and social fascists. Lovestone demands in his latest thesis the liquidation of "the dangerous theory of social fascism" and Cannon in his recent manifesto to the Party does the same thing. They utterly fail to understand the extent to which the employers, through the fascized leadership, enforce their will upon the A. F. of L. unions.

Cannon, indeed, practically liquidates the reactionary role of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. He says (The Militant, June 28, 1930):

"Between these two factors of conscious pressure for opposing ends (Communists and bureaucrats, W. Z. F.) the general level of class consciousness in the masses asserts itself and determines the character of the unions regardless of their pre-determined character . . . with a real development of working class radicalization, all the machinations of the bureaucrats cannot prevent the trade unions from reflecting and expressing it."

This conception conflicts violently with actual conditions in the reactionary A. F. of L. unions. It assumes a union democracy which does not exist, and holds the workers responsible for boss-dictated policies rammed down their throats by fascist leaders. Every A. F. of L. faker is always glad to thus shove off upon the rank and file the responsibility for weaknesses of the organization. The bureaucrats favorite theme in fighting every forward move is that "the rank and file are not ready for it." According to Cannon's analysis the present rightward trend of the A. F. of L. is the expression of the left-going working class. How "responsive" A. F. of L. unions are to really radicalized workers is well exemplified in the mining and needle industries. There the fascist leaders wrecked the unions rather than allow the workers to use it in their own defense. It was completely

impossible to conduct the struggle successfully within the bounds of the A. F. of L. And the strike-breaking, union-splitting policies of the A. F. of L. and S. P. union leaders in these instances are characteristic of all A. F. of L. unions under similar circumstances. How far the workers, with free democratic control in the old unions, would have gone towards developing them into conscicusly revolutionary unions in the recent period is an open question, but to make them responsible for the ultra-reactionary spirit of the A. F. of L. is altogether incorrect.

c. *Lovestone and Cannon Unite With Musteism.*

Lovestone and Cannon, with their crass underestimation of the capitalist crisis, the radicalization of the workers, and the fascization of the union leaders, find no basic change in the situation and no foundation for the new line, which they jointly denounce as "ultra left." They have no perspective for revolutionary struggle, neither outside or inside the old unions. Their whole policy is a capitulation before the difficulties confronting the revolutionary movement in this crucial period; a lack of faith in the workers' willingness to struggle and of the Communists' ability to lead.

The Cannon-Lovestone trade union program has two major trends: (1) to liquidate the revolutionary unions, (2) to liquidate the revolutionary struggle in the reformist unions. It substitutes for both these phases of work a policy of maneuvring in the reformist unions based upon trade union legalism and the united front from the top.

All this brings the Lovestone-Cannon line into essential unity with the line of Muste, which is the trade union line of the S. P. and into flat opposition to that of our Praty. The Muste group is definitely the organization of the S. P. forces in the old unions. Let us examine in some detail the various aspects of this liquidatory program.

IV. The Lovestone-Cannon Musteite Program

a. *Liquidation of the Revolutionary Unions.*

Both Cannon and Lovestone place the center of gravity of their trade union activity within the conservative unions. In direct conflict with the Party line, which is to orientate the masses towards the TULL, they orientate toward the A. F. of L. as the center of working class trade union struggle. Their whole cry is for the building of the left wing in the reformist unions. Thus

they attempt to liquidate not only the TUUL as the national revolutionary union center, but also its affiliated unions.

Cannon says (Militant, June 28) that the old unions are "the natural and legitimate field for revolutionary activity." He, like Lovestone speaks of the old unions as though they embodied the bulk of the workers instead of being narrow organizations primarily of skilled workers, with the vast masses of workers totally unorganized. In his statement to our 7th Party Convention, in which he raises what he thinks are the main tasks of the Party, Cannon handles the trade union problem merely from the standpoint of building the left wing in the A. F. of L. He becomes frantic about this, but not a word does he say about building the revolutionary unions. He does not even mention the name of the TUUL. So far as this manifesto is concerned, the whole revolutionary union movement is liquidated.

Lovestone speaks even more clearly. The principal difference between him and Cannon is that what is often only implicit in Cannon's line he blurts right out. What Cannon partly obscures with "left" phases, Lovestone puts in more transparent form. Lovestone's recent thesis says that the TUUL unions have *"the central task of building a left wing in the reactionary unions in the same industry."* Like Cannon, he considers the revolutionary unions auxiliaries to the left wing in the old unions, instead of the reverse. He says the *new unions* once *"constituted a powerful support for the left wing."* As for the TUUL as a new trade union center, he disposes of that curtly, saying: "An end must be put to the attempt to make the TUUL into a dual (revolutionary) center to the A. F. of L."

Lovestone, in his thesis, defines the role of the TUUL as "the organizing and guiding center for the left wing in the organized labor movement, as well as a driving force for organizing the unorganized. Thus, as main task, comes the building of the unorganized—*into the old unions,* as we shall see further along.

Lovestone and Cannon butter with glowing promises this "return" to the old unions. Cannon says (Militant, July 12) "The bureaucrats are powerless to prveent the rapid organization of a powerful left wing." Gitlow and Swabeck in their articles go into ecstacies over this prospect. On the other hand, they all picture the TUUL unions as "extinct," "collapsed," "isolated," etc. The substance of their call to "return" to the work in the old unions is a proposal for a general fight for reinstatement in these organizations and to give up the TUUL unions.

The liquidatory trend of all this is plainly manifest. It also shows itself in many other directions, notably in the vital question of the organization of the unorganized. In general, Lovestone and Cannon, who orientate primarily upon the organized, skilled workers, play down this fundamental question (Cannon not even mentioning it in his recent statement), but their main line is to turn the stream of organization towards the A. F. of L. Lovestone, who again states the line most clearly, says in his thesis:

"The new industrial unions . . . have ceased to be a factor in the organization of the unorganized."

And again:

"The slogan of the organization of the unorganized must be raised in the old unions as one of the central points of the left wing program and every effort must be made to have the existing unions serve as organization centers for the organization of the unorganized."

Although our Party line conflicts violently with this conception, Muste will find it quite acceptable—in fact, it is his line.

In so far as they can see any necessity for building independent unions, Cannon and Lovestone conceive them as organizing agencies for the conservative unions. If, as Cannon says, the old unions are the "natural and legitimate field for revolutionary activity" and "all the machinations" of the bureaucrats cannot prevent their reflecting the radicalization of the masses nor hinder the development of a powerful left wing, then what real need is there for the building of new, revolutionary unions on a basis of permanency? Where, because of peculiar local circumstances, it may be necessary to form independent organizations, and even Muste (Illinois miners, Boston shoe workers) sometimes launches new unions, they consider these only temporary expedients. Such new unions, they propose, may sooner or later find their way into the "main stream of the labor movement, the A. F. of L." The line of Lovestone and Cannon for the revolutionary unions is the line of the disastrous Passaic surrender. This is also, Muste's line for such new unions.

This phase of Lovestone's and Cannon's liquidatory program is further exemplified by the way they put the question of trade union unity. Cannon thus states his unity slogan with regard to the needle trades:

"Unite the old unions with the new industrial unions into a

single organization for the entire industry." And Lovestone formulates his slogan as follows: "Fight for one industrial union in the industry." Such slogans express the Lovestone-Cannon program for the unification of the trade union forces generally.

These slogans are identical with each other in implying a surrender of the revolutionary unions to the A. F. of L., a la Passaic. With Lovestone's phobia against splitting the old unions and Cannon's conception of these organizations as "the natural and legitimate field for revolutionary activity," together with the settled determination of the fascized leaders to split any union rather than give it up to the Communists, no other conclusion is possible than that the surrender of the new unions is contemplated by these "unity" slogans. Such slogans have nothing in common with our unity slogans of "Build the TUUL," "Form Rank and File Shop, Strike and Action Committees," etc.

Cannon clearly indicates that his unity program simply means unconditional affiliation to the A. F. of L. unions. But, even with his enthusiasm for the old unions, he is not quite sure that the bureaucrats will agree even on such terms. However, he has not yet given up. He states the following "revolutionary" proposal in The Militant, July 12, 1930:

"When we proclaim the slogan of uniting the old unions with the new industrial unions in a single organization, we do not promise that this unity will be confirmed by the reactionary leaders with a voluntary abdication. But our slogan is nevertheless a sincere one and it is put forward with confidence that it will be realized."

Above it has been pointed out how the Cannon-Lovestone program liquidates the revolutionary unions by transferring the general center of gravity of revolutionary unionism to the A. F. of L. unions, by diverting the unorganized workers into the A. F. of L., by surrendering the revolutionary unions to the A. F. of L. organizations, etc. Besides this, Lovestone and Cannon will back up this program, wherever they can, by splitting the revolutionary unions.

The Party must definitely note this and fight them as splitters. They are openly trying to split our Party in order to enforce their opportunist line and they are covertly aiming at splitting the TUUL for the same purpose. Watt, the Trotskyite, led a split movement in the Belleville convention of the National Miners Union, and the line of the Lovestone-Cannon needle trades leaders is towards a split. Cannon, in The Militant, July 12, sounds the preparatory call for such a split, urging his followers to re-

turn to the A. F. of L. unions in spite of the policy of the revolutionary union. He says:

"The nucleus of needle trades Communists now crystallizing under our banner have the duty to take the lead in this struggle and show the way regardless of the decisions of the Party bureaucrats to the contrary."

b. *Liquidation of Revolutionary Struggle in the A. F. of L. Unions.*

As stated previously, the Lovestone-Cannon Musteite program tends not only to liquidate the revolutionary unions but also the revolutionary struggle within the conservative labor organizations. *The difference between the Party's and the Lovestone-Cannon program is not that the Party wants to conduct the revolutionary activity simply outside the old trade unions while Lovestone and Cannon want to carry it on simply within. The real issue is that the Party conducts its trade union struggle not only outside but also inside the old unions, while the Lovestone-Cannon groups liquidate the revolutionary activities in both spheres.*

The Lovestone-Cannon program liquidates revolutionary struggle in the conservative unions because it is essentially based upon trade union legalism. That is, it confines itself within limits laid down by the fascist union leaders and enforced by their policies of gangsterism, expulsions, splits, strike-breaking, and wholesale suppression of democracy. To confine the minority movement within such narrow limits means to abandon revolutionary struggle.

Prior to the adoption of the new trade union line, let me repeat, our Party, because of its exaggerated fear of splits and its hesitancy at organizing independent unions, made many serious errors in yielding to this trade union legalism. Now Lovestone and Cannon make a working principle of this paralyzing tendency and base their main strategy upon it. And this in spite of the fact that trade union legalism is increasingly disastrous now when the A. F. of L. unions have become so much more reactionary and the workers' need for struggle is so much more pressing.

Lovestone and Cannon outline a program of trade union legalism based upon an acute fear of splits. This fear saturates all their writings. They see only the danger of isolation from the trade unions, the "natural and legitimate field of revolutionary activity," but they see nothing of the greater danger of surrender to the fascist bureaucrats within these organizations. Lovestone

in fact categorically rejects all splits as a matter of principle, saying in his thesis: *"Above all new unions must not be established by splitting the old unions."*

This policy implies two propositions; a standing orientation of the new unions and the masses towards the A. F. of L.; and—seeing the fascist control in the A. F. of L.—the giving up of revolutionary struggle within the old unions in order to avoid splits. It is a policy of unity at any price, of defeat of the workers assured in advance.

Lovestone's and Cannon's trade union legalism would also mean a watering down of the program. Lovestone now openly scoffs at the revolutionary character of TUUL unions, and this in a period when the world capitalist crisis and the rapid rise of the Soviet Union root in the minds of the workers, as never before, the question of the proletarian revolution. Their policy would mean a liquidation of the fight, until the program became mere "left" phrases, an A. F. of L. trap for the masses, and the "revolutionary struggle" nothing more than a series of maneuvres and compromises with the union bureaucrats. Cannon, indeed, at the very moment when breathing "leftist" fire against these bureaucrats, looks forward hopefully to such maneuvering when he says in his group's manifeto: "In fear of the new unions they (the bureaucrats) will be compelled to hesitate and temporize with a left wing in their own organizations."

Lovestone and Cannon round out their trade union legalistic no-split policy by the tactic of the united front from the top, that is, with the union bureaucrats. The CI and RILU have correctly condemned this paralyzing policy and organize the united front from below, with the rank and file workers. (In the conception of the united front from below are included the lower paid and uncorrupted trade union officialdom.) That is, by the setting up of strike committees, shop committees, action committees, etc., which include the unorganized workers as well as members of the revolutionary and reformist unions to wage a direct fight to burst the confines of the crippling trade union legalism and class collaboration policies of the bureaucrats and to win away from them the control of the masses.

This is the policy of independent leadership. It is indispensable to the carrying on of successful struggle under present conditions. But Lovestone and Cannon consider it a liquidation of the united front tactic altogether. In a thousand keys they demand a "return" to the "old" united front policy. Cannon says (The Militant, June 14), that "the official policy has been changed

today to no united front at all." Lovestone's thesis says that, "An end must be put to the sophistical phrases about a united front from below" and clamors for a "revival of tactics of the united front."

They want a united front with the Musteite "progressive" leaders, not with the rank and file workers against these leaders. Although Cannon makes some formal criticism of Muste, Lovestone in his thesis, does not even do that. The line of both is for an alliance with the "middle" elements. This is exemplified by their present maneuvering with the Muste group in the mining industry, their failure to condemn and guard against the repetition of united fronts with such elements as Brennan, Hannon and Shelby and especially by their proposals for a united front labor party which are indistinguishable from those made by Muste.

Such united fronts mean not the promotion, but the strangulation of revolutionary activity. These, together with the other phase of the Lovestone-Cannon program, the unity-at-any-cost policy, make both for the liquidation of the revolutionary unions and of revolutionary activity in the conservative labor organizations.

Small differences there are between the trade union programs of the renegade Lovestone and Cannon groups. But their points of difference are minor, whereas their points of agreement are major. The main line is the same. It dovetails with the line of Muste. It has nothing in common with the policy of our Party. It leads to the paralyzing of the workers' struggle, to the strengthening of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the employers.

c. *The Development and Application of the Lovestone-Cannon Program.*

The opportunist trade union line of Lovestone and Cannon did not suddenly spring into existence. It is the ripening off, of tendencies they have long shown in the Party. As far back as five years ago, during the proposed "fundamental revision" of the TUEL line, they enunciated proposals that forecasted their present line in union work.

At the time the TUEL was displaying certain "leftist" tendencies, marked by a too close identification of its program and organization with that of the Party. To "correct" this, Lovestone and Cannon were the chief proponents of a radical whittling down of the TUEL program. They proposed to change the name of the TUEL and indicated a determination to liquidate it altogether

because of its "too Communist" reputation. They wanted instead to build "a broad movement to include all opposition elements" and to give over its leadership to the "progressives." This policy would have flung the door open still wider to such fake oppositionists as Brennan and would have committed us more than ever to the wrong tendencies of trade union legalism and the united front from the top.

The RILU definitely corrected the leftist tendencies in the TUEL without, however, supporting the proposals of Cannon and Lovestone. But these two nursed their wrong line, as we now plainly see.

The next big step in its elaboration was the struggle of Pepper and Lovestone against the decisions of the 4th RILU Congress, which launched the new union program in the United States. Pepper and Lovestone fought this very bitterly, developing their whole line of American exceptionalism, and outlining Pepper's famous 10 points why independent revolutionary unions could not be built in the United States, and also his glowing picture of millions of workers streaming into the A. F. of L. in a new wave of prosperity.[1]

Cannon in this fight apparently supported the RILU line, but it is now clear this was only lip service. This "left" has swallowed hook, line, and sinker, the whole opportunist trade union program of Pepper and Lovestone.

Pepper and Lovestone were overwhelmingly defeated in their clash with the RILU. But they never accepted the correction. The sharpening of the world crisis of capitalism and the general intensification of the struggle of the CI and RILU forced the development of their capitulatory line, even as it did that of Cannon, until now it stands revealed in all its ugly clearness.

It runs beyond the scope of this already overlong article to detail the efforts of the Lovestone and Cannon groups to put their trade union line into practice. Their forces are so weak that they have been able to make only a fragmentary showing. Nevertheless, they have amply demonstrated their destructive influence upon the TUUL Unions.

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1 In this controversy my own position was incorrect. I polemized with Comrade Losovsky on the grounds that his criticism of our past policy was too severe. There was a certain resistance, of course, in my polemic; but, as later events have shown, I was not opposed to the new line. Lovestone and Pepper, however, made use of my position in their fight against the whole line of the 4th RILU Congress.

The disruptive and paralyzing activities of Weisbord, Watt, Gross, Zimmerman, etc., are typical of their line. These people had to be removed from their leading posts on pain of most serious damage to the organizations. They showed themselves incapable to lead revolutionary unions.

Both the Lovestone and Cannon groups spread pessimism and feed upon the great difficulties that the new unions inevitably meet. They sabotage every campaign and movement that the T. U. U. L. leads or participates in; March 6, May 1, August 1, September 1, the various conventions of the national industrial unions, etc. Their attitude towards the national unemployed convention was shown by the fact that the Lovestoneites held their national group conference in New York on the very same days that the T. U. U. L. unemployed convention was being held in Chicago. They also openly sabotaged the 50,000 membership drive of the T. U. U. L.—the thesis and manifesto of the two groups, issued in the midst of this drive, never even mentioning it. They now exhibit the same attitude towards the T. U. U. L. $100,000 strike fund campaign. The Lovestoneites and Cannonites have shown clearly in practice as well as in theory their liquidating line towards the revolutionary trade union work.

Although these two groups are weak in numbers and influence they, nevertheless, constitute a danger that must be combatted. In the present situation, with the wave of radicalization rapidly mounting all such opportunist groups, covering their reactionary line with radical phrases, are dangerous for their power to delude the wakening workers. It is a mistake to consider even the I. W. W. "dead."

The Lovestone and Cannon groups also will not want for official support in the old unions. Posing as a "loyal" and "sensible" opposition, as "good" Communists "who take no orders from Moscow," their demand for reinstatement into the old unions will not fall upon deaf ears. The reactionary bureaucrats will find an advantage in the Lovestone-Cannon counter-revolutionary attacks upon the T. U. U. L., the Party, and the Soviet Union. The Musteites will welcome their cooperation.

V. In Conclusion

We must fight the S. P.-Muste group, and in so doing we must also fight the Lovestone-Cannon groups. This is fundamental for the success of our movement. This fight must not only be ideological, but must be backed up by the most vigorous efforts to secure the actual leadership of the masses.

We must also resolutely combat all opportunist trends in our Party, both the openly Right deviation and leftism. These hamstring and cripple the Party's action whenever they exist.

It must be admitted that in view of the favorable objective situation we have not made sufficient progress in building the T. U. U. L. and leading the workers in struggle. This is largely due to the shortage of trained leading forces, to serious errors made in the work, and to insufficient mobilization of our forces. But also there are passive moods among our membership, based, on the one hand, on an underestimation of the willingness of the workers to struggle, and on the other, a feeling that in view of the increasingly favorable situation, the workers will spontaneously act and come to our ranks. Such passive moods must be liquidated and a full mobilization of all our forces secured for the big struggles ahead.

The resolutions of our 7th Party Convention point out and analyze the mistakes and shortcomings of the Party trade union work and laid out a practical program of action. It is not necessary here to repeat this. Suffice it to say that the progress of our Party generally in securing the leadership of the masses depends upon the success of our trade union work.

The situation imperatively demands a great intensification in the work of organizing the unorganized into the T. U. U. L. We must also strengthen our lagging activities in the reformist unions, and stimulate our work among the Negroes, youth, and women. Nor can we forget the urgent necessity of building Labor Unity. For all this, the improvement of our Party fraction system is necessary.

It is our main task, in the midst of the deepening crisis, to organize the employed and unemployed for a great joint struggle against wage cuts and for unemployment insurance. Every phase of our work must be developed to unite the workers to defend the Soviet Union, and to inspire them with the successes of the Russian workers in building Socialism.

The objective situation is highly favorable for the success of our trade union work and Party activities in general. Our political line is clear and correct. Let us, therefore, get at our work with redoubled vigor, smashing in our advance the S. P.-Musteites, and their auxiliaries, Cannon and Lovestone.

Fear of Communism and War Preparations in the Election Campaign

By SAM DON

UNLIKE the Election Campaign of 1928-29, in which the two main parties of the capitalist class made prohibition the major issue, this year, in view of the continuously deepening crisis, they are compelled to modify their early attempts to again make prohibition an issue, and have begun to speak openly of the crisis, unemployment and war preparations.

In the primary elections in Illinois, which were held early in the spring, the Republican and Democratic Parties made prohibition the main issue and, with the Democratic Party already then attempting to bring in the unemployment situation, the Republican Party, in its primaries, made no mention at all of the crisis and the unemployment situation.

As stated above, it was precisely the pressure of the crisis and the awakening of the masses which compelled the capitalist parties to take up this question and the Democratic Party makes it one of its major campaign issues.

We will give a few quotations from the leading financial papers which indicate the broadening and deepening of the crisis, *which is the key to the understanding of the present political situation and the elections.* For instance, the Bulletin of the National City Bank for the month of July writes as follows: "The past month has witnessed a decided deepening of the feeling of discouragement about business, and probably at no time since the stock-market collapse of last fall has the average businessman been more inclined to question his traditional faith in the *recuperative power of the country.*" (My emphasis—S. D.) From the professianal optimism and a return to prosperity to a doubting of the "recuperative power of the country!" It is precisely the fact that, with the growing unemployment and wage-cuts, the working class is losing its faith in American prosperity, that the question of social insurance, work or wages, becomes the main problem for which the working class seeks a solution. The capitalist parties therefore, feeling this growing discontent of the masses, which will reflect itself in the elections, have felt compelled to take up the issue of the crisis and unemployment.

How serious the situation is and how poor are the prospects for an improvement are even admitted by the Iron Age in its recent review. It states, "The industry in its present conservative mood can see little chance of a *marked* recovery in business *this year*. But there is growing adherence to the belief that the autumn months will at least bring some measure of seasonal improvement." (My emphasis—S. D.) The best they can hope for is a seasonal and not a basic improvement.

Conditions last November were supposed to improve in the winter, then conditions in the winter were supposed to improve in the spring, conditions in the spring were supposed to improve in the fall, and now the only hope that is held out is an improvement in 1932! In the face of such a situation, it is obvious that with the millions of unemployed workers who have been out of jobs for almost a year now, with part-time employment, with wage-cuts and speed-up, with no hope for a radical turn to the better, political class-consciousness is awakening.

We will close our quotations on the economic situation with one brief statement written on August 30 by Lloyd George: "The reports from the United States indicate a slump, *the depth of which has not been reached within living memory.*" (My emphasis—S. D.)

The embracing of Communism by the unemployed workers and by the working class as a whole, in view of the ever deepening crisis, is becoming the dominant fear of the three capitalist parties (Republican, Democratic, and Socialist) in this election campaign. For instance, James Hamilton Lewis, candidate for the U. S. Senate on the Illinois Democratic ticket, in his speech on August 20th before the state Democratic Convention, said the following, "The citizen beholds business driven to desperation, capital to terror, and sees ejected from employment millions and millions of toilers." He said that, "In their helplessness (the unemployed) these burdened and abandoned Americans become *fit for Communism* and peril their own land with threats of danger." (My emphasis—S. D.) Mr. Lewis expresses here the fear of the ruling class, and the purpose of the Democratic Party and particularly, the purpose of the Social-Fascists, in taking up unemployment as the main issue in the election campaign. He also spoke at a picnic attended by thousands of Polish workers, at which he said that the present crisis "will test the loyalty of the foreign-born citizens."

The present situation really makes the unemployed workers a

danger to the ruling class and makes them "fit for Communism." Any wonder.

Even in the days of prosperity the number of workers decreased and wages were at best stagnant. For instance, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that between 1919 and 1929 *production increased* 32% *although aggregate payrolls went up only* 3% *and employment actually decreased* 11%. In the August issue of the American Federationist there appeared an article by Professor Douglas under the headline of "Technological Unemployment" in which are given the following figures: " The output per man in manufacturing was approximately 45% greater in 1929 than it was in 1919 according to the indexes of the Federal Reserve Board, but this increase was accompanied by a *decrease* of 10% in the number of wage earners who were employed in manufacturing since instead of the nine million who were engaged in 1919, only an approximate 8,100,000 were employed *even before the depression of the end of* 1929. (Emphasis mine —S. D.) In every previous decade, the numbers employed in manufacturing had increased, not only absolutely but relatively to the total population, and this had been cited to disprove the contention that mechanical improvement displaced labor. But in the decade which has just passed, not only did the relative number of persons in the country who were employed in manufacturing decrease, but the absolute numbers fell as well, and by the very appreciable amount of one-tenth. Nor was manufacturing alone. The output per person in mining increased by between 40 and 45%, while the numbers employed fell by approximately 7%and there was in addition a much greater amount of lost time within employment in the bituminous coal industry. The efficiency of the workers on our railways rose appreciably during those ten years if measured in terms of ton-miles per worker, and yet the numbers employed decreased by approximately 300,000, or by 15%." Thus we see that the growing army of unemployed since the stock exchange crash is taking place with a background of workers who have been completely eliminated from industry "even before the depression of the end of 1929."

Marx in his Capital, in speaking of the possibility of a decrease in absolute number of the workers engaged in industry, wrote that such a situation would lead to revolution. Here are his exact words, "If the development of productive forces will decrease the absolute number of workers that would actually create the possibility that the entire nation would complete produc-

tion in a shorter time, this would call forth a revolution because the majority of the population would become 'unnecessary'."

It is precisely this prediction of Marx which haunts the bourgeoisie today and determines its election strategy and explains the unmistakable growth of fascism and social-fascism.

We must also remember that the despair of the unemployed workers grows daily as their "reserves" have already long ago been exhausted and the "reserves" of the few fortunate ones are being exhausted rapidly.

The Labor Bulletin, the official organ of the Illinois State Department of Labor, is compelled to report in its July issue that "manufacturing employment in Illinois cities has decreased steadily every month since last September with the exception of February in which month a slight increase was reported." The extent of unemployment, embracing practically every section of the working class can also be seen from the statement in the report that "the decrease in factory employment was again intensified by an increase in part-time work."

In Chicago, for instance, the report states that the seventh consecutive decrease in industrial activity was recorded for June with a decrease of 2.1% in factory employment and 4.2% in pay-rolls. Thus we see a steady increase in permanent unemployment for almost a period of a year, increase in part-time employment, and along with them wage-cuts. No wonder then that Mr. Lewis is alarmed and Mrs. McCormick, the Senatorial candidate for the Republican Party in Illinois, in her speech to the recent republican state convention said, "There is no national problem confronting us today of greater importance than that of unemployment. It deeply affects the welfare of the nation as a whole and comes closer to us as a people than any other public question." At the time of the primary elections last spring, Mrs. McCormick did not even whisper as to the unemployment situation; today she feels compelled to state (in order to make it appear before the workers that the Republican Party is also concerned with their welfare) "there is no greater problem than unemployment."

By the way, it is interesting to mention that Mr. Gerard, in his list of the "59 rulers," includes quite a number who are "citizens" of the state of Illinois; for instance, he names Samuel Insull, Robert R. McCormick and Joseph Medill Patterson (Publishers of the Chicago Tribune), and Julius Rosenwald. Mrs. McCormick, part of the Chicago Tribune family, is also the candidate of Insull. She represents most clearly and openly the com-

plete merger of the industrial, transportation and financial interests of the state.

The farmers are beginning to show ever greater political restiveness, and in some respects even greater aggressivness than in the farmer-labor movement of 1923-24. The agricultural crisis, reflecting the general world crisis and in turn deepening it, has affected the American farmers to an unheard of degree. The fact that it is reported officially that the income of the farmers in the last few months fell 15% is a pretty good gauge of the miserable conditions of the farmers today. There are reports that in the midwestern states the farmers are simply leaving the farms, running away from them, because of inability to pay taxes and mortgages.

A report appeared in the Chicago Tribune recently that bankers in the middle west are not collecting mortgages for fear of rebellion on the part of the farmers and one university professor declared that if a certain bill for farmers relief is not passed this would cause rebellion Of course he merely reflects the fear of the bourgeoisie. Also interesting is a report which appeared recently in one of the editorials of the Daily Worker that farmers refused to pay taxes and beat up the tax collectors. The conditions of the farmers in the state of Illinois can clearly be seen from a report which appeared in the Tribune on September 9th. The report states that between 1925-1930 ther ewas a decrease in farms by 4.8%. Especially instructive are the reports on the various counties which show clearly the impoverishment of the farmers for the past few years. For instance, within the limits of Cook County between 1929-30 there was a decrease of 36.8%: in DuPage County 26.2%; in Lake County 29.3%; and in Lawrence County 28.9%.

The restiveness of the farmers in the middle-western states is of special importance as it takes place within states which also are in many respects leading industrial states. For instance, Illinois, being a leading industrial states, is also second largest in the yield of corn, and Indiana, being a steel center in the Calumet region and an important metal center in Indianapolis, is the sixth state for corn.

The political alliance between the capitalist class and the American farmers under the leadership of the Republican Party was in many respects responsible for the political stability of American capitalism and its political domination over the working class. The frantic political gestures of the capitalist class of relief for farmers is based upon maintaining its alliance under the hege-

mony and iron heel of the capitalist class. However, the agricultural crisis which deepens the differentiation between the farmers narrows the base for this alliance and breaks it up. All objective conditions are in existence for the establishment of an alliance of the American workers and farmers under the leadership of the working class. Therefore, the important role that the farmers can play under our leadership in the elections cannot be overestimated.

In its fear of Communism in connection with the present world situation the American bourgeoisie is already beginning consciously to build shock-absorbers for the growing discontent of the masses in the form of building the social-fascist Labor Party.

In connection with this it is worth while recalling the editorials in the New York Evening Telegram criticizing the A. F. of L. for not being "militant" enough—that is, not developing an active social-fascist policy against the growing influence of our Party. It is especially interesting to note that in connection with this year's Labor Day the entire capitalist press thruout the country was championing the Labor Day celebration of the A. F. of L. as the organizing center against the Trade Union Unity League demonstration on September 1st. One of the Pittsburgh papers in an editorial even criticised the A. F. of L. for allowing Labor Day to "degenerate" into merry-making and allowing the Communists a free hand amongst the unemployed workers. In the state of New York we might say the capitalist press opened the election campaign for the Socialist Party.

The Musteites who are part and parcel of the Socialist Party have begun an energetic campaign for the building of a Labor Party. Of course, it is in order to more skillfully and more effectively betray the workers than the present leadership of the A. F. of L. and thus prevent workers from following the T. U. U. L. and our Party.

The purpose of the formation of a social-fascist Labor Party in connection with the deepening crisis and the growing radicalization of the masses was most clearly stated in a leading article in the Labor Age which appeared in its May issue. In this article the writer in taking np the question of a Labor Party lets not only the cat out of the bag but also the kittens. For instance, he writes, "Workers everywhere have told me that if the situation had become much worse this winter there would have been *open revolt*. I believe that is what we are coming to in the next few years unless there develops a new political movement which

will use politics in a more creative way to meet the situation." (My emphasis—S. D.).

If there is still any doubt as to why he proposes "a new political movement," we will quote another paragraph from his article.

"If we do not furnish the workers of this country with any intelligent, constructive, creative political Party to meet the present situation then if we do have larger numbers of unemployed and corresponding reduction of wages of those who do work there will be *no other alternative than violent rebellion.*" (My emphasis—S. D.)

Open revolt and violent rebellion haunt the bourgeoisie, and their social-fascist shock troops within the working class, carrying out the policy of their masters, propose the other alternative, the formation of a social-fascist Labor Party.

No wonder that the bourgeoisie begins to be haunted by the fear of violent rebellion. The background and the perspective for these fears can easily be gathered from the following report of the Labor Bureau: "The present extent of unemployed is alarming; the danger of real calamity during the coming winter calls for the utmost possible in the way of immediate action.... But this is not the worst. In spite of reassuring statements which have been made from time to time by federal officials, unemployment has undoubtedly become steadily more serious since April. Factory employment has shown a steady decline from April to July. There is no sign of marked improvement in August. Railroad and mining employment have likewise been shrinking, while it is improbable that employment has become any more plentiful in the building trades. Unemployment in agricultural regions is probably more grave than at the time of the census, except for purely seasonal work for harvest hands, since depression in agriculture is reinforced by drought."

The August issue of the Musteite Labor Age hints at the possibility of the A. F. of L. leadership being less hostile to the idea of the formation of a Labor Party. For instance, in its editorial it wrote, "The A. F. of L. is very much ashamed of the fruits of its non-partisan political policy. Such an attitude is a turn for the better." And it winds up its editorial on the question of the attitude of the A. F. of L. for a Labor Party by stating, "The Boston Convention may yet see a change of heart that will lead the A. F. of L. into the path of righteousness."

The possible change of heart on the part of the A. F. of L. leadership will not be due, of course, to it becoming less fascist but will be the direct result of the growing radicalization of the

masses and the need of retaining the A. F. of L. as a fascist shock troop of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class.

It is also necessary to note that within the Chicago Federation of Labor two definite tendencies are noticeable; the dominant one open fascism and the other (which begins to grow as the crisis deepens) social-fascism, with the active propagation of a Labor Party. And precisely that section which had at one time some contact with mass movement and knows the possibilities of the influence of the T. U. U. L. amongst the workers, begins the active agitation for a social-fascist Labor Party.

The Socialist candidate for Governor of the State of New York, Mr. Waldman, makes the formation of a Labor Party as one of his main campaign issues. It is no accident at all that precisely in the state of New York, where in addition to the objective conditions there is also subjective factors in the form of old militant socialist traditions and the clear expression of class relations that the Socialist Party and the capitalist press is actively campaigning for a social-fascist Labor Party as against the growing influence of our Party in New York.

As a background for the New York capitalist press endorsement of the various socialist candidates can be taken the statement of the Lieutenant Governor of the state, Lehman: "I believe, that organized labor has, in the last ten years, been the greatest protection that we have had against the encroachment of communism and hateful communistic propaganda and philosophy."

This fear of Communism also reflected in the campaign issue of Governor Roosevelt for fake unemployment insurance. He even became brave and stated that his "approval" of unemployment insurance will result in the "financial papers calling me a Bolshevik." But in this statement that the financial papers will call him a Bolshevik is precisely hidden the purpose of making Unemployment an issue in order to fool the workers.

We might also mention here the statement of Dr. Butler, president of Columbia University, whose statement with "complimentary" remarks to the Soviet Union, warns the ruling class to be careful of Communism by "dividing" their wealth with the poor.

The Milwaukee Socialists who were known to be the extreme right of the Socialist Party, are lately beginning to change front. The increased activities of the Party amongst the unemployed and our growing influence there is compelling them to begin to use class struggle phrases in order to appear as a "militant" working class Party. At a time when their courts have sentenced our

comrades, the leaders of the Unemployed workers on March 6, their Socialist Campaigner sheet has a demand for the establishment of class justice in the courts.

From the above can be seen that the strategy of the bourgeoisie is to prepare the ground for the formation of a social-fascist Labor Party. This tendency is undeniable and precisely the deepening of the crisis and the fear of Communism is expressed in it.

The active organizational formation of the Labor Party and the growth of the influence of the Labor Party against the workers depends primarily on the activities of our Party amongst the working class and the mobilization of the workers in direct and active struggle against fascism and social-fascism.

* * *

The deepening of the crisis in its world-wide scope brings out sharply the immediacy of the war danger. In view of the crisis, every leading capitalist country is more desperate to increase its exports, but the world-wide character of the crisis has resulted in a decrease of the exports of every leading country. Thus, war as a solution of the crisis (which explains the increased armaments and war maneuvers) becomes the dominant keynote in the foreign policies of the leading imperialist powers.

The Economic Bulletin of the National City Bank for July under the headline, "The Decline of World Trade," states, "From most other countries of the globe come reports of similar difficulties besetting trade and emphasizing the wide-spread character of the depression." America, as the leading country in the production of commodities and consumption of raw materials is therefore both reflecting and suffering from the world crisis of capitalism and the American crisis in turn deepens it and is deepened by it. The same Bulletin states it pretty clearly: "When depression struck the United States and impaired the purchasing power of this great market—the greatest single market in the world—the effects could not fail to spread all over the world wherever there are people producing goods for our consumption. Our diminished imports reacted unfavorably upon them and contributed to the fall of prices, resulting in a condition of distress in many of these countries more acute than in the United States where diversification of industry has tended to modify the extreme swing of business. Particularly is this true of countries like those of Latin America and Australia, whose prosperity is so largely dependent upon raw materials. *And as our business from them has fallen off and their purchasing power has been curtailed, their*

ability to buy from us has been correspondingly reduced." (Emphasis mine—S. D.)

Mr. Lamont Pierce of the U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in an article in the Forbes Magazine, under the interesting headline, "U. S. Exports Touch Low Levels," and with a sub-headline, "World Depression Illustrated by the Conditions in Asia," writes, "Those who have been waiting hopefully for some encouraging sign of recovery in the foreign situation were again keenly disappointed by the May figures, which showed a monthly value of American overseas shipments lower than any recorded since June, 1925." And further: "With a few exceptions, the commercial depression is world-wide. Take the Far East as an example: China one need scarcely say affords no immediate stimulating or propitious prospect. The internal situation in the disturbed republic is not improving. There is instability in exchange rates and the general feeling of commercial insecurity and lack of confidence."

About a month ago, the Chicago Tribune, in an editorial gave the following figures on the exports of the leading countries: "American exports in the five months including May, 1930, shows a decline of 20% under the exports of the corresponding period of a year ago. In contrast, the German exports were down only 3%; British exports, 16%; French, 5%; Dutch, 4%; Italian, 11%; Swiss, 7%; Austrian, 3%; Czechoslovakian, 5%."

Since May, conditions of world trade and the export of the leading countries have dropped still further and it is precisely this which accentuates the war danger and makes it so immediate.

The above figures can easily be grasped in the light of the following report; for instance, in the Chicago Daily News of August 7th, in a report from its London correspondent, we find the following: "British Electrical Manufacturing Association publishes a carefully seasoned analysis of the British and world situation with a conclusion that *improvement is not likely before 1932, and then only a lightening of the depression.*" (My emphasis —S. D.)

As the basic causes responsible for the present crisis deepen it with unheard of rapidity and the hopes entertained by the important powers for an immediate recovery become faint, pacifist gestures and phrases are discarded and open preparatory mobilization for war becomes the order of the day.

In this election campaign we already note the beginning of an open mobilization of "public opinion for war" and cleverly the bourgeois parties in discussing unemployment emphasize its

world-wide character and hint at war particularly against the Soviet Union and China. Thus we see that Mrs. McCormick in her speech before the Illinois State Convention on August 22, under a newspaper headline, "Calls Unemployment World Problem," said in part: "The nations of the world, following a long critical period of war construction and suffering from a business and financial depression which has reacted upon conditions in our own country and the state." In this statement, putting the responsibility for unemployment on the world situation, is the germ of present and future jingoistic speeches for war. The Chicago Tribune, which states most clearly and openly the important policies of the American capitalist class, in various editorials and in cartoons link up the discussion of the crisis and unemployment with open talk for war. A recent cartoon shows Mars sowing the seeds of war and portrays in the background "Millions out of work in Europe and Soviet Russia" (?!!) and having Mars telling those unemployed workers, "Leave it to me and I will soon give them all employment." In an editorial of July 14 under the headline, "Hovering Stormclouds," the Tribune, in referring to the Franco-Italian situation, "which contains explosive possibilities," wound up by saying, "The picture recalls vividly the situation before 1914, with its recurrent crisis," and further, "Mr. Bryan declares that a war in Europe at the present moment is 'neither possible nor admissible,' but that was pretty generally asserted by believers in the efficacy of international agreements and restrains in 1914."

The Chicago Daily News, very recently, under a headline, "Ominous Tension in Europe," started its editorial with the following statement, "Unless certain European politicians are indulging in provocative rhetorical utterances in order to attract attention to themselves or to direct attention from difficult domestic problems, *the situation in continental Europe is full of menace.*" The Chicago Tribune, in another editorial with the headline, "Incorrigible Europe," speaking of the war preparations of France, England, and Italy, points out that the U. S., under such conditions, cannot remain "isolated from the world situation."

It is quite obvious, then, that American Imperialism is preparing for war and particularly against Great Britain. One of the Chicago papers wrote that the U. S. cannot depend upon Great Britain to protect its foreign trade and that Uncle Sam will have to build a navy which will enable him to protect his own trade and not depend upon John Bull for it.

The Chicago Daily News, in a dispatch dated August 1st, under the headline "Rivals organize to Battle U. S. and World Trade," and with a sub-headline, "British Rivals are Active," writes, "The extent to which foreign competitors will go in combatting American products is plainly shown by the activities of the British." While the dispatch writes that Americans find foreign competitors come back strong after defeats, the full-column dispatch speaks mainly against Great Britain as the main competitor of American imperialism.

The question of the tariff as a reflection of the crisis in war preparations is not dealt with here, though something should be written on this subject in connection with the election campaign.

One of the senators in a speech in Chicago spoke very alarmingly of the fact that there was a drop of more than 60% in the exports from America to China and a special committee was formed to stimulate trade with China. The article by Mr. Pierce from which we have already quoted gives a vivid picture of the situation in China: "New business in Shanghai, according to reports to the Department of Commerce continues at an extremely low level. Importers find it practically impossible to plan future business with any degree of certainty and the consequent prevailing tendency is to delay commitments until the situation clarifies. Chinese bankers are exercising more time and using caution with reference to credit extensions, while prices on many commodities have advanced, the general level is lagging considerably behind replacement costs in some instances as much as 50% or more." Is there any wonder that the Chicago Tribune speaks openly and calls for immediate intervention in China. In an editorial of August 29th, under the headline, Communism in China, it writes, "The situation is full of dangerous possibilities. But it should be clear at least that this outcome must be regarded as possible if not probable and should be prepared for through definite understanding as to a course of efficient action in case intervention is the only alternative to the absorption of China by the Bolshevik power."

The growth of socialism thru the success of the Five Year Plan in the Soviet Union is haunting the capitalist powers in the face of the ever deepening crisis and the growing misery of the working class.

No wonder then that Mr. Mathew Woll said the following: "If the Five Year Plan will be crowned with success this would mean that also the other countries, including the U. S. will be compelled to adopt the Soviet System." Of course Mr. Mathew

Woll, when he says that the U. S. will be compelled to adopt the Soviet System, expresses here the fear of the ruling class that the working class, learning from the living example of the Soviet Union, will abolish capitalism.

At first, especially at the time when capitalism still seemed to be "sound" and "stable" they ridiculed the Five Year Plan. The Social Fascists were particularly active in this ridiculous campaign. One of the leading German industrialists said that, "It is even utopia to think that the Five Year Plan could be carried thru in 50 years." However, now, with the Five Year Plan being carried thru in 4 years in face of the present world crisis of capitalism, the bourgeoisie considers the Five Year Plan not an utopia but an immediate active danger to the entire capitalist system. This is again vividly expressed in a cartoon which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal of August 19th. This cartoon already takes a realistic attitude to the slogans of the working class of the S. U. to catch up and exceed the industrial deevlopment of the leading capitalist countries. The cartoon pictures the race between capitalism and the Soviet Union and finally we see that American Capitalism which was so far ahead of Soviet Russia is finally overtaken by the Soviet Union in face of the depression suffered by American Capitalism.

While the capitalist class, in the face of the crisis, is compelled to increase trade with the Soviet Union, that in no way changes the fundamental attitude of American imperialism—and that is active war preparations against the Soviet Union. *It is precisely the deepening of the crisis and the fear of the Five Year Plan being crowned with success that makes the ruling class today more vicious than ever before and more active in its war preparations against the Soviet Union.*

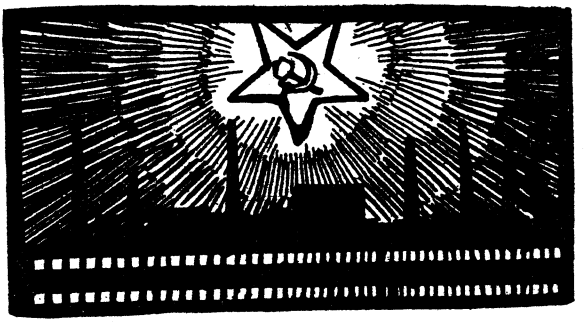
This tendency is very clearly shown in a dispatch from New York dated August 2nd to the Chicago Evening Post in which the correspondent, in taking up the advantages of trade with the Soviet Union and the controversy around the embargo on pulp wood, winds up his dispatch as follows: "All of the stories in the morning papers were agreed that the barring of the Soviet pulp wood shipments marks the first concrete blow in what is regarded as a struggle developing between the state-owned Soviet industries and the American business interests—a struggle involving the threat of a break in trade relations between this country and Russia, *that behind the clash is seen the play of forces representing two diametrically opposed economic systems.*" So we see that it is precisely two diametrically opposed economic

systems—one growing, the other decaying and dying—which explains the active war preparations against the Soviet Union.

The Chicago Tribune therefore, while writing editorials recently in which it speaks of the need for increasing trade with the Soviet Union, expresses its dominant attitude in the following editorial of August 27, in which under the headline, "The Baltic Bulwark," it calls for open warfare against the Soviet Union—it writes: "We do not underestimate, for example, the difficulty of composing the controversy between Poland and Lithuania, and yet Poland with its large population and strong backing *seems a natural if not a necessary center of combination against Russia.*" (My emphasis—S. D.)

The active participation of American imperialism against the Soviet Union might be seen even from the following incident. Under the direction of Polish fascism, over 30 thousand Poles in Chicago gathered to celebrate the "victory over the Red Army in 1920." All the foreign consuls residing in Chicago were invited and a few of them attended, but what is most signficant is the fact that Mr. Hoover sent a "personal representative to this celebration," the former Governor of Iowa, Mr. Hart.

In this election campaign, the capitalist class in its fear of Communism and in its war preparations, particularly against the Soviet Union, begins to speak ever more openly of war. Our Party in this election campaign must link up the struggle for social insurance, against wage-cuts and speed-up, with our campaign against war and particularly for the defense of the Soviet Union.



The Socialist Party in the Election Campaign

By LOUIS KOVESS

THE Socialist Party takes seriously its duty to actively participate in the class struggle. Is it a strike? If the Socialist Party is there, it is there to betray the strikers. Is it the struggle of the unemployed for unemployed insurance? The Socialist Party is there, to insure the capitalist class from the unemployed, by demagogically sidetracking their struggle. Is it lynching? The Socialist Party is there, with ropes in hands, by strengthening race prejudices. But at the funeral of the hanged men, we will find Rev. Norman Thomas shedding tears. Is it deportation of foreign born workers? The Socialist Party is there, lowering the gang-planks to the deportation ships, by agitating for the registration of the foreign-born, but still pretending to be against deportations. We could continue the list, until it would become as long and wide as the chasm which divides the interests of the oppressing classes with which the Socialist Party is allied, from those of the oppressed classes. In the present election campaign, the Socialist Party furnishes enough material against itself, in spite of its carefully employed demagogy, to throw this chasm wide open before the working class and to show the Socialist Party at the other side of it.

Building the Socialist Party in "Southern Style"

In the North, the Socialist Party still lets escape sometimes, half-heartedly, a phrase or two "against" lynching. But campaigning in the South, the Socialist Party takes off its mask. In connection with the Socialist Party election campaign in Virginia, the central organ of the Socialist Party writes, "Almost all Southerners believe in segregating the Negro and depriving him of the social and political rights that whites enjoy. *The southern socialists must adjust their tactics to this state of affairs.** It is certain that there never will be a thriving movement in the South *unless it is conducted in Southern style.*" (New Leader, June 21, 1930.)

The candidate of the Socialist Party in Virginia is adver-

* All emphasis here and to follow are mine. L. K.

tised in the same "style," "David George's ancestors arrived in Virginia in 1717." Unquestionably, taken from the spirit of the whole article and campaign advertisements, they were prosperous slaveholders.

Registration and the Socialist Party

The Reading Labor Advocate published a report on a conference of a fraternal organization of the Socialist Party. The "Fraternal Order of Police" has correctly chosen as its place of conference the City under "socialist" administration, Reading, Pa. At this conference, registration and fingerprinting was proposed. The organ of the Socialist Party comments on the proposals in a typical (southern and northern) social-fascist style:

"While the argument may be advanced that *honest people need not fear the most thorough identification system* (compulsory registration—L.K.), the fingerprint idea is one which American workers will do well to oppose."

That is, the Socialist Party is in favor of registration, but does not mind, if American workers oppose fingerprinting. Be honest, esteem Law, the Police Club, Jail, the Electric Chair and other democratic institutions, and you need not fear registration! To be sure that the Socialist Party *really means this,* in the following paragraph it is even more clearly stated, "Nobody should have any fight with a policeman in the performance of his duty." If the policemen wished to hold their conference in a city where they would get the maximum appreciation, they really had to find the city administered by the "socialists."

Capitalist Appreciation

But the Socialist Party is also appreciated for its services rendered to the capitalist class and their State and the Socialist Party glorifies itself in this appreciation. The New Leader (July 26, 1930) published an editorial from the New York Telegram, which states, "That the Socialist Party under Norman Thomas, has made long strides in the direction of a new respectability is evidenced by two recent Republican references to the party or to Thomas." Indeed, Majority Leader Knight of the Senate and Speaker McGinnies of the Assembly highly praised the Socialist Party.

The admiration expressed by the social-fascists towards the police on duty, changes into rage, when Communists come into their sight. The New Leader published recently a report from

Denver, entitled "Colorado Socialists Fight Bosses and Communists for Free Speech Right." But the report does not show that the Socialist Party had any trouble with the bosses. It says only, that Communists attended a meeting where Socialist Party leaders spoke and told the workers that these leaders are social traitors. Then Stone, state secretary of the Socialist Party declared, "From now on when this stuff is pulled, I'm going to call the capitalist police and let these workers for the revolution pay a fine in a capitalist court the next morning."

Unemployment and the Socialist Party

In former elections, the Socialist Party mentioned the question of unemployment. But since the Socialist Party has every cause to fear that the workers already following the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions of the Trade Union Unity League, will on an even larger scale, wage a struggle for the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill, for the 7-hour day, the 5-day week, against wage cuts, rationalization and speed up, the Socialist Party in this election campaign is forced to say something on unemployment, in order to sidetrack and disarm the workers. In the election platform of the Socialist Party there are generalities about "social insurance" and a shorter working week. The Reading Labor Advocate (Sept 5, 1930) is trying to be more concrete about this, when it praises Governor Roosevelt for his "asking unemployment insurance." Heywood Broun, the new star of the Socialist Party, is looking for the solution of unemployment through Senator Wagner: "It's only fair to say that in Washington, Senator Wagner did make a good start by introducing bills patterned on the socialist philosophy, but it was only a start." (New Leader, Aug. 9, 1930.) The Milwaukee Leader is satisfied, but not completely, with what the Republican administration is doing about unemployment: "If there were a *proper amount* of concern for the distress of the unemployed and their families, congress and the legislatures would be called in special sessions." (Milwaukee Leader, Aug. 21, 1930).

Helping to Hook the Farmers

The plight of the farmers is worrying the Socialist Party as much as unemployment. They propose, "Acquisition by bona-fide co-operative societies and by Federal, State and municipal governments of grain elevators, flour mills, creameries, implement factories, stockyards, storage warehouses and other dis-

tributing agencies and the conduct of these services on a non-profit basis." (Congressional Platform of the Socialist Party.)

No fascist in the world can make a better proposal than this. What does this mean? It means that the owners of the grain elevators, stockyards, implement factories and other finance capitalists, who actually control the so-called cooperatives of the farmers and the government, which is also run by the same finance capitalists, shall voluntarily (since the Socialist Party does not propose struggle) decide, to conduct their business on a non-profit basis.

Everything else, they expect from Hoover: "We observe, that the President is promising relief. We hope, that we will be able to do almost as well by farmers as he did by the Belgians during the war. . . . " (Thomas in New Leader, Aug. 9, 1930.) "The President is showing *more energy and wisdom* in furthering emergency measures than he has done in dealing with the unemployment. . . . " (Reading Labor Advocate, Aug. 22, 1930.)

THE SOCIALIST PARTY—ORGANIZER OF THE SMALL CAPITALISTS

But here we come to a point where the Socialist Party is not fooling, but means business. "Gentlemen," Henry J. Stump, the socialist mayor of Reading, Pa., addressed the National Business Club convention, "you don't amount to as much as you imagine you do. Just now you are on the top of the heap, but sooner or later Old Man Merger is going to get you and you will find yourselves in the ranks of the jobless white-shirt slaves. . . . You may be next. What are you going to do about it?" (New Leader, June 28, 1930.)

What?

The Milwaukee Leader answers to this. It shows in an editorial, that in the first six months of the present year, 13,771 business concerns went into bankruptcy in the U. S. The editorial puts the question straight to the small capitalists: "How do you like it? Are you ready to vote for its continuance? Or are you ready to vote for something better?" (Milwaukee Leader, Aug. 5, 1930.)

And most certainly, join the Socialist Party!

DISARMAMENT, CHINA, INDIA, SOVIET UNION

"We believe that our government would *further insure* the cause of universal peace by setting an example of *voluntary* disarmament. . . ." (Congressional Platform of the Socialist

Party.) No need for the working class to struggle against preparations for the coming imperialist war. The Socialist Party begs its government about it!

"Those who fight the London treaty in every country are fighting the principle of international agreement on armaments. We who do not like the London Treaty because it did not go *far tnough must fight for it* because of its enemies and because we do believe in international agreement even if international agreement is as tentative and illogical as the London Treaty." (Norman Thomas in New Leader, July 12, 1930.) As Thomas justifies the arming to the teeth of the imperialist states, by defending the principle of the inter-imperialist agreements, so does Oneal justify the murdering of the Indian workers and peasants and their growing oppression by the Labor Party government by the imperialist principle, that England must rule over colonies:

"England depends upon her dominions, crown colonies and other possesions for her continued existence. Her people (!) can be starved to death if they do not have access to these possessions . . . no party can hope for success in Great Britain, whether capitalist or labor, that does not squarely face this situation." (James Oneal in New Leader, July 12, 1930.)

About the Chinese revolution, the Socialist Party is of the same opinion as Trotzky and Cannon, in speaking about the Social forces of the revolution; especially about the Red Army they say, "Some of them are bandits, some of them unpaid government soldiers who have turned against their masters, some are simply out for loot." (Thomas in New Leader, August 9, 1930.)

On the colonial question, the Congressional Platform of the Socialist Party has seven lines. They propose that the American imperialists shall *agree* with the Filipino bourgeoisie about independence.

It advises entry of the U. S. into the League of Nations which prepares war against the Soviet Union. About the country of socialism, about the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, it has one line to say—"The recognition of the *Russian* government." Nevertheless, they have more to do about the Soviet Union. Especially at the time of the congressional investigation (Fish Committee), Rev. Norman Thomas did not fail to help Fish by stating, "That there is Communist propaganda aided by the Third International *which is similar in personnel to the Soviet government* everybody knows." (New Leader, Aug. 2, 1930.)

Let us examine more at length these quotations from the Con-

gressional platform of the Socialist Party and from the statements of the leaders.

War. In furthering the cause of the imperialists, the Socialist Party goes further than the imperialists themselves. From time to time capitalist statesmen and military leaders are stating publicly, that there is a war danger. They have to say it because the masses know that there is a war danger. The workers would not believe them if they talked only peace. What they want to do is to make the workers believe that they are against war and that if war comes, not they, but their opponents will be responsible for it. At all international conferences where the imperialists discuss behind the curtains the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, at the public sessions, they maneuver to appear opposed to war, so that they will not be held responsible for it, when it comes. At the same time every one of them exerts the utmost effort to disarm the others as much as possible and to force agreement for legally arming themselves (besides secret arming) for war, which they know just as well as the social-fascist leaders know, is inevitably coming.

But what does the Socialist Party say in its Election Platform? It says, that peace IS insured. What is needed is to further insure peace. And, how can peace be further insured? Perhaps, by mass revolutionary actions of the proletariat? Perhaps, by the civil war of the proletariat? Perhaps, by the destruction of capitalism and by setting up the rule of the proletariat? None of that. The Socialist Party advices the workers, that they shall be passive. The capitalists, who want to escape, from the blind alley into which the inherent contradictions of their system lead them, by war and by redivision of the Earth in their favor through force, these imperialists will *voluntarily disarm*. Is it any wonder then, that the same Socialist Party expresses the same policy in a very concrete form about the London Conference, complaining that the London Conference did not go *far enough?*

The parity, achieved by American imperialism at the London conference at the cost of British imperialism, ensured further arming especially for the U. S., and resulted in further sharpening of the antagonism among the two chief imperialist powers, hastening the coming world war. But for the Socialist Party, still, the London Conference did not go far enough. The social-fascists want to see *their own* bourgeoisie still more armed, still more prepared for war, and, the working class still more pacified, disarmed, misled and unprepared. When the Socialist Party states that it is ready to fight for the London Agreement it is

clear, that they are ready because their own bourgeoisie is ready to fight for it.

The Socialist Party sticks to the same policy when it lets Filipino masses and the American workers know, that no national revolutionary struggle is necessary, that the American imperialists and their Filipino lackeys will agree in their behalf. And they are consistently following this line also when they tell the workers, that it is in the interest of the people to keep India oppressed, to keep the Meerut prisoners under lock, to murder thousands of Indian workers and peasants. Their policy is the same on China. They justify the beheading of the Chinese Communists and the intervention of the imperialists against the Chinese revolution by calling the revolutionists "bandits" just as the imperialists do. They call the Chinese revolutionists bandits, so that when the murder machines of the Chinese militarists and their imperialist bosses are reaping amongst the revolutionary workers and peasants, they can say, what is actually happening is, that civilization is exterminating banditry. After all this, why should not the Socialist Party take over the slogan of the capitalist states, that the Communist International and the Soviet government is one and the same? Why should they not raise the banner, under which diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet have been broken off, under which the Chinese Eastern Railway was taken by the Manchurian government, by order of the foreign exploiters, and under which war is prepared against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics?

Can there be any doubt left as to the character of the Socialist Party? That it is imperialistic and fascist using some socialist phrases? That in the present election campaign they also act as an agency of the bourgeoisie among the workers, so that when the workers swing over from the openly capitalist parties towards the Communist Party they shall be held up by the demagogy of the Socialist Party?

The Final Goal of the Socialist Party—Capitalism

For the Socialist Party, the present election campaign is more than ever before an ideological campaign among the workers to cover up the class character of the capitalist state. Note for example, how their press is writing at the time, when Powers, Carr and other revolutionary workers face the electric chair and Foster, Minor, Amter and Raymond, of the unemployed delegation and hundreds of other revolutionary fighters are in prison, about the judicial branch of the capitalist state: "Of course

this is not saying, that there are no high-minded judges who try to be fair and square in cases involving the public welfare. But all too many of them are guided in such matters by the bias which they gained through their associations *before* going on the bench." (Milwaukee Leader, Aug. 21, 1930.)

Public welfare—and no classes!

Bias gained before going to the bench! How carefully they try to avoid showing that these servants of the ruling class, by becoming judges, become parts of the machinery of the bourgeois class state! Fairminded and square judges who hang in the air above the classes like Mahomet's casket between earth and sky.

Class struggle? Revolution? Overthrow of capitalism? Certainly, no such things can be found on the program or congressional platform of the Socialist Party. True, nobody is looking for them there. Only, at the last two lines of this platfrm hide a few shy words about socialism, showing that the Socialist Party of Rev. Thomas "wants to achieve socialism." This is evidently to be done through helping to lynch Negroes and strengthening the police attack on the unemployed, through disarming the workers in the face of the capitalist attacks and in face of war preparations, though serving the imperialist rule over the colonial masses, and through carrying on agitation against the only socialist country in the world, against the Soviet Union. The final goal of the social-fascist is to preserve capitalism and to become more and more part of its state power.

The Pink-Shirts of the Socialist Party

No wonder, that many in the social-fascist ranks are looking for other methods to more effectively betray and sell the workers to the ruling class. They understand that millions of radicalized workers *want* to struggle against the unbearable conditions created by capitalism and aggravated by the economic crisis. So the "lefts," the "progressives," the "radicals," the "militants," among the social-fascist ranks want to use more freely demagogic phrases, to help step between the working class and their only leader, the Communist Party.

Such a "left" group is being crystallized in the Socialist Party, and utilizing phrases used by the Independent Labor Party in England, such as "Socialism in our time." Louis Stanley, leader of the "young socialists" proposed at their Camp Eden conference, to work out a plan for the 1932 convention of the Socialist Party "similar to that of the Russian five-year program for the trans-

formation of the United States into a co-operative state." A detailed, well-thought out complete plan for *transition* from capitalism to socialism must be worked out."

They criticized the capitalist system as having defects and being inefficient. As can be seen, the "lefts" are also satisfied with capitalism, they just want to make it more efficient. They even utter the terrible word, class struggle, though they do not mean it. They want peaceful transition from capitalism into socialism, by which they do not mean more than a social-fascist government. But they utilize radically sounding phrases more cleverly than Oneal, Thomas or the rest of the present leaders. They even take up the name, "Five Year Plan," knowing how popular it is for the achievements in building socialism under the Five Year Plan in the Soviet Union. So they use the expression, the words, in order to bind with them the American workers to capitalism.

They want to play the role that Maxton, Cook and Brockway play in England. They are the most dangerous, because by their radical phrases they keep workers, who have already lost their illusions regarding social democracy within the boundaries of social democracy. They are the most dangerous, because they may lead workers, who want to follow a class struggle program and leadership, with radically sounding phrases, into the camp of social-fascism. They are ready to promise "socialism in our time," to get the workers away from the real struggle for socialism.

Muste, Lore (and near them, Lovestone) belong also to the "left" socialist wing. Muste, who criticizes the "inadequacy of British Labor government policy" regarding India; Lore, who criticizes the Socialist Party because it nominated Heywood Broun; Stanley, Thomas, Abe Cahan and Oneal, all have the same purpose—with shades of difference of opinion about the methods of keeping the workers away from the revolutionary movement, from the class struggle, in the interest of capitalism.

The success of the election campaign of our Party will be measured to a great extent by the success of thoroughly exposing the social-fascists and especially their even more dangerous "left" partners. The roads of victory in the working class struggle and revolution leads through the corpses of social-fascism and its "left" wing.

The Socialists Have A "Real Value"

By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

"THE Socialist platform contains the only message of real hope for the economic and social welfare of all our people. Our candidates command attention, recognition and respect. In their campaign, only the Socialists introduce the viewpoint of a social philosophy; only the Socialists stress the social aspect of the responsibility and duty of the political state."

This is how a circular letter of the New York State Campaign Committee of the Socialist Party characterizes the Socialist campaign. The letter is addressed to the enrolled Socialist voters. It appears that the Socialist Party wishes to bring about the economic and social welfare *of all the people,* capitalists and workers, boss farmers and laborers, lynchers and Negroes. It appears that the Socialist candidates are respected *generally,* that is to say, by all the people, irrespective of classes. It also appears that only the Socialists insist on the state having social responsibilities and duties, which means that the Socialists refuse to rceognize the state as having only police duties, which in turn means that the Socialists are very much concerned over the improvement of the existing capitalist state.

That the circular letter correctly states the position of the Socialist Party is evident from a speech delivered by Mr. Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for Governor of New York, before the Bronx County Socialist organization at 1167 Boston Road (as reported by the NEW LEADER, official organ of the S. P.).

"The Socialist Party," said Mr. Waldman, "is interested in building a new political alliance of all citizens interested in economic and political improvements at home, and peace with the rest of the peoples of the world. It is committed to a program which would make the administration of our government concern itself with the vital interests of the common man and would at the same time by a series of steps in cooperation with the labor government of England, led by a Socialist Premier, J. Ramsay MacDonald, lead the world movement for peace by universal disarmament."

What the circular letter calls "all our people," Mr. Waldman calls "all citizens"; what is there described as "economic and social welfare," is here denoted as "economic and political improvement," and what is there pointed out as "social aspect" of

the state, is here explained as meaning that "the adminstration of our government" should concern itself with the "common man," *i.e.*, with everybody, not only with the leaders of finance, capital, —which again means "all our people."

It appears from those statements that what the Socialist Party aims at is an improved administration of the federal and state government with a liberal program. The greatest fault the New York State platform of the Socialist Party finds with Franklin D. Roosevelt is that his liberalism is not genuine. "Political strategy," says the platform, "has forced the Democrats to make some show of liberalism, but of a liberalism neither sincere nor intelligent, much less adequate to the demands of the times." It is to be concluded from these accusations that a "sincere" and "intelligent" liberalism would satisfy the Socialist Party, and that, in their opinion, there *can be* a liberalism, *i.e.*, a capitalist policy with a certain interest for social reforms, which is "adequate to the demands of the times" (which demands include the economic crisis, the unemployment, the war menace, the colonial policy and the increased exploitation of the masses within the imperialist states). The Socialist grievance against Roosevelt is that he has no "consistent or constructive social program." In their opinion he *could* make such a program if he wanted to, and the Socialists chide him for his failure to live up to his campaign pledges.

What the Democrats failed to do the Socialists promise to carry out "if elected."

It is in keeping with this line that the Socialists exhibit a tremendous anxiety over the way the administration of the state is carried on. This, they say, is discrediting the state, undermining the very foundations of the state. They do not think of the state as a specific organization of the power of one class over the other classes. They reject the idea that its very structure is significant of an instrument of class oppression. They think of the state, *i.e.*, the federal, state and city administrative machinery in the U. S., as something in itself extremely valuable to the "people." They only deplore "the maladministration of our government" (Congressional platform of the Socialist Party). They wish for the people "relief from political maladministration." They admit that even the Republicans sometimes are capable of introducing Socialist measures, but the trouble with the Republicans is that they are not going far enough in carrying out "the immediate task of efficient and progressive government." Thus the New York State platform of the Socialist Party complains bitterly that "the Republican majority in the legislature . . . took

the Socialist proposal for old-age pensions and perverted it into a mere annex to the poor law." The Republican majority, it seems, is not so bad after all: it has done things reluctantly, to be sure; still, it was compelled "to yield minor concessions wrung from it by pressure of public demand."

It is in keeping with this attitude towards the state, with a desire to strengthen this state in order to perpetuate it, that the Socialists are so anxious to have the Republican and Democratic parties investigate their own activities. The biggest item in their election campaign in New York is this insistence on our investigation of the capitalistic government by the capitalist government. They do not mean it as a campaign maneuver, either. They are really interested, and they believe in the improvement of the state through such an investigation. In an open letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt issued early in September and signed by the Sociailst candidates Waldman, Thomas, Panken, Vladeck and Broun, in which they demand a thorough investigation of the administration of New York City, they say emphatically: "Speaking as Socialists we again declare that there are fundamental issues which we want to discuss rather than charges and counter-charges. We are less anxious to say 'I told you so' about the past *than to get action for the present.*"

The Socialists want "action" because they are burning with the desire to cleanse the city administration of New York, to have a *good* city administration, to see mass confidence restored to the capitalist government of the greatest city of the greatest country in the world. They believe (or wish to make others believe) that "good, honest government" is possible under capitalism. They say in the same open letter that by an investigation, the citizens will be enabled "to strike the fetters of misgovernment from them." Misgovernment to the Socialists means graft and stealing of public money, not the very existence of a capitalist govrenment.

Mr. Oneal, theoretician of the Socialist Party, furnished ideological foundation to this policy. At a meeting of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (the Muste group) held at Brookwood on Labor Day, Oneal stressed the fact that hitherto the "radicals" had been too severe in their criticism. This, he said, prevented them from winning recruits. We must not be, he said, "a pessimistic sect"; our propaganda must not have a "vindictive attitude"; we must have an "approach" that will "actually make converts." Mr. Heywood Broun, distinguished by anything but theory, blurted out the same idea in a popular fashion; "We want to get something now," he said, "and not wait fifty or a hundred years." In other words: the Socialists are satisfied to get any

kind of improvement in the existing governmental machinery, however slight. They believe (or wish to make others believe), that improvement is possible in the present epoch of sharpening internal and external contradictions of capitalism. They offer themselves as the party that will introduce such improvements. In order to be successful, they propose to speak the same language and proceed from the same premises as the capitalist parties, with stress on the failure of the old parties to practice a "liberalism" that is at once "constructive" and "sincere."

In keeping with this line the Socialists are grieved over "waste resulting from inefficiency and corruption" (New York State platform.) They want a capitalist government that is efficient and not corrupt. In keeping with this line they reject prohibition as "a fertile source of lawlessness and corruption" (*Ibid.*) They want law-abiding and honesty under capitalism. In keeping with this line their program demands "measures to cope with the increasing crime in the state" and "a program of prison building adapted to humane and scientific treatment of delinquents." They wish a capitalism that is free of crimes or at least treats its victims scientifically. In keeping with this line they bemoan the loss of judicial prestige in New York. "Nothing is more vital to the general welfare," says Mr. Waldman in a statement, "than restoration of public confidence that the men who administer our criminal and civil laws are not made by an invisible government of district leaders." The Socialists wish the workers to have confidence in the capitalist judges. It is vital, they say, that the workers should believe that the judges are not made by a Tammany machine. That they are "made" by the exploiters who form the actual "invisible government" behind the courts, is no concern of the Socialists. On the contrary, they wish to cover this fact. They wish the capitalist-made judges to shine in pristine brightness in the eyes of the masses.

This is very aptly expressed in the Jewish Socialist daily, the Forward, in an editorial article, July 8. "What respect can the citizens have before the 'majesty of the law'," the paper asks, "when they hear that in the very court room where the symbol of justice stands—the blindfolded lady with the scales—a judge receives a thousand dollars for his company's stock and in exchange leaves an earnest criminal unpunished? What respect for the law can have even a criminal when brought before a judge of whom he has good reason to believe that he is a worst criminal than himself? Can one estimate the demoralizing effect of such matters on even the honest citizen, on the majority of the popula-

tion, on the children? The justice of the judges is the great aim, the lofty ideal of every society and of every government. When both the foundation and the roof are decaying and fall apart, how can such building exist?" The Socialists are interested in keeping the "structure" of capitalist government intact. They wish "respect for the (capitalist) law" to be restored. They want no "demoralization" *i.e.,* no awakening of a protest against the "majesty of the law" either among adults or among children. Their attitude is dictated by a desire to save both "the foundation and the roof" of capitalist society.

That this is actually the aim of the Socialists, may be seen from a speech by Mr. Norman Thomas delievered at the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia. According to a Federated Press report of August 20, Thomas "warned the business men that they had better hasten their own conversion to humane industrial policy, lest they be too late to avert a desperate outbreak of the workers' resentment." The Socialists deem it their duty to convert the capitalists to a more "humane policy." They warn them against workers' "outbreaks." They, themselves, do not wish workers' revolutionary action. They want to save capitalism rrom the possibility of such action. They preach "non-violent" pressure. Even against the war danger they offer "non-violent resistance." In a world of oppressors armed to the teeth and carrying out their oppression with arms in hand, they tell the workers to "fold their arms." They teach them to put all their hopes in the Constitution and Congress. "The framers of the American Government were well aware of the value of free thought and freedom of expression," says the New Leader of August 16, praising "the things for which Washington and his ragged Continental rebels fought from Bunker Hill to Yorktown."

To cap all this, the Socialist congressional platform advances the demand for "a modernized constitution" to be worked out by a specially elected constitutional convention. Let the masses believe that their misery is due to imperfections of the constitution and to some bad "inhuman" capitalists rather than the system.

It is obvious that, with this ideology and practical task, the Socialists must be at peace both with the union bureaucrats and the Socialists of other countries. The failure of the A. F. of L. to organize the workers and to fight for the improvement of their conditions cannot be argued away. But for a party that bases its "success" on an appeal to "our people" without difference of class, the economic struggle of the workers is of little importance. The vote is everything, the rest immaterial. The theory in this respect

has been furnished by Mr. Algernon Lee. In a discourse in the New Leader of Sept. 13, he advances the argument that the economic struggle of the workers in the shops against their exploiters is not really class struggle. "What they are engaged in," he says, "is not the class struggle, but a number of struggles between groups of working and groups of capitalists"; they fight "merely as a coal-miners or building mechanics or garment workers," not *as a class*. It follows that union struggles are really not indispensible. The thing to do is to make workers vote the Socialist ticket. The Socialists will do the rest. This being the case, it will not do "to lay emphasis on all the unions' mistakes and failures . . . to talk as if almost all labor leaders were either stupid or corrupt or both, to talk as if organizing the unorganized were an easy task." Socialists must not say these things, says Lee, because this frightens away rank and file union men "and makes them rally to the support of the anti-Socialist leaders."

It is therefore natural for the Socialists to treat the A. F. of L. bureaucrats as brothers with whom they have some political differences. It is natural for Thomas to exonerate William Green's stand against unemployment insurance as being "practically a plea to the employers to give voluntary unemployment insurance in the industry" when in reality it was a support of the capitalists in their fight against any insurance. It is natural to call McGrady, the hated water-dog of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the most corrupt of its corrupt coterie, "a mass of integrity," as was done in the New Leader in an editorial on Sept. 13. It is natural to go hand in hand with such corrupt and degraded destroyers of workers' unions and union control in the shops as Benjamin Schlesinger who, in his Labor Day message to the Socialists, found it necessary to echo Hoover's prosperity prophecies by declaring that "the crisis will pass away. A month sooner, a month later—things *must* and *will* improve." What the Socialists want of the workers is to have faith in the existing system and "vote Socialist."

The platforms at hand, both the national ("congressional") and that of New York, are an adequate expression of this theory and practice. The national platform starts, not with the workers, but with the businessmen: "Already this year over 30,000 business concerns has been driven into bankruptcy, while large and powerful banks are tightening their grip on the people," *i.e.*, on the business people. Next comes industry: "The wheels of industry have been slackened." Only in the third place comes the statement that "over five million persons have been robbed of the opportunity to work." No mention of the crisis. No mention of the working

class as a class. No mention of capitalist exploitation, wage-cuts, the speed up, etc. The number of unemployed is minimized. No explanation of the crisis as inevitable and unavoidable under capitalism. No mention of the world crisis. Stress is laid not on the system but on the fact that "our government is callous and indifferent to the needs and claims of its citizens." The remedy suggested is state insurance and a shorter labor day and labor week, but to allay any fear as to the radicalism of the suggested measures, Norman Thomas, in an editorial in the Reading Labor Advocate of July 25, declares that the Socialists are not opposed to workers contributing, under the law, to insurance funds. He only pleads: "If some contributions from workers are necessary to obtain the passage of any unemployment insurance or if they are advisable for other reasons (?!) they should at least be small." Socialists are no *doctrineurs*. They yield positions before anybody has started even to demand concessions. They are not really insisting on the program advanced. They cannot forget, on the other hand, that it is impossible to face any working class audience without some sort of an unemployment program.

The national platform declares itself "unalterably opposed to imperialism and militarism." (The New York platform does not mention imperialism.) But imperialism is narrowed down to "military intervention in Central America" and the occupation of the Philippines, and militarism is understood in the liberal fashion. No mention is made of American intervention in China, of American imperialism in South America, of the growing clash between British and American imperialism. The whole matter is treated as an "evil" that can be eliminated with the aid of "sincere and intelligent" liberalism. The instrument of world peace is to be the League of Nations, which is "to be made all-inclusive and democratic" (the latter meaning that the League should be composed of representatives *elected* by parliaments rather than of diplomats *responsible* to the same parliaments). The leading forces in the League are to be England and the U. S. A. who will harmoniously work for peace. The "peace policy" is to be that of the Amsterdam International proclaimed at its July congress, a policy which calls for "the convening at the earliest possible date of the General Disarmament Conference by the League of Nations and the conclusion of a first convention to stop the armament race," *i.e.*, a general and all-embracing London pact coupled with "arbitration of all international disputes."

In the good liberal fashion, the platforms are in favor of "civil liberties." But no mention is made of police arrests, court terror,

union of police with the underworld, breaking up of strikes, threatening workers' organizers with the electric chair. Demands for the nation: freedom of speech, repeal of the Espionage law and of criminal syndicalist laws, and release of all political prisoners. This latter demand, however, is omitted from the New York state platform as apparently unimportant. It is to be assumed that the March 6 unemployed delegation is not to be classed among those conceived by the Socialists as political prisoners. This is in keeping with the Socialists' horror of class conflicts. The concluding part of both the national and New York platforms pleads that the people free themselves, among other evils, *"from the class-strife."* The class-strife is included there in one group with mismanagement, waste, poverty and unemployment.

The program for Negroes confines itself to "making participation in lynching a felony" and "no government aid to 'jim-crow' schools."

A year ago, on September 26, 1929, Heywood Broun wrote in the New York Telegram: "I am frank to say that I have not the slightest desire to be suddenly transformed out of this pleasant capitalistic community in which I live and work and exchange my lot for life under any Soviet regime." In the same article he said: "As a member of the bourgeoisie I particularly have no desire to see Reds in the Saddle in American government or industry."

Heywood Broun was frank at that time. He is frank now. He called himself a member of the bourgeoisie and found the "capitalistic community" quite pleasant. He finds it so now. He has not changed. He say in The Telegram (August 22): "It is hopeless to try to cleanse these parties (the Republican and Democratic) *from within.* That's been tried," and this is why, he infers, the citizens must vote Socialist. Again on Sept. 10 he says in The Telegram: "I don't see why men and women of all political faiths can fail to rise up and rebuke Tammany by whatever means seem most appropriate to them," including, of course, voting for the Socialists.

Heywood Broun is a fool, and most of the time he only says what his bourgeois instinct prompts him to say. But Roy W. Howard, editor of the Scripps-Howard chain of papers, is no fool. And he is class conscious. In an editorial of August 18 he says: "Without subscribing to their theories or accepting as logical the remedies they propose, the Socialism advocated by Thomas and Broun can be accepted as having a very real value

in that it furnishes an outlet for the rapidly mounting public distrust of the two moribund major parties."

Socialism has a real value for capitalism. Not only the "major parties" of capitalism are moribund, but capitalism itself. Under such conditions, Socialism has a "real value" in furnishing an outlet for the distrust and discontent of the masses. The Socialists are indispensable in these times of mounting dangers to capitalist exploitation. They offer capitalism in a somewhat different garb, capitalism covered with a few democratic phrases.

The Socialist Party has made one more step in shedding all vestiges of a class-outlook and proletarian orientation. It has openly made itself the servant and savior of the capitalist economy and capitalist state. This in itself will make it easier for the Communist Party to combat the remnants of its influence among certain strata of the workers.

The Significance of the German Elections

By N. SPARKS

THE results of the German elections are a great victory for the German working class and at the same time puts before them more sharply than ever the menace of Fascism. More clearly than words, the figures show the correctness of the C. I. analysis of the Third Period as a period of deepening crisis of capitalism, of sharpened class struggles, of world wars and revolutions. To quote from Pravda "the results stand out as a political summary of the first year of the world crisis, of a half a year of the Young Plan, and of two years of the Five-Year Plan."

German capitalism is supposed to have gone through a "rebirth" as a result of first the Dawes and now the Young Plan. But twelve years of post-war tinkering with the reparations problem, helping German capitalism through successive "stabilizations," "renaissances" and "rebirths"—at which the Social Democracy has always assisted as the anxious midwife—have resulted only in steadily increasing the misery of the German masses, and in landing German economy again in a deepening crisis.

For the reparations problem is like a huge Gordian knot made up of all the post-war contradictions of capitalism, a knot which can never be solved under capitalism, but can only be cut by the sword of the proletarian revolution. The reparations settlement demands of the German people: "Besides sweating out of your bodies the regular profits for your bosses and landlords, you must work still more and eat still less so that you can pay the major part of the costs of the war during which you suffered blockade and starvation for nearly five years. You must pay for the cannon and the shells with which your sons and brothers were killed and crippled, besides paying for the weapons with which they were forced to kill their foreign fellow-workers. You must pay for the terrific destruction—the damage to "legitimate property interests"—inflicted at the orders of the high military butchers of both sides. You must pay in every way for the terrific enrichment of the war millionaires and munition makers of both sides during the four years of the slaughter of the masses."

These are the "obligations" of the Young Plan which the Social Democracy (as well as the bourgeois parties) accept on behalf

of the German people, and which, they whine, they are "loyally" and "honestly" trying to fulfill. Nine hundred million dollars a year is the sum that must be paid over as tribute by the impoverished German masses under the Young Plan! But Germany is also in the grip of the world crisis. Industrial output fell to 60 per cent in the middle of 1930, as compared with 75 per cent in 1929. Imports in the first half of 1930 were only 86 per cent of the first half of 1929. German capitalism is also faced with shrinking markets and sharpened foreign competition.

The capitalists, of course, know of only one way of trying to solve a crisis—through loading the whole burden upon the workers by means of attacks upon the wages and labor conditions of the workers. As a result, the standard of living of the German workers has been lowered by 13 per cent between May 1929 and May 1930. In Comrade Losovsky's report to the 5th Profintern Congress, he quotes the German bourgeois economist Kutchinsky: "The German working class, owing to unemployment, lost *over one fifth* of its income during *the first half* of 1930; if we add to the unemployed the hundreds of thousands on part time, the decrease will be equal to *one quarter*. Adding to this the fall in the buying power of the German mark—10 per cent as compared with last year—we shall arrive at a real understanding of the situation of the working class of Germany in the middle of 1930."

Not only have the German capitalists willingly taken in hand the job of squeezing the Young Plan tribute out of the masses, but they have gone still further, and used the Young Plan as a cover under which to enrich themselves; for under the slogan of saving and building up German economy, they have put forward a program of exploitation aiming above even what is required for the Young Plan. The German capitalists are determined to be not merely collection agents, but to maintain their position as full partners of international imperialism in the robbery of the German masses. "To save German business," the Government, at the request of the industrialists, has practically wiped out the property taxes amounting to two milliard marks a year, raised the tariff on foodstuffs and other mass taxes, prepared to abolish every kind of social insurance, and cleared the way for a general unlimited wage-cut throughout Germany industry.

Is it any wonder that under these conditions, the process of radicalization among the German masses is going forward at a tremendous pace, that it expresses itself through determined street battles, through sharper strike struggles, through an increasing readiness for decisive struggle, and through a growing acceptance of the leadership of the Communist Party? As a result of the

splendidly organized and executed election campaign of the German Party, 4,600,000 workers rallied to the banner of Communism. More clearly than ever before, the German Communist Party put forward the program of Proletarian Revolution as the *direct* and *immediate* solution for the misery of the masses, as the only method of emancipation from home and foreign slavery.

"We shall tear up the Versailles "Peace" Treaty and the Young Plan, . . . annul all foreign debts . . . conclude a firm alliance between Soviet Germany and the U. S. S. R. . . . nationalize the banks . . . give the land to the peasants and the factories to the working class . . . introduce the seven-hour day . . . and through the Communist International, mobilize the workers of the world to the defense of our workers' Government." In the most direct and practical terms the German Communist Party in its Programmatic Declaration, spoke to its class and told the masses of Germany what will be the first acts of the German Soviet Government. And in response to this program, nearly 1½ million more workers voted for the Communist Party than in the last election 2½ years ago. The Communist Party became the third largest party in Germany, and the largest of all in Berlin! Particularly outstanding was its success in the most industrialized districts, the Ruhr, Upper Silesia, etc. Once again it has been shown that the line of the C. I. has led to the growth of the influence of the German Party, despite the wailings of the Brandlers who would have tied it to the rail of the Social Democrats.

At the same time the Social Democrats—the Social-Fascists—whose role is to cover up the steady Fascization process by "Socialist" phrases, suffered a most severe defeat. They failed even to hold the voting strength of their own unions. Despite the fact that the total electorate has increased by five million, the Social Democrats polled 700,000 votes less than in 1928. This means a real loss of over one million workers who left them to rally around the Communist Party.

The election showed a tremendous protest of the German people against the Young Plan. Every one of the parties supporting the Young Plan was swept into the background. And the Fascists (National Socialists), basing their appeal on a fake "anti-capitalist" program, and on a demagogic, ultra-nationalistic and thoroughly hypocritical fake "struggle" against the Young Plan, polled over six million votes.

The International bourgeois press has viewed the results of the elections with great trepidation and gloom. (Reparations bonds immediately fell on all the exchanges.) This is not because, as the press would have the workers believe, the rise of the Fascists

is really any danger to the Young Plan—they know better than that—but because the extent and reality of the mass protest and radicalization of the German workers are only too clear. The Young Plan is one of the keystones of the shaky capitalist world stabilization, and it is obvious that this keystone is in danger of being pried out and bringing down the whole structure.

The growth of Fascism is a sign of the decay of capitalism, of its deepening crisis, of the break-down of bourgeois parliamentarism and of the fact that in the face of the increasing misery and the rising struggle of the proletariat, capitalism is no longer able to govern thru "peaceful," "democratic" means. Only thru open—Fascist—distatorship can it hope to maintain and intensify its exploitation of the masses.

All parties of capitalism in Germany today, are demanding "reforms" to dispense with the democratic "hindrances," to change the State aparatus into an organ of Fascist dictatorship. *Complete Fascization of the entire state apparatus* is the aim of German capitalism. The capitalist parties differ in this regard only in the extent to which they wish to mask this process and maintain the *forms* of democracy and parliamentarism. Thru parliamentary methods if possible, if not—thru civil war; thru the direct participation of the Social-Fascists (as in the proposed "directorate" of five in which the Social-Fascist leader Braun is to be included "owing to his influence among the workers"), or thru the direct participation of Hitler with the armed bands of the "Stahlhelm," Fascist dictatorship is the aim. The means and methods may vary according to the relationship of forces in the class struggle and among the different capitalist groups themselves, but the aim is the same.

What is the significance of the great vote for the National-Socialist Party—the open Fascist Party? Despite the fact that the Fascist Party is a party of capitalism, financed by capitalism, whose role is to serve as the shock troops of capitalism in defense against the proletarian revolution, its success was due entirely to the fact that it pretends to be a party that is fighting big capital, that with unexampled demagogy and hypocrisy it raises anti-capitalist slogans to delude the masses while in reality it works towards the open dictatorship of capitalism.

Who are the six million who voted for the Fascist Party? Small farmers torn away by the crisis from their old junker conservatism, ruined artisans, city petty-bourgeoisie, agricultural laborers, unemployed and employed industrial workers—millions of toilers, utterly ruined by the crisis, unable to live any more in the old way, and seeing ahead of them only deepening crisis,

further ruin on the farms, mass discharges, unemployment increasing to staggering dimensions, unlimited wage cuts and practical abolition of social insurance.

The desperate rebellion of these masses is turned away by the Fascists from its natural leadership—the Communist Party—and under the slogans of fighting "big capital," is directed exactly into the channel of defense of capitalism. Before these masses the Fascist Party dangles the illusion of a "quick" way out of the crisis. In its limitless demagogy it capitalizes every prejudice; in its task of shielding capitalism it mobilizes agaist every "enemy" except the real one—against the Jews, against the foreigners, against the speculators (!) against "Moscow;" above all it is the standard-bearer of the white terror against the working class and its vanguard the Communist Party.

The utterly hypocritical, demagogic nature of the Fascist Party is shown by the planks in its platform. It proposes to "solve" unemployment by drivig the foreigners out of Germany. It purloins the proletarian slogan, "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and instead of its true meaning of expropriation of the capitalists, perverts it to the meaning of "compulsory forced labor of the working class." "Unearned income is to be abolished" but elsewhere it says that the big capitalists have "earned" their huge fortune and high positions by their "skill and hard work." It flatters and deludes the corner grocer with the ridiculous nonsense that "the State shall purchase its supplies mainly from small shopkeepers." Above all it is the party of openly preached militarism, mouthing drunken, beer-hall phrases of regaining the glory of Pan-Germany, of fighting foreign imperialism, and pressing hard toward a new imperialist war.

It is only necessary to examine the actions of the Fascists, however, to see what hypocrisy lies in their claims that they will better the conditions of the masses. While pretending to be for the freedom of national minorities, they do not protest against the enslavement of the South Tyroleans by Italian Fascism. While pretending to be against imperialism, they offer to join hands with England in the enslavement of the colonial peoples and demand the return of the German colonies. They lend the whole force of their armed bands to the breaking of strikes, in the attempt to crush every revolt of the workers against wage-cuts and the worsening of conditions.

In Thuringia, where the Fascist Frick became Minister of hte Interior, the expenses for the public schools were immediately decreased by 1,250,000 Marks, while the budget of the Church was raised by 1,125,000 Marks. Despite the fact that the German

ex-princes, dukes, etc., were long ago "compensated" for their "losses" during the 1918 revolution, Frick found that the Duke of Gotha needed still more "compensation" for the insults and losses to his princely person, and paid him another 150,000,000 Marks—*a sum amounting to 94 Marks for each inhabitant of Thuringia! And at the same time, the unemployment benefits amounting to 500,000 Marks were abolished!* Not content with this example of how the Fascists improve the conditions of the masses, Frick put through a universal poll tax of 6 Marks per person, which falls with true fascist equality on the richest millionaire and on the unemployed wage-slave alike.

In their new program, the Fascists have introduced a proposal to abolish the old army and substitute universal conscription. Under cover of this proposal and ostensibly to get around the prohibitions of the Versailles Treaty, they have broadened this plank to a year of *universal compulsory labor for all men and women on the land or on the roads.* The Fascists are yearning for the American institution of the chain gang.* In addition they propose, that anyone raising the slightest struggle by written or spoken word against the capitalists or their tools, shall be punished for high treason by death. In their actions and proposals the German masses can already see what would be in store for them under a Fascist dictaotrship.

With unprecedented cynicism the Fascist leaders admit in their private statements and in their literature intended for capitalist circles, that their "anti-capitalist" front is merely a mask to delude the masses, while responsible leaders of German capitalism reassure the foreign interests by pointing out how Mussolini also utilized the wave of mass revolt to secure a Fascist state for Italian capitalism, and then ruthlessly tore up his fake promises of "better conditions for the toilers."

In order to shield German capitalism, the Fascists maintain that all the troubles of the German masses are only the result of foreign exploitation—of the Young Plan, and upon this they based their whole demagogic campaign. In the Reichstag they voted demonstratively against the Plan in order to put themselves on record. But once the Plan had been accepted, the Fascists voted for every one of the measures introduced in order to make possible

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***Bearing witness to the fact that Fascization in a more or less masked form has become the program of all the German capitalist parties, this proposal for compulsory labor—at present only for the unemployed—has now been included in the program of the Bruening Government.**

the realization of the Young Plan—for the new laws, increased taxes, raising of the tariffs, clearing the road for a general wage cut, cutting down the social insurance, etc. In fact, Fascization and the Young Plan are linked indissolubly together in Germany, for only through open dictatorship and white terror can the German capitalists hope to crush the workers down to the level necessary to squeeze out the huge sums required.

There is one way however, in which German capitalism may attempt to liquidate the Young Plan—through a new imperialist war. Even if the Fascists were to seize power through civil war and, on the plea that they were holding the fort against Communism, attempt to get the reparations payments cancelled in the same way that Mussolini got the Italian war debts practically annulled, it would be impossible for this to be done. The Italian debts were a mere drop in the bucket compared to the German reparations bill, and capitalism is in a shakier position today than it was in 1923. American capitalism, which funded the Mussolini debt, is today itself in a crisis. The entire economy of France is based upon the reparations, and practically the chief consideration in French foreign policy is the security of the reparations payments. It is for this reason that French militarist anxiety has been at such a high pitch since the German elections.

While the Center Parties negotiate among themselves and with the Social-Fascists over coalitions and methods of carrying forward the Fascization program (with an anxious eye on the rapidly growing strength of the Communist Party), the Fascists are preparing for action. For them to enter an open coalition with the parties of big capital would mean to disillusion masses of their followers who believe they are fighting big capital, and to leave them open to the influence of the Communist Party. The Fascists' interest in entering coalitions is only to secure for themselves the commanding posts that they can use in preparing the civil war and in realizing their dictatorship. It is for this reason that the demands they have issued as a price for entering the proposed coalition are the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Defense, the Chief of Police of Berlin, and new elections in Prussia so that they can obtain the leading position in the largest German state.

The economic crisis in German is fast maturing into a revolutionary crisis. In this process however the active role of the German Communist Party becomes greater than ever before. The election successes of the German C. P. are a result of its constant leadership of the day to day struggles of the working class, of its leadership of their economic, as well as their political

battles. The fact that a million workers' votes were lost by the Social-Fascists to the Communist Party shows that in the task of exposure of the treacherous role of the Social-Fascists, the C. P. is on the high road to success. New and greater mass struggles are approching. Increasing unemployment and general wage cuts will undoubtedly give rise to a new wave of bitter strike struggles. If the Communist Party continues to stand at the head of these strikes and of the movement of the unemployed, it will be well on its way to the realization of its great task of winning the majority of the working class.

At the same time, the success of the Fascists and the speed with which the class struggle is developing brings also to the forefront the task of winning the hegemony of the proletariat over the whole of the broad toiling masses who are desperately seeking "a way out" and have been deluded into following Fascism. In particular the agricultural laborers, hundreds of thousands of whom voted for the Fascists must be won over by the Communist Party. The masses of Germany will soon have to choose between Fascist Dictatorship and Imperialist War, or Proletarian Dictatorship and Revolutionary Defense of the German and Russian Soviet Republics; between the achievements and promise of the Young Plan and the achievements and promise of the Five Year Plan.

In this struggle the workers of the imperialist countries may well play a decisive role. And in this connection we must admit that our own American Party has been backward in its duty of mobilizing the American workers against the Young Plan. This Plan, organized by American bankers and supported by American finance, is a plan not only for enslavement of the German working class but for the ultimate enslavement of the working class all over the world, in America as well as in Germany. It is inevitable that the crushing down of the German workers to new low levels of misery would result in a similar attack upon the conditions of the workers in all other capitalist countries.

Together with, and as a part of their own struggles, our Party must keep the American workers in the closest touch with the development of the class struggle in Germany. Through their sharpened struggle against their own bosses, through their increased activity in the American Communist election campaign and through mobilization of the masses against American imperialism, the American workers must give every possible aid and support to the heroic struggle of the German working class led by our splendid Communist Party of Germany.

Daniel De Leon and the Struggle Against Opportunism in the American Labor Movement

By L. G. RAISKY

Translated by POVSNER

(Continued from the September Issue)

ORIGINALLY, De Leon supported the policy of boring from within. Thus, under his leadership, the party with the aid of the Jewish Labor Union which was under De Leon's influence, captured in 1894 the New York district organization of the Knights of Labor. At the Knights of Labor convention in the following year the radicals succeeded in defeating the reactionary leader of the Order, Powderley, who was opposed to a militant strike policy and supported peaceful cooperative development, but his place was taken by a certain Sovereign, who was a worthy successor of his reactionary predecessor.

In 1893 the United States was gripped by a serious economic crisis which shook the entire country. The number of unemployed reached the unprecedented figure of 6 million. The bebinnings of the 90's was marked by a series of big battles between the workers and trustified capital and at the same time by a number of disastrous defeats of the American working class. It is sufficient to mention the famous events in Homestead where the United States Steel Corporation with which the Carnegie Co. amalgamated, proclaimed war upon "The Amalagamated Union of Steel, Iron and Tin Workers." The workers smashed up the forces of the detective and terroristic organizations which were hired by the trust to fight the trade union, but were themselves crushed by the superior forces of the special police. All of these events deeply stirred the American working masses.

In 1893 a group of socialists, headed by T. J. Morgan, made an attempt to utilize the situation for the organization of a mass labor party drawing its support, like the British Labor Party, from the trade unions. De Leon was skeptical of the success of this attempt. He did not believe in the possibility of converting the American Federation of Labor into an organization

recognizing the principles of socialism. The result of Morgan's policy was that many delegates of the A. F. of L. convention took a stand in favor of Morgan's resolution, and even Gompers was instructed by his union to vote for this resolution. But the leaders of the A. F. of L. were determined at all cost to disrupt the attempt of the socialists to drive the trade unions to the path of the class struggle. Gompers himself voted against the resolution on the ground that the workers who favored it "did not know what they were doing." The further policy of Gompers' group consisted in gaining time in order to wade over the crisis and finally kill any attempt to create a class labor party. Gompers' policy was crowned with success.

The outcome of the struggle between the socialists and the A. F. of L. leaders for the "soul" of the trade unions, as well as the abortive attempt to capture the order of the Knights of Labor, finally confirmed De Leon in his determination to wage an uncompromising fight upon the A. F. of L. and similar organizations. Beginning with 1895, De Leon definitely abondoned the policy of "boring from within," that is of capturing the craft unions by working with them, and resolutely took up the path of dual unionism. "The trade union leaders," De Leon used to say, "will let you bore from within only enough to throw you out through that hole bored by you." At the end of 1895 the Socialist Labor Party, under De Leon's leadership, organized a new trade union organization, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, with a revolutionary socialist platform.

In the address already cited above, "What Means This Strike," De Leon described the reasons for the creation of the Alliance as follows: "For a long time the Socialist Labor Party and the new trade unionists strove to convey this important message ("the healthy principles") to the broad masses of American labor, to the rank and file of our working class. But we failed to make our way towards them, we could not get to them. We were divided by a solid wall of ignorant, stupid and corrupt labor fakers. Like people groping their way out of a dark room, we moved along the wall, banging our heads against it, constantly groping for the door in front of us; we made a circle but did not find a way out. It was a blind wall. Once we made this discovery there was nothing to be done but break a way through it. By the battering ram of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance we formed an exit; now the wall is crumbling, and we are finally standing face to face with the rank and file masses of the American working

class and are conveying our message to them. You can judge this by the howl coming from that wall of fakers." [31]

In the so-called "pure and simple" unions, that is in the unions which were organized along craft lines, De Leon refused to see a part of the labor movement. "The union which represents an enterprise of the 'brotherhood of labor and capital' represents a capitalist crew. . . . Only a class conscious union is within the boundaries of the labor movement."[32]

De Leon compared the craft labor movement with the Tsarist army. The craft union consists of workers, and the Tsarist army also consists of toilers; in both cases the decisive factor lies in the fact that these organizations are controlled by forces hostile to labor and serve interests hostile to labor. And just as in Russia the toilers cannot gain freedom without crushing the Tsarist army, just so in America will the working class fail to solve its problems unless it destroys the craft unions. [33] . . . In full, De Leon's trade union policy was described by him as follows:

"This analysis shows that the trade unions as organizations are necessary. They are necessary in order to break the force of the capitalist attack, but this advantage of theirs is beneficial only to the extent that the organization prepares for the day of the final victory. Hence every socialist must strive to organize his trade. If there is an organization in his trade which is not in the hands of a labor lieutenant of capital, he should join it and bring it into the ranks of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. If the organization is completely in the hands of such a labor lieutenant of capital; if the members of the organization have become so closely identified with him and he with them that the one cannot be separated from the other; if, therefore, the organization, obedient to the spirit of capitalism, insists upon the division of the working class by more or less high barriers and intrigues

[31] "What means this Strike." p. 31. According to the constitution of the Socialist Alliance its officials had to give a written pledge as follows: "I consider it the sacred duty of every toiler, especially of those who have been entrusted by their fellow workers with a special mission of office in the class struggle, to break all, direct or indirect, connections with the political parties of the capitalist class. I pledge my word of honor that I will obey the constitution, rules and decisions of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada and, always remembering its fundamental principles and ultimate objects, will fulfill my task to the extent of my abilities." (See "Socialism versus Anarchism," by Daniel De-Leon, New York, 1921, p. 32.)

[32] "Daily People," March 19, 1905. "The Intellectuals."

[33] "The Burning Question of Trade Unions," p. 34.

against the admission of all members of the trade applying for admission; if the demobilizing influence of the labor lieutenant of capital is so strong as to make the majority of the membership of the organization approve and support his desire to maintain this majority at work by sacrificing the interests of the minority within the organization and of the immense majority of the workers of the given trade outside the organization—in this and in all other similar cases such an organization is not a part of the labor movement, it is a part of capitalism, it is a guild, it is . . . a belated reproduction of the guild system." Such an organization, De Leon said, is no more of a labor organization than the Tsarist army. "In such a case a socialist must attempt to create a bona-fide labor union and do everything within his power to destroy this fraud. [34]

It is characteristic that the policy of withdrawing from the reactionary trade unions for the purpose of creating class conscious industrial organizations was supported not only by the Socialist Labor Party but also by the left wing of the Socialist Party, including Eugene Debs, one of the most popular leaders of the American workers. [35]

The peculiar conditions of the American labor movement—the fact that the tremendous majority of the workers are unorganized, the artificial measures taken by the reactionary leaders to perpetuate this scourge of the American labor—in some cases make inevitable the policy of duel unionism. The policy of unity at all cost cannot, under the American conditions, always yield favorable results (of course, from the point of view of the revolutionary proletariat). We know that in recent years the development of the labor movement in the United States inevitably led to the formation of new unions (of needle trades workers, furriers, textile workers, miners) which broke with the A. F. of L. and joined the Profintern. At the beginning of September of this year [36] a national convention was held in the United States which created a new trade union centre to lead those organizations which adhere to the platform of the class struggle. Thus, life forced the advanced workers of America to consolidate their forces on a new foundation.

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[34] Ibid. pp. 33-34.

[35] Debs: "There is only one way of effecting this great change, and it consists of the worker breaking with the American Federation of Labor and joining a union which intends to represent the interests of his class in the economic field." ("Proceedings of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World," New York, 1905, p. 143.)

[36] 1929.

The main weakness of De Leon's policy consisted of its sectarian extremes, exaggerations and intolerance. Was it not meaningless for the SLP to adopt in 1900 a resolution forbidding members of the party to hold leading offices in the craft unions and admit into the party officials of such unions? Is it not the duty of the party, on the contrary, to utilize the capture by its individual members of leading positions in the trade unions for the purpose of directing these organizations along the proper path?

This sectarian attitude of De Leon which caused the revolutionary labor movement of the United States a good deal of harm, was due to the fact that he overestimated the immediate revolutionary possibilities in the United States. It is the fate of many revolutionists to see the much desired goal much nearer than it is in reality. De Leon looked upon the historical prospects of America through field glasses. In 1893 Debs created the industrial American Railroad Union which soon embraced 150,000 workers. In that same year was organized the Western Federation of Miners which adopted a socialist platform. In 1897 the Wesern Federation of Miners withdrew from the American Federation of Labor. True, during that year the American Labor Union fell under the powerful blows of the capitalist offensive; true, by 1905 the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance had only 1,400 members, but, to offset this, the Industrial Workers of the World were organized as a mass labor organization, the role of which in the organization of the revolutionary elements of American labor must not be underestimated. These facts confirmed De Leon in his belief in the possibility of the speedy capture of the majority of American labor on behalf of revolutionary socialism. But the road towards this coveted object proved to be much more difficult and devious than De Leon thought. In the next article I will show that the great American revolutionist learned the lesson of the movement and in 1908 adopted a more sober and flexible position on tactical problems, though even then he did not completely free himself from the elements of sectarianism.

VIII

De Leon's greatest merit was his consistent and uncompromising struggle against parliamentary cretinism.

Does not "a political visionary" deserve contempt who imagines that upon going to the ballot box and throwing into it a piece of paper he can rub hands with delight and wait with satisfaction that thanks to this process, as if by some alchemical trick,

the election will put an end to capitalism and that from the ballot box the socialist society will arise like a fairy, De Leon said. [37]

The most important task of revolutionary socialism De Leon saw in the destruction of the "mystic labyrinth which Marx called the cretinism (idiocy) of bourgeois parliamentarism." [38]

This does not mean that De Leon denied the necessity of utilizing the bourgeois Parliament. He merely pointed out that, inasmuch as the socialist vote is a question of right, unless it is based upon power, it

> . . . . is weaker than women's tears,
> Gentler than dream, madder than ignorance,
> Even less brave than a maiden at night,
> And artless as inexperienced childhood. . . . [39]

In parliamentarism De Leon saw primarily an instrument of revolutionary propaganda.[40] But in order that the parliamentary activity of the socialists could perform this function it must be "uncompromisingly revolutionary."

W. Liebknecht's aphorism, "To participate in Parliament is to resort to compromises," De Leon considered admissible only under the conditions of a bourgeois revolution, but such a policy is marked with the "brand of treason to the working class" when applied in modern America.[41]

De Leon hated with a deadly hatred the opportunists from the Socialist Party who, in the chase for votes, supported the A. F. of L. in its struggle against the colored workers, proclaimed its neutrality towards the reactionary trade union leaders, entered into unprincipled blocs with capitalists of the type of Hearst (the newspaper magnate), etc., and hopelessly sank in the mire of political and other reforms. "All such 'improvements,' " De Leon said, "like the modern 'election reform,' the schemes of 'referendums,' 'initiative,' 'election of federal senators by a national vote,' etc., are by their very nature bait intended to dampen revolutionary enthusiasm." The task of the proletariat consists of socializing the means of production without which "the cross which it now bears will be even heavier and will weigh down the next generations with even greater force. No 'reform' can take its place."[42]

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[37] "Proceedings of the First Convention of the IWW," p. 228.

[38] "Daily People," of August 3, 1909.

[39] "Socialist Reconstruction of Society," p. 40.

[40] See his article "Haywoodism and Industrialism," in the "Daily People" of April 13, 1913.

[41] "Socialist Reconstruction of Society," p. 41.

[42] "Two Pages from Roman History," pp. 70-71.

In 1922 an event occurred in the political life of the United States which strongly corroborated De Leon's view of reformism as an instrument for the deceit of the working class. The former President Theodore Roosevelt quarreled with the Republican Party bosses who nominated Taft, Roosevelt's rival, as candidate for the Presidency, and decided to run for election without the support of the Republican Party, hoping to attract the masses of discontented workers and farmers. For this purpose he advanced an electiou platform which was completely copied from the Socialist Party and secured more than 4 million votes. One of the leaders of the Socialist Party, Victor L. Berger, kept on complaining that Roosevelt robbed the Socialist Party. . . .[43] One naturally recalls De Leon's reference to the reformist platform as the skin of a banana which will cause the reformist to slip himself and bring down the proletariat with him.

In close logical connection with De Leon's struggle against parliamentary cretinism stands his struggle against respect for capitalist laws. In September, 1912, "The Visitor," a weekly organ of a certain ultra-montanist organization in Rhode Island, published 15 questions which, in the opinion of its editors, were to put socialism to shame in the eyes of every respectable citizen. Among these questions, which the editors recommended the readers to cut out and always carry with them, one related to confiscations. Do not the socialists, "The Visitor" asked, intend to confiscate capital? De Leon at once gave a comprehensive reply in the "Daily People."[44] To him this question was neither new nor unexpected. He had given the answer to it on April 14, 1912, in a debate in the city of Troy on the question of "Individualism versus Socialism," and ten years earlier, in 1902, in "Two Pages from Roman History."

The proletarian revolution, De Leon replied, strives to socialize all the means of production. This act will be a crime from the point of view of capitalist laws and conceptions, but every revolution carries with it its own code of laws. From the point of view of the British, Jefferson, the leader of the anti-British revolution, for national independence, was a "confiscator," for, contrary to the British laws, he wrested the American colonies

[43] Here is what Lenin wrote about the result of the 1912 elections: "Lastly, the importance of the election lies in the unusually clear and striking manifestation of bourgeois reformism as a means of struggle against socialism. . . .Roosevelt has been obviously hired by the clever millionaires to preach this fraud." (Lenin's Works, 1925, Vol. 12, Part 1, pp. 323-324).

[44] Daniel De Leon "Fifteen Questions," 6th edition, New York, 1925.

from England's hands, but from the point of view of the American people, including the bourgeoisie, Jefferson was a national hero who proved to be able to ignore the laws of the oppressor and establish new laws corresponding to the interests of the liberated people. The bourgeoisie itself, when acting as a revolutionary class, pointed out to the proletariat, the way to the solution of its historical class tasks. The bourgeois legality does not in any way permit the proletarian revolution. The latter carries within its womb its own statute. "A revolutionist who seeks a toga of 'legality' is a defunct revolutionist; he is a boy playing at soldiers. . . . [45]

As a striking example of the helplessness of a socialist who has not learned to take a dialectical view of the problem of law and who does not dare honestly and openly to explain it to the workers, De Leon referred to the case of Thomas J. Morgan, whom we have already mentioned in connection with the attempt to organize a labor party. In 1894, while addressing the American Federation of Labor convention in Delaware with a vehement appeal in the name of Socialism, Morgan was interrupted by one of the leaders of the Federation, Adolf Strasser,

"Can I ask you a question?"

"Of course."

"Do you approve of *confiscation?*"

. . . . And Morgan fizzled out like a bubble. Strasser felt that he gave the socialist agitator a knock-out blow.

IX

De Leon was an internationalist.[46] The sharp weapon of his criticism he directed not only against the native opportunism but also against its manifestation in the international labor movement. De Leon belonged to the consistent left wing of the Second International.[47] He was one of the first to raise arms against Kaut-

[45] "Two Pages from Roman History," pp. 73-74. "Fifteen Question," pp. 84-85, 88.

[46] In 1911 De Leon sharply took to task the only socialist congressman, Victor Berger, for failing to make use of the congressional platform for the international education of the workers. In the opinion of De Leon, Berger should have made an international demonstration during the election of the Speaker at the first meeting of the congress, by nominating its own candidature in the name of "The American Branch of the International Socialist Family." (See "Berger's Hits and Misses," by Daniel De Leon, New York, 1919).

[47] De Leon attended the following congress of the Second International, the Congress of Zurich (1893), Amsterdam (1904), Stuttgart (1907), and Copenhagen (1910).

sky and expose his opportunism when Kautsky was still at the zenith of his revolutionary fame.

De Leon took up and popularized the apt description of Kautsky's Paris resolution (1900) on the Millerand case, as a "rubber resolution." At the Amsterdam Congress, De Leon delivered a sharp attack upon Kautsky and demanded a revision of the Paris resolution. Here is the resolution which De Leon submitted in the name of the Socialist Labor Parties of the United States, Austrlia and Canada:

"WHEREAS,

"The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class represents a constant and inevitable conflict which will grow sharper rather than weaker with every day;

"The existing Governments represent committees of the ruling class assigned to preserve the yoke of capitalist exploitation upon the neck of the working class;

"At the last congress in Paris in 1900 a resolution was adopted, known as the Kautsky resolution, the last paragraphs of which permit in some cases the representatives of the working class to accept State offices from the hands of capitalist governments, and particularly provide for the possibility of impartiality on the part of the governments of the ruling class in the conflicts between the working class and the class of capitalists, and,

"The above paragraphs—perhaps applicable to countries which have not yet completely freed themselves of feudal institutions—were adopted under the conditions both of France and of the Paris Congress which may justify the mistaken conclusions of the nature of the class struggle, of the character of the capitalist governments and of the policy which the proletariat must follow in its anxiety to abolish the capitalist system in countries which, like the United States of America, are completely free from feudal institutions—this congress resolves:

"Firstly, that Kautsky's resolution referred to is rejected as a principle of general socialist policy;

"Secondly, that in countries, like America, which are fully developed from a capitalist point of view, the working class cannot, without betraying the proletarian cause, accept any office which it does not conquer for itself."[48]

[48] "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress," pp. 94-95.

It is noteworthy that if De Leon very conditionally (perhaps) admits of the possibility of applying Kautsky's policy in countries which have not yet been freed from the elements of feudalism and which were therefore, as De Leon thought, still unripe for the socialist revolution, for the Anglo-Saxon countries, and primarily for the United States, where, according to De Leon, after the civil war of 1861-1865, the working class and the capitalist class faced each other as enemies, De Leon insisted upon an uncompromising revolutionary policy which is at the present time formulated as the policy of "class against class."

The relations between De Leon and the leaders of the Second International, particularly Kautsky, were cool and strained. According to Boris Feinstein, a former member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labor Party and De Leon's right hand man, the latter went without enthusiasm to the Congress of the Second International where the S.L.P. delegations were practically ignored and the Hillquits and Simonses felt in their own element. The situation in America and the struggle between the two socialist parties of the United States were judged by the malicious speeches of the Socialist Party representatives at the congress and in the leading European socialist journals, particularly the "Neue Zeit," where De Leon was painted as an anarchist and a wrecker of the trade unions.

De Leon was inclined to explain the coolness of the leaders of the International towards the Socialist Labor Party by the difference between the social and economic structure of the United States and of the European countries. "They cannot understand us," De Leon maintained, "we are divided from them not only by a physical but also by an historical ocean. They still live under semi-feudal conditions while we are at the threshold of the socialist revolution." We will not criticize here De Leon's mistake which consisted of his failure to understand the possibility of the socialist revolution breaking out first in a country with a "relatively smaller development of industry."[49] To us one thing is unquestionable, the cool attitude of the leaders of the Second International toward De Leon's Socialist Labor Party sprang from the same sources which were responsible for the coolness toward the Russian Bolsheviks, the Bulgarian "Tesniaks," the Dutch "Tribunists," in short towards the revolutionary wing of the international labor movement.

[49] See A. Angorov "De Leon and Lenin on the Question of the Proletarian State," "Revolutsia Prava," 1927, No. 4.

X.

Up to 1918 Lenin was apparently unacquainted with the works and views of De Leon. At the Stuttgart congress to which both De Leon and Lenin were delegates, they worked in different commissions (the former in the trade union commission) and did not meet in their work.

In 1918 an article was published in the "Workers' Dreadnought" entitled "Marx, De Leon and Lenin." The article was signed by Margaret White, the pseudonyn of a prominent British Communist. The author of the article expressed the belief that De Leon was Lenin's predecessor in anticipating the Soviet system.[50] Lenin then became greatly interested in the American revolutionist and asked B. Reinstein to bring him De Leon's works which Lenin studied only at the end of 1918, after recovering from his wound.

On May 11th, 1918, the "Weekly People," the organ of the Socialist Labor Party, published an address by John Reed, of which the following is an excerpt: "Premier Lenin," Reed said, "is a great admirer of De Leon, whom he regarded as the greatest of modern socialists, the only one who added something new to socialist thought after Marx. Reinstein took with him to Russia several pamphlets written by De Leon, but Lenin wanted more of them. He asked Reed to send him several copies of all the published works of Le Leon as well as a copy of "With De Leon since '89'," a biography written by Rudolph Katz . . . Lenin intended to have them translated into Russian and write the preface to them."[51]

In a private conversation B. Reinstein told me that at the end of May, 1919, he spoke with Lenin about De Leon.

"But did not De Leon err on the side of "sectarianism?" Lenin asked half jestingly, half earnestly, but added that he was mightily impressed by the sharp and deep criticism of reformism given by De Leon in his "Two Pages from Roman History,"

[50] The same idea was expressed by the author in his book "Communism and Society," by W. Paul, 1922.

[51] Quoted from Olive M. Johnson's "Daniel De Leon, Our Comrade," which was published in the Symposium "Daniel De Leon, The Man and his work," I. p. 81, New York, 1926. Lenin's great interest in De Leon was noted also by Robert Minor ("The World," February 4, 1919 and Arthur Ransome ("Russia in 1919," by Arthur Ransome.) According to B. Reinstein, in May, 1919, Lenin intended to write an article devoted to the Fifth Anniversary of De Leon's death, but some circumstances prevented him from carrying out his intentions.

as well as by the fact that as far back as April, 1904, De Leon anticipated such an essential element of the Soviet system as the abolition of Parliament and its replacement by representatives from production units.

Of course this is not the Soviet system but only an element of the Soviet system. From the Bolsheviks De Leon was divided by his failure to understand the inevitability and necessity of a transitional epoch in the form of a dictatorship of the proletariat. He believed that the socialist revolution would at once eliminate the State, and that society would step right into developed socialism on the morrow of the revolution. This explains De Leon's denial of the need for a party, after the revolution. We can thus see that no equation mark can be drawn between De Leon and Bolshevism. However, there is one thing which unquestionably makes them akin to each other, namely, the uncompromising and determined opposition to opportunism in all its forms and manifestations.

De Leon died on May 11, 1914, that is before the world war and the Russian Revolution. We have every reason to believe that the great American Revolutionist would have learned the lessons of these historical events and supported the position of Leninism. In any case, De Leon's unquestionable merit consists in that in a number of Anglo-Saxon countries he trained cadres of revolutionary Marxists who are now struggling within the ranks of the Communist International.[52]

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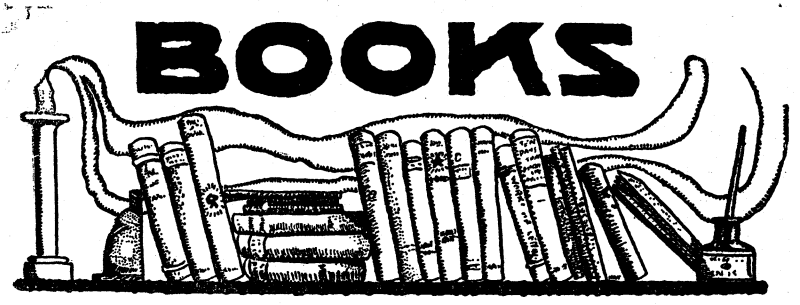
[52] Thus MacManus, Murphy, Tom Bell, William Paul and other leaders of the British Communist Party are pupils and former disciples of De Leon.



THE MAKING OF NEW GERMANY.

The Memoirs of Philipp Scheidemann. D. Appleton & Company, New York. 2 Vols. $10. 741 Pp.

Reviewed by A. B. Magil.

"All oppressing classes of every description," Lenin once pointed out, "need two social functions to safeguard their domination: the function of a hangman and the function of a priest."

It was the peculiar destiny of Philipp Scheidemann to play both these roles on the stage of history up to the hilt. As priest he served the German bourgeoisie in painting the predatory imperialist war as a war of self-defense, in justifying and sanctifying the most oppressive measures of the Junkers and the military clique, and in holding forth to the masses the prospect of parliamentary reforms and "a free Germany" as a reward for complete submission. As hangman he helped drown in the blood of thousands of toilers the proletarian revolution that threatened to engulf German capitalism. And now in the twilight of his life, when younger and cleverer priests and hangmen have supplanted him in the service of the bourgeoisie, Scheidemann has performed his last duty to his masters: he has written his memoirs, translated under the rather ambiguous title of "The Making of New Germany," calling the German capitalist class to witness how faithful a servant he has been. But after all, a servant can't tell all he knows of his master's affairs. And so in his introduction Scheidemann says: "...I shall record in this book those negotiations and proceedings that for cogent reasons were not revealed **only as far as the public interest** (read: "interest of the bourgeoisie"—A. B. M.) **is concerned.**"

But anyone expecting to find in these two thick volumes some indication of the economic-political background of the war, or of the class forces involved in "the making of new Germany," or even the barest outline of the history of German Social-Democracy during the present century is expecting too much of Mr. Scheidemann. What every humdrum college professor or bourgeois journalist now openly admits concerning the war with a pious "Now it may be told" air, this "socialist," who for over a decade (and what a decade!) was one of the outstanding leaders of the most powerful social-democracy in the world, merely tilts at occasionally, but succeeds in leaving all the important things undisturbed. The history of the past thirty years consists for him almost entirely of personalities, not the least of whom was Philipp Scheidemann. It is the actions and speeches

of these personalities, the gossip and intrigues of the backstage of politics (as the petty-bourgeois conceives politics) that form the bulk of his memoirs. The war and the Revolution are simply the background against which these personalities perform. The masses, those who bore the burden of the war, who suffered and starved and were slaughtered on the battlefields, those toiling millions whom the Scheidemanns and Eberts so shamefully betrayed are for the most part non-existent for Mr. Scheidemann; or if they are, they are "Communist gangs," "Liebknecht's hordes," "loafers." And all this with a pious air—the air of a priest.

This political innocence of Mr. Scheidemann is, of course, not innocence at all. It is the studied hypocrisy of the professional bourgeois politician for whom chicanery of every sort is a law of life, a law of his class function. Scheidemann has deliberately concealed the imperialist conflicts that caused the war, he has deliberately suppressed the whole of the pre-war imperialist history of Germany—particularly the adventures in China, Turkey and Morocco; and he has concealed, falsified and distorted the entire story of the betrayal of German Social-Democracy—probably the most monstrous class betrayal in history. And all this suppression and distortion and downright lying he has done in the interests of the bourgeoisie—in his social function as priest and hangman.

Scheidemann's book is, however, important for the light it casts on what went on behind the scenes of the German Social-Democratic Party and particularly for the revelations of the intimate connection of the Social-Democrats with the government during the war. And by his very evasions and suppressions, by his blustering and often unwitting revelations, by his frequent display of petty conceit and shopkeeper's mentality, Scheidemann has achieved a relentless self-portrait that constitutes an overwhelming political indictment not only of himself, but of the entire German Social-Democracy.

* * *

In no party of the Second International did pre-war opportunism appear in so virulent a form as in the German party, because in no party was it so well concealed, in no party did revolutionary phrases so consistently mask the worst opportunist practices. Hadn't the German Marxists, led by Kautsky, fought the good fight against Revisionism and won—on paper? Thus it was possible for even a Scheidemann to belong to the so-called "Marxist Center" of the party and for a time in 1907 to sit with the Radical wing in the parliamentary fraction meetings. That Scheidemann was as innocent of Marxism as the Kaiser himself is evident from his book.

The war burst this festering opportunist abscess and revealed the complete bankruptcy of German Social-Democracy and of the Second International. Forgotten were the solemn declarations made at the congresses at Stuttgart (1907,) Copenhagen (1910) and especially at Basle (1912,) that if, despite all their efforts for peace, war should break out, the Social-Democrats considered it their duty "to intervene in favor of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war to arouse the people and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule." Scheidemann quotes this passage in its due chronological order in his memoirs. That is for him sufficient. When he describes and defends

the behavior of the German Social-Democrats at the outbreak of the war he (in common with his fellow-traitors, including that hypocritical **Maedchen fuer alle**—everybody's woman—as Rosa Luxemburg called him, Karl Kautsky) completely "forgets" this solemn pledge to revolutionary action made only two years before the war. Scheidemann intends no irony when, under the chapter heading: "International Work for Peace" (Vol. I.) he writes:

"The best and surest protection that can be offered to our Fatherland against attack is what the Social-Democrat demanded in his Party programme—universal military training; the deciding of peace and war by the People's representatives; and the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. **No other German political party has demanded such an extensive national training in case of war for self-defence.**" (Emphasis mine—A. B. M.). And he goes on with perfect equanimity: "Had the Social-Democratic military programme been adopted we should have had millions more men at our disposal in 1914 had the war then come, and what that would have meant at the beginning is too obvious for words."

In general, Scheidemann does his best to gloss over and conceal the treachery of the German Social-Democrats. But he makes a damaging **faux pas:** he quotes a manifesto published by the Party Executive on July 25—**only ten days before the vote on the war credits.** This declared:

"The territory of the Balkans is streaming with the blood of thousands of slaughtered men; the ruins of devastated towns and sacked villages are smoking; starving men without work are wandering from place to place, and widowed women and orphan children; and **the unbridled fury of Austrian Imperailism is preparing to bring death and destruction on all Europe... No German soldier's blood must be spilt to gratify the murderous intentions of the Austrian tyrant.** Comrades, we call upon you to express at once by mass meetings **the unshakable desire of the class-conscious proletariat for peace...**" (Emphasis mine—A. B. M.).

Six days later Stampfer, in charge of the party press, published an article which was a complete about-face. The Party Executive tried to stop this article because they wanted to disguise their treachery a little more subtly. That they agreed with it fully is evident from Scheidemann's statement that "it set forth the views of the Party... clearly and pointedly..." Stampfer's article was a social-chauvinist document of the most brazen sort and a mad cry for blood. After declaring that the time for peace work was over, it said:

"If war is the most horrible of all horrors, the frightfulness of this war will be intensified by the fact that it will be waged not only by civilized nations. We are sure that our comrades in uniform of all sorts and conditions will abstain from all unnnecessary cruelty, but we cannot have this trust in the motley hordes of the Czar, and we will not have our women and children sacrificed to the bestiality of Cossacks."

After painting "the unspeakable atrocities Tsarism has inflicted on its own people," the article concludes:

"On the reverse side of all this horror and devastation is another and more pleasing picture—a free German people that has won its

country and defends its Fatherland; a free German people in alliance with the great civilized Powers of the West after a just peace, and our good cause everywhere in the ascendant. Yonder, however, in the east are the smoking ruins of the throne of Czars!"

On July 25 it is "the unbridled fury of Austrian imperialism" that is "preparing to bring death and destruction on all Europe." On July 31 it is "the motley hordes of the Czar," "the bestiality of Cossacks" that threaten everything. On July 25: "No German soldier's blood must be spilt to gratify the murderous intentions of the Austrian tyrant;" and on July 31: "Yonder...in the east are the smoking ruins of the throne of Czars!"

Could treachery be more shameless? Scheidemann blandly places Stampfer's articie immediately after the Party manifesto and—the priest has done his duty.

* * *

On August 3, Scheidemann relates, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg invited him and Haase to a conference of the leaders of all parties to discuss the voting of the war credits. "Socialist" betrayal had taken the next logical step: the Social-Democratic Party had become the party of the war coalition, the party that was to be depended on in every emergency to throttle the protest of the working class, to break their class solidarity and to deliver them bound and gagged into the hands of the capitalists and militarists. The invitation to the conference was an official acknowledgement of this new role of German Social-Democracy. Bethmann-Hollweg did not need to ask Scheidemann and Haase how the Social-Democrats would vote on the war credits. That he knew from private sources, sources which led from the Social-Democratic Party to the War Office itself! (This was revealed in the official documents published after the war by Count Montgelas—Scheidemann makes no mention of it.)

And so they voted the war credits. And Haase, who at the Section meeting had opposed voting the war credits, completed his capitulation by reading the shameful document in which the Social-Democrats announced before the Reichstag—and the workers of the world—that they had hauled down the Red Flag of Socialism and run up the black-white-red of the bloody Hohenzollerns.

The betrayal of the Social-Democratic Party was completed by the unions, which, under the leadership of the Social-Democrat Legien, proclaimed the infamous **Burgfrieden** (civil truce.) Scheidemann discreetly fails to make mention of this, one of the blackest chapters in the history of labor betrayal. Though his book is replete with dates and records of meetings, he has somehow "overlooked" August 17, 1914, when a conference of trade union officials decided that no strikes, either offensive or defensive, would be inaugurated throughout the duration of the war (all existing strikes had already been called off on August 2.) The era of the infamous **Kriegssozialismus** (war socialism,) the parent of the now lusty social-fascism, had set in. What miseries, what unprecedented persecutions and oppressions it was to bring the German workingclass will not be found in Scheidemann's book. But it will be found burnt into the memories of millions of German workers, their wives and children who have survived those days; and it will be found in the fruits of war socialism and the civil

truce—the Young Plan, the semi-fascist Bruening dictatorship, the three and a half million unemployed.

The declaration of the "state of siege" and the military censorship are mentioned only casually by Scheidemann. The hounding and imprisonment of hundreds of militants who dared to oppose the war, the complete suppression of freedom of speech and assemblage, the abolition of all labor protection laws, the terrific exploitation of women and children day and night at the most exhausting toil, the complete militarization of labor, the lowering of wages and general attacks on the living standards of the workers—all these blessings of the civil truce our pious Mr. Scheidemann passes over in discreet silence. Silence, did I say? No, I do him an injustice. All these oppressions were—victories of the proletariat! Scheidemann quotes from his speech at the Wurzburg Congress of the Social-Democratic Party in October, 1917:

"During the war a displacement of power has occurred **to the advantage of the proletariat**—a displacement on the brink of which we are standing, and through the fight of the masses that developed in the midst of hostilities, Social Democracy has won quite a different status to what it had before the war." (Emphasis mine.—A. B. M.).

Scheidemann echoed the sentiments of all the social-democratic betrayers. There were even those among his colleagues who went so far as to announce that the complete subjection of the economic and political life of the country to the military clique acting in the interests of predatory capital constituted a step toward Socialism! Fifteen years later their American comrade, Norman Thomas, made the same analysis of Hoover's semi-fascist business council. It seems that political nonsense—and treachery—once uttered, is like a stone cast into water at a certain angle: its ripples are endless.

* * *

In an article written in 1915 Lenin charged that the peace efforts of the German Social-Democrats were being fostered by the government; he declared that "diplomatic history will prove in a few years that there was a direct or indirect agreement between the opportunists and the government concerning peace prattle, and **not in Germany alone!**" ("The Imperialist War," p. 262, American Edition.) Scheidemann's book amply confirms this. Scheidemann, Ebert and other delegates are preparing to leave for the Stockholm peace conference in the spring of 1917, at which the representatives of the Social-Democratic Parties of the belligerent countries were to gather.

"Our passes were got ready for us overnight," he writes, "on instructions from Zimmerman, Secretary of State, whom we had let into our confidence, by the Foreign Office." And further on: "We had a talk beforehand with Wahnschaffe (Under-Secretary of State) on the Alsace-Lorraine question, who 'lay very low' and referred us to the Chancellor and Zimmerman. . . .who were well versed in those things. Next day I had an interview with Zimmerman. He told me in confidence that he had spoken with the Supreme Command on the subject. The Supreme Command were also in favor of a rectification of frontiers, should that make peace any easier, as I had represented to Wahnschaffe."

It was not the first time that an imperial minister had given him confidential information. Talks with the Chancellor, which were kept

secret even from their own party colleagues, were by no means rare for Scheidemann and Ebert.

All was, however, not dead and rotten in German Social-Democracy. But for the story of that splendid revolt, led by Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and others, despite and against the "socialist" betrayers and the still more treacherous "lefts" of the Kautsky-Haase variety, despite and against the censorship and the military terror—for this heroic story you will have to look elsewhere. Scheidemann's contribution consists of petulant attacks on the revolutionary leaders, falsification of history and the heaping of insult and abuse on the masses. This only serves to unmask Mr. Scheidemann himself and to reveal him in all his nakedness as the abject, venal servant of a murderous ruling class for whom the term traitor is much too mild. As an instance of his falsification by suppression, here is his description of the courageous act that resulted in Liebknecht's arrest and trial for high treason in 1916:

"On 1st May, he (Liebknecht), although a soldier, yelled out on the Potsdamer Platz in Berlin, 'Down with the War; Down with the government!' The result was (any political tyro might have told him) that he was locked up, and in spite of all our efforts to get him out he was not released."

This gives the impression that Liebknecht simply went out on the Potsdamer Platz and out of a clear sky yelled: "Down with the war! Down with the government!" Scheidemann suppresses the fact that the Social-Democrats, complying with the wishes of the government, **had forbidden the annual May Day demonstration.** Secondly he suppresses the fact that, despite this ban, the **Spartakusbund had** called on the workers to demonstrate. And thirdly, he suppresses the fact that Liebknecht cried: "Down with the war, etc.," in the course of a speech to **10,000 Berlin workers** who, defying both their treacherous official leaders and the government terror, came out and demonstrated against the war.

The sentencing of Liebknecht to four years and one month in jail was the signal: a wave of mass demonstrations and political strikes swept the country (on this too Scheidemann is silent.) The cry of Liebknecht on the Potsdamer Platz rang through the hearts of Germany's (and not only Germany's) toiling masses, rousing their revolutionary conscience, calling them to mass actions against the war, against their oppressors. The slogan of Spartacus: "Not Civil Peace, But Civil War!" was being realized in life.

* * *

It is one of the appropriate ironies of history that Scheidemann learned the news of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg while having lunch in his home town of Kassel with—Generals von Hindenburg and Groener. An eloquent symbol: the famous Mr. Scheidemann, Social-Democrat and Foreign Minister of the infant bourgeois republic, who was just getting ready to step into the Chancellorship, sits eating pleasantly (in Berlin the workers were starving) with two of his ex-Imperial Majesty's most trusted generals—while somewhere in a Berlin sewer lay the fiendishly mutilated bodies of the two heroic leaders of the German workingclass. Scheidemann gives no details of the murder—it is only a minor incident to him. The story was spread about and generally credited that it was an act of

class vengeance on the part of the reactionary Right. It remained for a criminal libel trial in Berlin two years ago to reveal that the Social-Democrats also had a hand(and by no means a small one) in this bestial murder.

Yet another symbol: it is the morning of November 9, 1918. Scheidemann sits in the dining-hall of the Reichstag eating soup. Scheidemann steps outside, proclaims the German Republic and—returns to finish his soup. It reveals both the personal and political vulgarity of the man. Politics was to him something that began and ended in the Reichstag—supplemented, of course, with confidential talks and instructions from the Kaiser's Chancellor and other agents of the German ruling classes. The German Revolution was also something that took place in the Reichstag—while eating soup. . . .

The Republic which Scheidemann had foregone his soup to proclaim soon showed its true face under the "socialist" exterior. The new government, consisting of members of the Social-Democratic and the fake left Independent Socialist Parties, announced free speech and freedom of the press and then proceeded to suppress the left wing papers, turned over the army and the government institutions to monarchists and began the physical extermination of the revolutionary left. Concerning the work of Noske, the infamous "socialist" bloodhound (the term "bloodhound" was Noske's own!) who used the Kaiser's officers and the most reactionary troops to crush the proletarian revolution, Scheidemann writes with delicate euphemism. It is the guilty euphemism of the hypocrite and traitor who feels his own hands burn with the blood of murdered workers. He writes:

"In Bremen, where the notorious and restless Radek had raged and fumed for years...Bolshevism in its worst form was rampant. **Order had to be preserved by the soldiers.** The fact that the Government had **a few troops** at its command obviously upset **the bloodthirsty correspondents** of the 'Red Flag.'" (Emphasis mine—A. B. M.).

Note the studied duplicity of the language. It was Radek—not Noske—that raged, Bolshevism—not the "socialist" military terror—that was rampant. And, of course, "order had to be preserved by the soldiers." But the government had, after all, only "a few troops." Bloodthirsty troops? Oh, no! It was the correspondents of the Red Flag (Rote Fahne) who were bloodthirsty!

But all is well: "The Constitution of the German Republic has still many weak spots, for in politics nothing is perfect, but it cannot be denied that it is the freest constitution in the world." So free, in fact, that it permits a semi-fascist dictatorship—or if necessary, a social-fascist one—to be set up without any trouble. And who is there to deny that this constitution not only is free, but "the freest in the world?" Certainly not those workers whom the police of the new "socialist" bloodhound, Zorgiebel, shot down on May Day, 1929!

* * *

A complete list of Scheidemann's suppressions and falsifications would fill a volume. There is space for only one more that is particularly glaring. The question of annexations agitated the Social-Democratic Party. Though they had voted the war credits under

the pretext of "self-defense," many Social-Democrats yelped unreservedly for territory, while the Party leadership was very careful—as long as Germany seemed to be winning—not to come out openly against annexations. Scheidemann tries to give the impression that he was always against annexations. What are the facts? He has quoter rather fully from his speeches and writings; but there is one speech he has "forgotten" to include.

On April 5, 1916, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg made a speech in the Reichstag in which he declared that both in the East and in the West, Germany would demand "territorial revisions" for the "full protection of our future." It was an unequivocal annexationist speech. The next day Scheidmann's turn came. After hailing Bethmann-Hollweg's speech as an indication that Germany had no desire for annexations, he said: "One must be a political infant if one imagines that an entire continent can be in flames, that millions and millions of people can be killed, that immeasurable cultural treasures can be destroyed—that after all these frightful events not a single boundary may be changed, not a single boundary which some long mouldering diplomat had laid out!"

Scheidemann's hatred of Bolshevism and of the first Workers' Republic is consistent throughout. The quality of his political thought may be judged from the single sentence in which he describes the greatest revolution in history: "In Russia meanwhile Lenin and Trotsky had triumphed over Kerensky." And just as the Mensheviks spread the lie that the Bolsheviks were German agents, so Scheidemann does not hesitate even at this late date to accuse the German Spartacists of being in the employ of the Entente. But he is careless enough to relate a tale that reveals whose agent and in what despicable manner he, Philipp Scheidemann, was. It is clear from this tale that it was none other than this same Philipp Scheidemann, the eminent "socialist" and pious man of honor, who instigated the planting of the faked documents that resulted in the closing in November, 1918 of the Soviet Legation at Berlin and the deportation of all its staff.

Scheidmann's book throws many illuminating sidelights on the character of Ebert despite the fact that these are undoubtedly one-sided as the rivalry between the two men for the leadership of the party and later of the government was obviously very acute. It is clear that Ebert, the real dictator of the party, did everything in his power to save the monarchy. For this purpose he held repeated secret conferences with Prince Max von Baden, the last Imperial Chancellor. At one of these interviews the Prince asked him: "Shall I have you at my side in my fight against the Social Revolution?" And Ebert replied: "If the Kaiser does not abdicate, Social Revolution must come. But I don't want it; I hate it like sin." Scheidemann quotes the Prince as saying on another occasion: "The Revolution is on the eve of success; we can't smash it, but perhaps we can throttle it...If the abdicating Kaiser appoints Ebert Chancellor, there is a faint hope still for the monarchy."

But that Ebert was not alone in his efforts to save the monarchy is evident from a speech Scheidemann made at Friedrichshafen in June, 1922—a speech which he has also omitted from his memoirs:

"Anti-monarchist propaganda, positive republican activity was

never conducted by the Social-Democracy because for us this question seemed up to a certain time secondary. . . .

"The imputation that Social-Democracy wanted or prepared the November Revolution is an absurd, silly agitational lie spread by our enemies."

* * *

Mr. Scheidemann concludes his book in a very mellow mood. He quotes an article he wrote urging that "Deutschland Ueber Alles" be considered the German national anthem; he prattles amiably about democracy and takes a final dig at Bolshevism. And then: "...Democracy not only forbids rich and poor to steal bread; but it gives to rich and poor the same rights to settle the form of government, the policy and management of the country."

This shabby, superannuated bourgeois lie, which would cause even an editor of "The Nation" to smile, is Scheidemann's parting word. But the revolutionary German workers, to whom the name Philipp Scheidemann has become a hated byword, have not yet said their final word.* The spirit of Liebknecht and Luxemburg burns like a flame in the hearts of millions of toilers. And their revolution, which the Scheidemanns crushed in 1918-1919, lives and grows in the womb of the social forces of the Germany of today. Under the intransigeant leadership of the Communist Party of Germany, heir of all that was strongest and best in Spartacus, these mililons of toilers will speak with the fire and steel that shall sweep away like the offal of history the social-fascist Scheidemanns and Muellers and Zorgiebels and raise once again the Red Flag of true socialism over a Soviet Germany.

* * *

* Editorial Note—As we go to press reports arrive of the big gains made by the Communist Party of Germany. Responding to the revolutionary program of the Party, over four and one-half million workers voiced their demand for a Soviet Germany, at the same time placing 76 Communist deputies in the Reichstag, a gain of 22.

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