

KHRUSHCHEV: REPORT TO XXTH CONGRESS CPSU

# political affairs

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## WILLIAM Z. FOSTER 75th Anniversary Issue

*"My life in the labor, Left-wing and Communist movement has been a very happy one. It has given me the opportunity to do the thing closest to my heart and mind—to fight against reactionary capitalism and for progressive socialism. From my earliest youth I have always felt a great pride in being a worker, and it has ever been a matter of the deepest satisfaction to me to be able to identify myself so closely with the struggles of the working class. If I were starting my life all over again, I would take the same course as I have done . . ."*

**WILLIAM Z. FOSTER in**  
**The Twilight of World Capitalism**

*Warmest Greetings, Comrade Foster,  
On Your 75th Birthday!*



**WILLIAM Z. FOSTER**

National Chairman  
Communist Party of the United States

Vol. XX

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**A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism**

Editor: V. J. Jerome

## On William Z. Foster's 75th Birthday

By National Committee, CPUSA

*On February 25th, the 75th birthday of Comrade Foster, the National Committee of the Communist Party issued the following statement:*

THE 75TH BIRTHDAY of William Z. Foster, beloved Chairman of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., is an event of major significance. Comrade Foster is the outstanding leader of our Party. He is one of the great-

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est leaders the American trade-union movement has produced, an outstanding organizer and strategist, the man who in the great packinghouse and steel strikes, which he led, pioneered the organization of the mass production industries that reached fruition in the thirties and brought to birth the CIO.

The vast canvas of Comrade Foster's life and work is an inspiration and source of strength to all who hate tyranny and war, to all who strive for an America great in progress and peace.

\* \* \*

Foster's name is bound up with major contributions to the organization of the unorganized, to the first great advances in the organization of the trustified industries, to the first large-scale unionization of Negro workers together with whites, to the building of solidarity between native and foreign born, to the fight for militant trade unionism and against class collaboration, to the organization of the unemployed, to the winning of social and unemployment insurance, to the development of labor's independent political action and its leadership in forging coalition movements that can lay the basis for an eventual labor-farmer party.

Of special significance is Comrade Foster's leadership of the Communist Party in its fight for peace. In resolutely opposing U.S. monopoly capital's aggressive war policies, the Communist Party has performed a patriotic service of incalculable value.

It has consistently alerted the American people to the dangers of the Wall Street-Washington foreign policy. It has tirelessly pointed the way to peace and national security through negotiations with the Soviet Union, an end to the cold war, and a policy of peaceful coexistence between the capitalist and socialist systems.

With Comrade Foster as its chairman, the National Committee of the Communist Party has unceasingly warned against the menace of fascism whether expressed by McCarthy and Eastland or the bipartisan assault on the Bill of Rights. It has shown the direct connection between the rise of the fascist danger in the United States and the war drive of U.S. imperialism. At the same time it has pointed to the realistic possibility of combatting this threat to American democracy through the broadest unity of workers, farmers, the Negro people, middle-class forces and all who wish to preserve the Bill of Rights.

\* \* \*

Comrade Foster has made innumerable creative contributions on the Negro question. Today when the struggle for civil rights has reached unprecedented heights, the pioneer role that the Communists have played in this movement since the early thirties stands out more clearly. Comrade Foster has strengthened and guided our Party's role as champion of the economic, political and social equality of the Negro people.

To his achievements as a political

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leader and organizer, Comrade Foster has added important contributions as a Marxist-Leninist theoretical worker. It was he who led the struggle against Lovestone's pro-imperialist ideology of American "exceptionalism" in the early thirties as well as against Browder's ideology of "enlightened and progressive American imperialism" in the forties which led to the liquidation of the Communist Party.

In his booklet, *In Defense of the Eleven Communist Leaders*, written in 1949, Comrade Foster made a signal contribution to helping develop Marxist-Leninist theory on the possibility of a peaceful transition to Socialism. This was further developed in his book *The Twilight of World Capitalism*, and the *History of the Communist Party of the United States*.

In a whole series of important articles, Comrade Foster has made pioneer theoretical contributions in analyzing Keynesism, the economic theory of monopoly capitalism. During the past six years, in addition to the foregoing, Comrade Foster has authored such important works as *Outline Political History of the Americas*, *The Negro People in American History*, *History of the Three Internationals*, and most recently *Outline History of the World Trade-Union Movement*.

\* \* \*

Above all, Comrade Foster has been the Party leader and Party builder. Together with our General

Secretary, Comrade Dennis, he has stood at the head of the collective leadership of our National Committee. During the recent years when Comrade Dennis and other leading members of our National Committee were in jail or otherwise unable to function fully together with the membership, Comrade Foster was a tower of strength to our Party.

He has understood in the deepest sense the Marxist-Leninist conception of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class. He has striven tirelessly to have our Party fulfil its vanguard role by basing itself among the workers in the key industries and giving leadership to their struggles in every field. He has never flagged in his faith that our Party, whatever its present limitations, can and must be built into the mass Party of the American working class, destined to lead the nation in the fight for peace, democracy, social progress and the eventual establishment of Socialism.

\* \* \*

Dear Comrade Bill, we wish you many more years of fruitful labor as head of our Party and matchless leader of the American working class. We pledge to do all in our power to strengthen the fight to quash the outrageous Smith Act indictment against you and win amnesty for all Smith Act prisoners and defendants.

May you continue to lead in the struggle to achieve peaceful coexistence and genuine friendship and

cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union. May you continue to lead in the fight against war and oppression, a fight which will inevitably lead to the final victory of the working class from which you have sprung—the singing tomorrows of Socialism.

We had hoped to publish in this issue, the text of the address to be delivered by Comrade Benjamin J. Davis, at the 75th Anniversary Dinner honoring Comrade Foster. Due, however, to the postponement of that Dinner to March 9, we now plan to print Comrade Davis' remarks in our next issue.—*Ed.*

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Feb. 3,

# Has World Capitalism Become Stabilized?\*

By William Z. Foster

WORLD MONOPOLY capitalist economic and political leaders do not subscribe to the Marxist-Leninist conception of the general crisis of capitalism; nevertheless, since the end of World War II, they have been very deeply concerned as to the condition and general future of their whole social system. A strong note of pessimism and alarm has permeated their whole outlook and general progress. Never were they so afraid of Communism as in this post-war period, and never was there a greater need than now for the policy of the peaceful co-existence of all nations.

During the past couple of years or so, however, the soothsayers and ideologists of capitalism have perked up a bit. They have been developing the propaganda, in substance, that the advance of Communism has been stopped and that world capitalism has been saved. Concretely, they maintain that Communism has been beaten in Western Europe; that the countries in that area have been stabilized politically; that the forces of capitalism are mastering the situation in the colonial world; that world capitalism

possesses the dominant military forces, and especially that the industrial system throughout the capitalist world is back on its feet again and in a healthy and stable condition.

This type of optimistic propaganda is to be found widely in capitalist circles, interspersed in the maze of pessimism which basically saturates capitalist ideology in this post-war period. Such pollyannaism was, for example, the general sentiment of the New Year's period conference in New York of the Columbia Broadcasting System's political experts, who were called in from all over the world to report on general economic and political conditions. They definitely struck a note of confidence regarding the future of capitalism. However, there is no sound basis in the realities of the world situation for such an optimistic capitalist viewpoint. Only in the rarest instances, wherever Communism had become a real factor, has it been defeated; basically it is continuing its advance. One would have to abstract all the meaning from the term "stabilization" in order to conclude that this is the

\* This article was submitted for publication on Feb. 3, 1956—ed.

present status of the world capitalist system.

### THE SHAKY CAPITALIST WORLD ECONOMY

At the present time, most of the important capitalist countries are experiencing an industrial "boom." *International Affairs* (September 1955), taking 1950 at 100, the period when most of the West European countries reached their pre-war levels of production, shows output increases, in Great Britain 15 percent, France 20 percent, and West Germany 49 percent, for the last half of 1954. Since then, the "boom" has continued at an accelerated pace. Military production is a big factor in this. Japan, Canada, Brazil, and other capitalist countries are experiencing a similar upswing. Substantial production increases have likewise taken place in the United States.

Industrial production here, according to the Federal Reserve Board index, was about 6 percent higher at the end of 1955 than at its peak point in 1953. The "boom" in Europe, as well as in the United States, is accompanied by record profit-making, especially on the part of the big monopoly corporations. Preliminary estimates in February *Economic Notes* of Labor Research Association put total corporate profits in the U.S. at around \$44 billion (before taxes) for the full year 1955, or nearly 30 percent above those

of the previous year. Meanwhile, although in the United States the most strongly unionized workers in manufacturing have won some increases in real wages, it is certain that in the capitalist world as a whole the workers have been unable to show any gains.

It is upon this international economic "boom" that the capitalist spokesmen are basing their main hopes for the defeat of world Communism and the stabilization of world capitalism. The C.B.S. commentators harped constantly upon this string. They were very sure, for example, that the "good times" in France and Italy were deeply disintegrating the Communist parties of these two countries. What red faces they must have had, however, after the recent French elections, in which the victory of the Communist Party shocked the bourgeois world!

The present capitalist industrial upsurge is the characteristic boom phase of the recurrent cyclical economic crisis. One factor in it is the rapid increase in population that has recently taken place in various capitalist countries, including the United States. But there are also in it various unsound elements of decisive importance. First, there is the repairing of the war damages and commodity shortages caused by World War II—they are still rebuilding war-ravaged Europe, which helps to make world business "good." Second, there is the enormous pro-

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duction of armaments in preparation for a third world war, which is another powerful stimulant to industry. Europe got some \$50 billion of this strong medicine from the United States, and during the post-war years, at least \$310 billion of government money has been injected into American industry on the same basis. The present rate of \$40 billion a year for armaments is 30 times greater than before the war. Third, there has been also the powerful industrial shot-in-the-arm from increased installment buying and other cultivated debt. The combined gross private and public debt of the United States, now at nearly \$750 billion, is 45 percent higher than in 1950 and many times higher than before the second world war.

Obviously, this is a basically unhealthy economic situation. The capitalist economic world, with its artificial cold war economy, narrowed and split world markets, impoverished workers, and sharpening capitalist world trade competition, is manifestly operating on a very shaky basis. To call it a stabilized system, in any sense, would be to extract from the word all real significance. The system is limping along in the face of mounting external and internal difficulties, bred of the deepening general crisis of world capitalism.

The Keynesian expedient of bolstering up the basically sick capitalist economy with armaments production, excessive installment buying,

and the like, are, at most, only quack remedies. *New Times* (December, 1955), in speaking of the perspectives of the American economy, touched the heart of the question when it said: "The huge military contracts have enlarged the physical volume of production but have been unable to halt its cyclical fluctuations or to do away with the fact that this increased production of capital goods *postpones* the conflict between production and consumption, but *does not eliminate* it." The one thing certain about the general capitalist economy of today is that, sooner or later, the Keynesian so-called "managed economies" in the major capitalist countries will sink into economic crisis, even as did their forerunner, the "new capitalism" of the 1920's.

Theoretically, there are several avenues open along which the world capitalist economy could gain a new, temporary, lease on life. That is, it could cultivate a strong trade with the rapidly growing countries of Socialism; it could stimulate financially the industrialization of the undeveloped countries, and it could make substantial concessions to the real wages of the workers and to the incomes of the poorer farmers. But to do such things willingly would be foreign to the nature of monopoly capital, especially in the United States, and it will have to be forced by the workers to take such measures. Monopoly hates the Socialist countries and it wants, not to build

them up, but to strangle them. It is opposed on principle to building heavy industry in colonial or semi-colonial countries. And to make any real concessions to the workers and farmers is to give of its own life blood, capitalist profits. Such factors as those mentioned above, it is the task of the workers and farmers to bring about in the world economy.

The present industrial spurt in the United States seems to have about reached its summit. *Business Week* (January 14, 1956) says: "It may be that we have passed the peak of this boom, without knowing it, late last year." *U.S. News and World Report* (January 27, 1956) forecasts a drop of 18 percent in automobile production this year, and somewhat later it reports a drop already of 19 percent, a decline of six percent in housing, and something also of a let-down in steel output. During the post-war period there have been three minor depressions—in 1945, 1949, and 1954—and now another slump seems in prospect for this year. When a major international economic crisis will develop is, however, a matter of speculation; but signs are multiplying to the effect that it is in the making. In *Questions of Economics* (September 1955, Moscow), A. Bechin states that "the prerequisites have matured for the first world economic crisis of over-production in the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism."

In contrast with the precarious

condition of the world capitalist economy and the feverish character of its current "boom," is the sound, healthy, and rapidly developing economy of the Socialist sector of the world. The stupendous economic advances of the U.S.S.R. are not a "boom," but are permanent, and they have no parallel in the history of world capitalism, not even in its most favored countries under "boom" conditions. Its perspectives in this respect, contained in the new five-year plan, recently announced, far surpass any economic achievements in the past. The *New York Times* (January 20), learning from past experience not to underestimate Soviet industry, does not doubt that the tremendous plans will be realized. People's China and the people's democracies of Europe and Asia are also going ahead very rapidly industrially. Whereas France, Belgium, Austria, Denmark, Greece, and Luxemburg have, between 1937 and 1954 advanced on the average only from 100 to 139 in industrial production, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania, have made an average increase from 100 to 345 (*International Affairs*, July 1955, page 52). And while West Germany, with huge American subsidies and a feverish "boom," has increased its industrial output by 75 percent over 1939, that of East Germany has doubled in the same period. The basic thing about the vast production advances in the countries of Socialism is that

they are steady growth, healthy industrial

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they are lasting and represent a steady growth, in contrast to the unhealthy and uncertain capitalist industrial development.

#### CAPITALIST INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL INSTABILITY

In the political sphere, too, capitalism has little or no stability to report, despite the would-be prophets of C.B.S. Communism has not been beaten in Europe, nor has capitalist rule been stabilized there. It is a fact, of course, that, at the end of World War II, a combination of the American and British armed forces, the national capitalist classes, the Vatican, and the Right-wing Social Democrats prevented the workers and their allies in France, Italy, Belgium, and West Germany from possibly taking the path to people's democracy, such as was taken by the people of several states to the East—Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Albania. They also forced the Communists out of the cabinets in Italy, France, and Belgium. This does not mean, however, that anything more than a lull in the march of the workers towards Socialism has taken place in these countries. It is not capitalist political stability. Indeed, recent developments plainly indicate that the people's front is again on the agenda in France, and that in this respect Italy will probably be not far behind.

France has by no means become stabilized on a capitalist basis. This is indicated by the fact that it has had a rapid succession of impotent governments, and that its empire is being torn to pieces by the peoples of Indo-China in Asia and of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco in Africa. Italy is also in anything but a stable position politically. As for Germany, it would be absurd to consider that divided country as being stable. The British empire also cannot be called stable, as it is still shuddering from the shock of losing its vital colonies, India, Burma, and Ceylon. Moreover, only a year or so ago, it also lost the vital Suez Canal; and its recent loss of imperialist influence in the Middle East generally has been catastrophic. Britain's African colonies are also stirring with revolt, and now little Cyprus is valiantly striving to break the British colonial bonds. The colonial possessions of Portugal in India, and of Belgium and Spain in Africa, are also in jeopardy. Instead of being stabilized, the West European countries are finding themselves in real difficulty, because of the continued collapse of their empires, which were formerly veritable foundations of the stability of their capitalist systems in general.

The colonial, semi-colonial, and erstwhile colonial lands of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are also in far from a stabilized condition, so far as the capitalist system is concerned. It is idle to say that the im-

perialists are "mastering" the rebellious general colonial situation in any respect. The great Chinese Revolution, in its victory, is only six years old and Asia is still shaking from its earthquaking effects. The African colonial world, from one end of that continent to the other, is also feeling the tremendous revolutionary urge to fight for national liberation. The historic Bandung Conference was not a stabilizing force for imperialism, but a sign of its further decay and growing instability. And signs are multiplying to the effect that soon similar movements will appear in Latin America—Guatemala and British Guiana being only preliminary to the still greater upheavals to come.

Those capitalist spokesmen who believe that once the colonies have secured some degree of national independence they will "settle down" and that will be the end of the matter with the whole situation stabilized again on this new capitalist level, are in for a big surprise in this respect. Instead of "settling down," half freed from imperialist bondage, these countries will seek actively to industrialize themselves and this they can do only in opposition to the imperialists and in increasing economic and political collaboration with the countries of Socialism. Their ultimate general orientation will be in the direction of Socialism, rather than of classical capitalism. In all this situation one has to look very sharp indeed to find any traces what-

ever of real capitalist stabilization.

On the international scale, capitalism is also exhibiting a high degree, not of stability, but of instability. The cold war, the child of aggressive American imperialism, is, with its monstrous armaments, shaky military alliances, and expansionist policies, anything but an indication of capitalist stability. During the post-war years the United States has been trying to "stabilize" the whole world, Socialist as well as capitalist, under its imperialist domination; but this grandiose scheme, especially after Geneva, has obviously gone bankrupt. Although in the past 40 years world imperialism has caused two great world wars, in which it lost one-third of the world to Socialism, its American monopolist leaders were getting ready for a third one even before the second one was over.

Internationally, the capitalist world, increasingly a prey to imperialist antagonisms, expansionist wars, and dog-eat-dog competition over markets, is also unstable ideologically. It has no stable, sound philosophy. Its main spokesmen and analysts have no idea as to where world capitalism is going or how it is going to get there.

#### AN UNDEFEATED WORKING CLASS

In March 1925, the Communist International characterized the general situation of world capitalism at

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that time as constituting a "partial, relative, and temporary" stabilization. In making this generalization, among the major facts of decisive importance was that international capitalism had begun to enter the long post-war economic upswing of the 1920's. The capitalists were also in political command of all the major countries of the world, except the Soviet Union, and their general colonial system was still virtually intact and stable. Important, too, in arriving at the general conclusion regarding stabilization, was the reality that, in the preceding years, the monopolists had succeeded in heavily defeating the international working class. On the basis of these several factors, the Comintern made its famous formulation about the very limited capitalist stabilization then existing. At the same time, it warned that this stabilization was preparing the ground for new capitalist crises and war. This forecast was fully borne out a few years later in the tremendous economic crisis of 1929-33, and the Second World War, which, between them, blew the "partial, relative, and temporary" capitalist stabilization to smithereens.

Having examined briefly the current world economic and political situation, let us come back now to the question of the position of the working class, which was such a vital element in the Comintern stabilization analysis of 1925. By that time, the international monopolists,

recovering somewhat after the great blow of the Russian Revolution, had launched a vicious and, for the time being, very successful counter-offensive against the workers. With the help of the Right-wing Social Democrats, they had smashed the Socialist Revolutions in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Austria, and Finland, with catastrophic effects upon the organizations and living standards of the workers and peasants. They had also succeeded in establishing fascism in Italy, and they were busily organizing similar reactionary regimes in the Balkan and Baltic states.

In other capitalist countries the monopolists had also administered heavy blows upon the workers. Hardly a country in Western Europe had escaped the attack. In France, the general strikes of the immediate post-war years were brutally crushed, the trade unions especially suffering very heavy losses. In the United States, during 1919-22, a whole series of great strikes raged; in coal, steel, railroad, lumber, meat-packing, textile, building, needle and various other industries. All of these strikes were either wholly or partly lost, and the trade-union movement, suffering the worst set-back in its history, lost about 1,500,000 members. In Great Britain the big capitalist attack did not hit until 1926, when the workers lost their general strike of 5,000,000 workers.

Altogether, the world capitalist

reactionary offensive beginning in 1919 was the worst ever experienced by the international working class. This offensive, taking on more and more ferocity and malignancy in its later stages, was eventually to culminate in the Hitler fascization of Europe and the outbreak of World War II. The heavy defeats suffered by the workers in the earlier phases of this tremendous reactionary offensive gave the capitalists a new grip on political stability in Europe and it was a major factor in leading to the "partial, relative and temporary" stabilization conclusion of the Comintern in 1925.

At the present time, as we consider this stabilization problem afresh, the position of the world's working class is incomparably a more favorable one. The monopolists, with a much weaker capitalist system as their base, have not been able to get under way a heavy offensive against the labor movement as such. In no country, therefore, despite the reactionary misleadership of Right Social Democrats, has the broad labor movement been defeated, even partially, in open struggle. In consequence, the world's labor movement in the capitalist countries is now practically at its peak strength, with the added factor that its Left wing is generally much stronger than it was in 1925.

Indeed, far from being defeated, the world's working class and allied forces—including the Socialist countries, workers' political parties, trade

unions, cooperatives, women's movements, youth bodies, peace movements and many others—have just dealt a staggering blow to world monopoly capital, especially American imperialism, at the Geneva conference of July 1955, by compelling the imperialist warmakers to back up in their attempts to organize a great atomic world war. This was a major victory for peace and for the peoples of the world. The vastly improved strength of the broad world labor movement over what it was 30 years ago obviously lends no stability to capitalism. It is another basic reason why one cannot speak of any serious capitalist stabilization at this time.

#### SWIFTLY ADVANCING SOCIALISM

The most basic reason, however, why world capitalism cannot now correctly be designated as stabilized, even in the very limited sense of the 1925 formulation, is the tremendous and continuing progress that world Socialism has made since that time. In the Revolution of 1917 and in the succeeding years the Russian workers and peasants were the only ones who victoriously withstood the heavy capitalist counteroffensive of the early post-World War I period. With unparalleled heroism, they smashed the counter-revolution in Russia, which was financed by foreign capitalists, and they also drove the many imperialist interventionist armies, including that of the United

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States, out beyond their borders. They smashed the terrible *cordon sanitaire*, or economic blockade, that had been built by the imperialist powers to encircle and starve them out, and they also were breaking through the imperialist diplomatic blockade. In 1924, Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy found it the part of wisdom to restore diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government.

In 1925, the Soviet Union was also making tremendous efforts to reconstruct the nation's economy, after the huge devastation wrought by seven years of imperialist and civil war; to lay the organic economic basis of a Socialist system of industry and agriculture; and to create, literally from the ground up, whole new armies of engineers, technicians, and skilled workers. The country was still living under the New Economic Policy; the first five-year plan was several years off in the future; and the regime was struggling to get up to the 1913 pre-war level of production. Of the general economic situation, the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* says (p. 27): "In the fiscal year 1924-25, agricultural output had already approached the pre-war level, amounting to 87 percent of the pre-war output. In 1925, the large-scale industries of the U.S.S.R. were already producing about three-quarters of the pre-war industrial output." Despite these weaknesses, however, the very existence of the

USSR was a decisive factor in limiting the degree of capitalist stabilization at that time.

In 1956, however, the economic and political position of the U.S.S.R., and with it, that of the whole new Socialist world, has become immensely stronger than it was in 1925. This makes all the more against capitalist stabilization. Seventeen countries, embracing about one-third of the territory and population of the earth, are now either already far advanced in Socialism and are approaching Communism, or are laying the foundations of their Socialist systems. This enormous and continuing growth of world Socialism during the past generation has been a developing catastrophe for world capitalism, basically undermining the latter's strength and stability in every direction.

Actually, also, this real strength of world Socialism is very much greater than appears on the surface. According to the current bourgeois statistics, it would seem that capitalist and Socialist strength, in territory, population, and production are about in the ratio of two-to-one respectively. But any such purely statistical estimation grossly underestimates the actual resources and relative power of the Socialist world. This question we analyzed in *Political Affairs* for February, 1956.

In summary, here, we need but state that the Socialist world is far stronger than the bourgeois two-to-one formula indicates. Obviously,

its economic system, with its planned production, elimination of cyclical crises, abolition of mass unemployment, and great speed of development, is intrinsically stronger than that of the chaotic capitalist system. Its production, for basic use, is also essentially more effective than capitalist production, all cluttered up as it is with luxury production for the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

The Socialist regimes also have in Marxism-Leninism a far more powerful ideology than have the capitalist countries, with their theoretical confusion, obscurantism and pessimism. The tremendous defensive military strength of the Socialist lands, the Wall Street warmongers also know and fear. In the broad fields of science, of industrial techniques, and of general culture, Socialism likewise stands in the very front line of human progress.

Far more than is realized, the Socialist countries are making rapid progress in realizing Lenin's famous slogan of "overtaking and surpassing" the capitalist world. This great fact even the world bourgeoisie (who are constitutionally blind to Socialist progress) are beginning to grasp. This was particularly evident upon the occasion of the announcement in Moscow recently of the new five-year plan, under which, at a speed never approached by capitalism anywhere, it is planned to raise Soviet production 65 percent by 1960. Foreign Minister Molotov of the

U.S.S.R., in a speech he made early last year (*Pravda*, February 9th) hit the nail on the head when he declared that "the Soviet Union is not weaker than the United States." The powerful Socialist world of today is incomparably a stronger counterforce against capitalist stability than was the comparatively weak Soviet Union of 1925.

### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

What is meant concretely by capitalist "stabilization"? Briefly, it may be considered as consisting of at least four major conditions: a) the capitalist economy, although it is hampered by the basic internal contradictions of cyclical crises and other strains, must be able automatically to overcome its internal and other difficulties and to proceed upon a general upward spiral of development; b) the capitalists must have political control of the most important countries in the world, controlling directly the industrialized nations and indirectly the more feudalistic and undeveloped lands through imperialist domination; c) the capitalist wars must not yet have developed such disruption and devastation, and so provoked revolutionary action by the masses, as to threaten the very structure of the capitalist system itself; and d) the capitalists must be the political masters of the world and not seriously challenged by Socialism. This, in outline, may be said to have been the "stabilized"

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condition of world capitalism just prior to the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

During the four decades that have elapsed since then, however, obviously the four points of capitalist stabilization enumerated above have all been drastically undermined. Today, capitalist industry follows a most unsound and uncertain course, its present activity is heavily influenced by war demands, past, present, and future, and by the heavy governmental subsidization of the cold war economy and by various Keynesian devices. Then there is the loss of many countries by capitalism directly to Socialism, and the loss of many more specifically by imperialism through the current huge colonial revolts. Stalin has declared, too, that the splitting of the world market into two segments, which is highly detrimental to capitalism, has been the most important economic consequence of World War II. There is the cold war, too, which, following after two devastating world wars, has produced mountainous military expenditures, and far-reaching impoverishment of the masses, with recurring international crises. There is, too, the enormous growth of trade unions and other democratic organizations in the capitalist countries. And above all, there has been the birth and tremendous development of world Socialism, which, at every point, is successfully challenging the erstwhile capitalist masters of the world.

By 1925, as we have seen, the capitalist international economic and political situations had run down so far that even during the "boom" of the 1920's its stabilization had to be characterized only as "partial, relative, and temporary." During the thirty years since then, the position of capitalism has deteriorated still further, as noted above. Its general crisis, which began with World War I and the Russian Revolution, has now intensified and deepened to such an extent that, in estimating the current degree of stability of capitalism, it would be incorrect to use even the skimpy and limited terms of "partial, relative, and temporary" that were applied in the 1925 analysis.

What now exists in the world is, on the one hand, a capitalist system which continues to sink deeper and deeper into its world-wide general crisis, and on the other hand, a soaring world Socialism. The latter is advancing and the former is decaying. Such a situation basically prevents any real and spontaneous stabilization of capitalism, even in a limited sense.

Neither the rise of Socialism nor the decline of capitalism has been even and continuous. The whole historical process has gone ahead with a mixture of spurts and lulls and changes of route. Capitalism, in fact, as we now see, may even have temporary periods of considerable industrial activity and expansion. But this is not real stability. It can

also have seeming exceptions, like the United States, which, on the surface seems as yet but little affected by the capitalist general crisis. But the central fact to realize is that the two-phased process of the rise of Socialism and the decline of capitalism is going ahead irresistibly. And in the future its general tempo will almost certainly be increased. All this is not by any means to imply that capitalism is about to collapse. On the contrary, it still possesses great strength and tenacity, particularly in the United States, and it is struggling desperately to survive. Its remaining great strength must not be underestimated. The workers of the world still have before them many long and difficult struggles before they can finally relegate ill-fated world capitalism to the limbo of history.

The current world situation of a rising Socialism and a declining capitalism also does not imply that the two systems must inevitably collide. It is a gross slander, the bourgeois contention that Socialism can expand only during war or in its aftermath. On the contrary, despite the swift growth of Socialism after the two world wars, the maintenance of peace is today a basic condition for the rapid growth of Socialism. At present, for example, the capitalist spokesmen idly believe that world Communism has been "stopped"; whereas, it is, in reality,

making progress by the industrialization of its peoples, by the expansion of its cooperative relations with the colonial and former colonial nations, and by the general expansion of its world economic and political influence.

In the complex period now standing ahead of the world, the key strategy of the world's workers and their multiplying allies is to realize the peaceful coexistence of all nations, regardless of their internal regimes. This becomes more and more urgent as Socialism expands and capitalism declines. Peaceful coexistence of the nations, the policy of the peoples everywhere, will create greater stability in world relations, despite the warlike tendencies of decaying capitalism. It is imperative for the world, the key need of our times. And it will literally be up to the workers to lead in enforcing peaceful co-existence with their huge democratic strength. For the war-minded big monopolists of Wall Street are still hoping to accomplish their insane plan of world domination through a great war. In the development of peace and the orderly development of the world, under the aegis of peaceful coexistence, a large share of the workers' tasks will be precisely to save humanity from the destructive effects of the basic instabilities of the sick capitalist system—its wars, economic crises, and fascism.

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# Outline History of the World Trade-Union Movement\*

By William Z. Foster

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## An Interview with William Z. Foster

By Herbert Aptheker

Bill is his usual precise, exuberant, quizzical self. He has a hundred questions and I interrupt to remind him who is supposed to be interviewing whom. (Foster can ask more questions and raise more problems in five minutes than most people do in five months.) Yes, he says, and laughs a little. But you know, I don't see enough people and a man's got to live, isn't that right? All right, what are you going to ask?

What makes Foster, Foster? What makes you tick? I don't mean a biography, you understand. For straight biography a person can read *From Bryan to Stalin* and *Pages from a Worker's Life*. And there one can find not only the usual biographical material as to where you were born and what kind of family you grew up in and what you read and the jobs you had and the struggles you were in and those you led and the defeats and the victories, and so on. There, too, one can read stories that suggest character and offer insights and get closer to what I'm after. But the most recent of them was published in 1939 and that's a world away, and a fast-and-furious moving world.

This is the heart of what Foster told me as best I could get it down and understand it and as best as I can remember what I couldn't get down. There was a lot that I didn't write down too—when Bill gets interested he talks fast and he wants to get something across and then I just became interested and might forget every once in a while to make a note.

\* \* \*

The main thing is vision. Of course, Foster meant that was the main thing after a dozen other things which he took for granted—class consciousness and all that connotes — understanding the social order, solidarity, courage, the Party. Foster says "the Party" like someone might say "my heart."

But with all that, the main thing was vision. For instance, I was riding on the platform of a B&O train up the east coast, in 1918, with John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor and we were set to try to organize steel. It was night-time and dark except for the light coming from the war-busy steel mills and the train passed right by where tens of thousands of men were working.

Fitzpatrick says to me: "Foster, you mean to organize that?" He knew the answer so he didn't wait for me. He said: "I think you're crazy."

Or, I was a twenty-year old kid working as a motorman on a New York trolley, and conditions were just awful. There was hardly any living with it. And so I thought of how to organize my barn and figured right away that it couldn't be just my barn but had to be every barn in New York and that that would just be a start and that the thing needed was organizing every trolley worker in the states. Got pretty well started, too, in the City anyway, but there was a stoolie and he fingered about eight or ten of us who were moving the ball and we were all fired.

Or, in the IWW. There were big successes with the agricultural workers, especially out west, and they grew out of talks with Haywood and St. John and Little (the same one lynched in Butte during the First World War) where the idea was proposed that no matter how small a handful we were, much could be accomplished to unionize the workers and better conditions if it was tried on a broad scale; if it was tried in whole areas with the big aim in our heads all the time.

You understand what I mean by vision? You have got to think in national terms, broad, sweeping. To think in class, not craft terms, and not to think of this one barn or this one yard or this one plant, but of the industry as a whole and every-

where because capitalism is set up nationally, because the bosses are really one class and they have their national set-ups and organizations, too, and because you can break your back winning in one little spot and then pretty soon find that the victory doesn't last; but the wider the vision, the more lasting the gain.

\* \* \*

What do I mean by this kind of thinking? Well, I mean planning. And that's the second main thing going right along with vision. Planning. Too often, back when I was growing up, labor work was left too much to chance. Things have to be planned out in detail and in advance and you have to figure where you're going and how to get there.

Gompers didn't want to try to organize steel anymore than did Judge Gary, the president of U. S. Steel. And when we got him, by hook or crook, to hold a meeting and discuss the question, the first thing Gompers did was turn to me and say: "Well, Brother Foster, what do you propose?"

Well, we had a plan and we told him and the others the plan in detail, and that with 100 organizers and \$750,000 and full support we could organize the steel workers so that within six weeks of starting we would be strong enough to present our demands to the steel bosses. But it had to be done nationally, in 70 or 80 centers and with speed and

that then it could be done.

Here, again, the plan was in national terms and in class and industrial terms.

Of course, we didn't get what we asked for—instead of 100 organizers we were assigned six, and instead of \$750,000 we were given \$1,400; and we were told not to begin on such a "grandiose" plan, but to concentrate only on Chicago. It was this sabotaging that was the basic reason for the failure of the strike, but at that the steel industry *was* organized (along with packing, the year before, this was *the first time that had been done*) though it took fourteen months and not six weeks, and when we were forced to strike, 367,000 workers went out.

Planning takes detail, too; not only vision. It takes discipline and being on time and organization and worrying about the "small" things. For instance — talking about "small" things. When the men in steel went out on strike that meant there were over 350,000 strikers to feed. To accomplish that, a commissary system was organized and that was new then. That required careful detailed planning, and it was done by breaking down administrative responsibility to each of 85 steel centers and making the local organizers personally take over the feeding job. And each week, detailed, plain, specific letters went out to everyone of those local organizers telling them exactly what was what for the coming week and how to get what they needed

and whom to see, etc., down to the smallest item.

After vision and after planning? Well, then comes militancy. Actually, of course, it doesn't work like that. It isn't a question of one, two, three, you understand. Everything is interwoven and knitted together. But you do need vision, first of all, and then careful planning, and then determination and just old-fashioned guts, which together mean militancy, I suppose.

Like the great struggles in coal mining—the "Save the Union" movement of 1927 and the "Strike against Starvation" in 1930. Or textiles in the South in the late '20's. Or organizing the unemployed in the years right after Ford had "vanquished Marx" and the "Great Engineer" in the White House had ended poverty in America for ever. Everybody knew and spoke of the Party as the Party of the unemployed just as we were called the Party of the Negro people.

There is nothing to take the place of militancy; of actively *struggling* in the front ranks and fighting hard for mass demands and feeling the marvelous strength of masses and the wonderful comradeship of battling side-by-side. (As Foster talked of the great demonstrations and mass struggles his whole manner became especially alive and animated. It was clear that that was his meat and drink.)

The big thing, too, said Foster, is to be active. To *try*. Of course you'll make mistakes — God knows I've

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made my share and some of them were corkers! It's only the person who does nothing who makes no mistakes, and he's making the biggest mistake all the time, by just doing nothing.

The world is in motion and our country is in motion and this has always been true but it's more true today than ever in the sense that the motion is swifter. In the face of that he who stands still is going backwards. There must be boldness and there must be activity and there must be struggle, else everybody is dead—"correct" maybe, but dead and correct.

All my life I have fought for the organization of the unorganized, for industrial unionism, for labor unity, for Negro-white equality, for the development of class consciousness, for independent political activity by workers and farmers and the Negro masses, for peace and for Socialism. Much has come to pass in the world in my lifetime and in our own country. And more will come to pass in my lifetime, too, and not least in our own country.

\* \* \*

Last of all (and he was getting tired; it was getting late) and maybe biggest of all, is confidence in the American masses. The American masses understand a lot more than some people think they do. And those masses have fought very hard in the past and some of them are

now and more of them will in the future. They don't take kicking around and they do their own thinking in their own way and when they move—watch out! They move fast when they've made up their minds. They move in surges, in leaps; for instance, trade-union membership in this country doubled in about twelve months back in the thirties.

Dulles talks about "brinks." Well, there are all kinds of brinks. And we are on the brink, in this country, of a leap ahead politically and organizationally. This is happening all over the world and it will happen here, too.

The Party has done great things in the past; and it has done great things in the recent period too. It has taken much buffeting but it has held on and it has survived, despite hell, high-water and J. Edgar Hoover. It played a part and no small one, too, in preventing world war and in beating back McCarthy, but its greatest roles, its greatest services to our people lie ahead.

The Party must strengthen its ties with the people as a whole. We must be bold; we must come forward; we must have confidence, for it is fully justified and it is absolutely necessary.

\* \* \*

The seventy-five year old Communist fighter insisted on taking me to the door. He was going to take it

easy that night; there were just some galleys from his new book to correct and get back to the printer.

I left the Irish-American from Taunton, Mass., the homesteader from Oregon, the seaman from a hundred ports, the railroad worker, the man who organized packing-house and steel, the Party Chairman. He was going back to "take it easy" and correct proof on a 600-page volume telling of the history of the world trade-union movement. It was a project whose daring and sweep and plan was typical of the man's life, as that man's life had been so

much a part of the history he was describing.

Foster had said that the big thing was confidence in the American working class and in the American masses. He had said that the confidence was fully justified by what that class and those masses had done in the past. I said to myself that that confidence was fully justified by William Z. Foster, embodiment as he is of the best in his class and in his people — modest, able, direct, militant, considerate, informed, and afire with the vision of equality, freedom, peace and Socialism.

### "Into the mainstream . . ."

For many decades, concepts and practices of dual unionism plagued the working class and revolutionary movement in the United States. Ever since 1912 Comrade Foster has fought on all fronts against this American brand of "Left"-sectarianism. In fact, one of the very first contributions that Comrade Foster made to our own Party was the elimination of this disease from Party theory and tactics. This enabled our Party to enter the main stream of the labor movement and laid the foundation for all Party mass work. Foster's struggle against dual unionism was essentially a struggle for a correct relationship between the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, a great and correct application of Marxist theory to the American scene.

If there was ever an example in the American revolutionary movement of the development and application of the Stalinist concept of struggle on two fronts, it was Foster's two-sided struggle against "Left"-sectarian concepts of dual unionism on the one hand, and against the Right opportunism of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy which blocked the organization of the unorganized on the other.

BOB THOMPSON  
(*Political Affairs*, Feb. 1951)

# Foster and Steel

By Steve Nelson

THE CONTRIBUTION OF William Z. Foster to the cause of American labor has been greater than that of any other single person.

The younger generation and progressives generally know of Bill Foster as a leader of the Communist Party. Many have come to know his voluminous writings. However, not many of the younger generation know that Foster was an active trade union leader of national stature within the A. F. of L., nor do they know that he participated in the leadership of many major strikes, which made possible the eventual organization of the mass production industries. This was particularly true of Foster's role in steel in 1919. Without Foster's pioneering leadership, and his ability to draw lessons from the world labor experience, the American labor movement would be many steps behind its present status.

## THE EARLY DAYS OF STEEL

American giant corporations have grown rich by the most unscrupulous robbing of the country's wealth, gobbling up competitors, and by ra-

pacious exploitation of the workers. In the scramble for profits and domination, none were more predatory than the steel companies. Within forty years, Andrew Carnegie, early steel mogul, amassed well over \$500,000,000. Others made additional fantastic profits. Those huge profits were derived from the vicious exploitation of steel labor. The 12-hour day was prevalent in the steel industry. Wages were around \$1.50 per day over a span of 20 years, up until the World War of 1914-1918. Workers had no protection against lay-offs, accidents, old age, sickness and injury. The large number of immigrants who came here in the prime of life furnished an abundant supply of unskilled labor for the steel companies to exploit and rob as they saw fit.

From the early days of the industry, dating back to the Civil War, efforts were made to organize the steel workers—the Sons of Vulcan, the Knights of Labor, the early A. F. of L., and the I.W.W. tried to organize steel. All these attempts ended in failure, resulting in victimization and mass expulsions of the rebellious workers from the

company-owned towns. The use of the blacklist was one of the steel companies' favorite ways to keep unionism out of the steel plants. This made labor's efforts to re-group and organize after defeats in strikes more difficult.

Prior to the 1919 strike the steel workers had attempted to organize unions in 1891-92, in 1901, and again in 1909. The strike of 1909 lasted over a year and it ended in disastrous defeat as had those which preceded.

The steel manufacturers became ever more arrogant with each succeeding defeat of the workers. They acquired greater experience in the game of "divide and rule." They made use of government-spying agencies, private spies, and especially of the State Constabulary. They controlled every avenue of propaganda, the press, pulpit and schools. They put fear into the hearts of those workers driven back into the mills by hunger after periods of strikes and unemployment. The companies, before re-hiring some of the former strikers, demanded that they surrender their union cards and pledge that they would not join a union.

The leaders of the A. F. of L. contented themselves with attempts to organize a small part of the skilled steel workers. They operated on the theory that the unskilled could not be organized because they were for the most part foreign-born and Negroes. These foreign-born and Negro workers were looked upon with contempt by the masters

of industry, the craft-union leaders and labor aristocracy who reflected the ideology of the capitalist class. One such type of A. F. of L. leader was Mike Tighue, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, who played ball with the steel companies, wishing to prove to them that his type of union was all right and hoping in this way to get recognition for the small section of highly skilled workers that belonged to his union.

As president of the Amalgamated Association, Tighue, testifying before a U.S. Senate Committee in 1919, stated that he was "giving way to every request that was made by the companies when they insisted upon it." It is obvious that one with such an outlook was unable to tackle the organization of steel workers. It remained for Bill Foster to prove that it was possible to organize them.

#### FOSTER TACKLES THE STEEL STRIKE OF 1919

Foster had just gone through the experience of leading a strike of the Chicago stockyard workers, who had won the 8-hour day and better conditions. Foster's success convinced some of the better A. F. of L. leaders that the unskilled could be organized. As soon as the packing-house strike was over, Bill Foster, a delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor, presented a short but clear-cut resolution calling for the organi-

zation of the nation's steel workers. This resolution passed by a unanimous vote, and the Chicago Federation called upon the 1918 St. Paul Convention of the A. F. of L. to act on it. The resolution read as follows:

Whereas, organized labor can accomplish this great task only by putting forth a tremendous effort; therefore, be it

Resolved, that the executive officers of the A. F. of L. stand instructed to call a conference during this convention of delegates of all international unions whose interests are involved in the steel industries, and of all the State Federations and City Central Bodies in the steel districts, for the purpose of uniting all these organizations into one mighty drive to organize the steel plants of America.

The Chicago Federation of Labor was host to a conference presided over by Samuel Gompers. Delegations from two dozen major unions were present.

The conference pledged money and organizers and set up a committee to organize the nation's steel workers. Foster was elected secretary of the Committee representing the 24 unions.

After preliminary work in the Chicago-Gary area, which met with great success, the committee moved to Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh-Youngstown area produced between 70 to 80 percent of the nation's steel. The mill owners ruled the company-dominated towns on the Mononga-

hela, Allegheny and Ohio Rivers. Towns like Homestead, Duquesne, Rankin, Braddock, Glassport, Donora, Monessen, McKeesport, Woodlawn, Ambridge, New Kensington, Pittsburgh, etc., were the great domain of the steel trust, and it ruled with an iron fist.

The steel companies not only owned the mills, but all life in the communities. For years, the companies kept all known union men out of the steel company towns. They hired workers by careful screening and by compelling them to sign yellow-dog contracts pledging never to join a union, and agreeing to work 12 hours a day.

Town officials denied the A. F. of L. permits to hold public meetings. Those who attempted to hold meetings were jailed or fined or driven out of town. The local magistrates and courts upheld the actions of the town officials.

The press, dominated by the companies, went all out in attacking the organizing effort. As one voice, the newspapers insisted that workers seeking decent conditions were in fact alien-inspired gangsters and killers.

#### THE FREE SPEECH FIGHT

The Union Organizing Committee under Foster's leadership, instead of capitulating before such attack, launched a campaign to win free speech in steel towns. After a number of arrests, the unions enlisted non-labor support. People like Rabbi

Stephen S. Wise, from New York, agreed to speak in Duquesne, although the mayor of that city said that "Jesus Christ himself wouldn't get a permit to speak."

Despite such attacks, the response was so great that the violent terror was broken and a measure of democracy was brought to steel towns. Peaceful meetings were held for the first time in years.

The first success in the free-speech fight in Monongahela Valley was won in Monessen. This was made possible by the staunch support of the United Mine Workers who marched on the town from the surrounding area. Phil Murray, then president of District 5 of the United Mine Workers, spoke together with Foster at this public meeting. After the major free-speech victory at Monessen, meetings were held, even though permits were still denied by the officials of McKeesport, Homestead, Duquesne and other towns.

The fight for free speech was conducted in such a way as to acquaint the general population with what the steel workers' demands were, as well as to expose the adamant position of the steel trust which refused all suggestions to negotiate. In the course of the fight for free speech thousands of workers were signed up for the union. The companies responded by even greater attacks upon the organizing committee and especially against Foster. They vilified him as well as other organizers of the A. F. of L. They appealed to the American-born to

shun the efforts of the foreign-born and other unskilled workers to build a union.

#### THE COMING OF THE STRIKE

Judge Gary of U.S. Steel, told Bishop McConnell of the Inter-Church Movement that the point at issue was not unionism but whether American government should be supported and American institutions upheld; he held that a victory for the workers would mean forcible destruction of property, and therefore he said, "my positive word is declination to arbitrate."

When the company finally did refuse to negotiate, over 350,000 workers responded to the call of the organizing committee. This was the largest strike up to that point in the history of U.S. labor and it was a turning point in that history. The company's answer to the strike was to increase its terror against the organizers (killing twenty of them in the course of the strike), and at the same time to make concessions to the workers. Judge Gary condescendingly offered the workers "another bowl of rice" in the form of granting an 8-hour day in some of the departments and mills. Terror, concessions, hunger finally ended the strike.

In the past, when such struggles ended in defeat the leaders and rank and file scattered. The lessons and experiences from the struggles were never drawn. It remained for historians to comment upon the event

years later. The key participants, the labor leaders, never bothered to reflect on the lessons and even less to write about it so that others might learn from such experiences. Bill Foster did not allow "tradition" or American "practicalism" to dominate his thinking. By this time he had already developed an effective pen and was one of the best writers in the labor movement. Three months after the ending of the 1919 strike, Foster wrote his classic study, *The Great Steel Strike of 1919*, in which he put down the main issues of the strike. He was well qualified to sum up the strike, not only as the key leader of the strike, but because he had reached a new level of maturity about this time.

Foster was a member of the Socialist Party from his early youth; he was also a member of the I.W.W. During his years in the Socialist Party and I.W.W., he paid close attention to the Socialist and labor movement of the world. As a result he obtained a broader outlook than most American labor men had at that time. He saw the mistakes that the American Left generally was making on the trade-union question. Already in 1910-12 Foster criticized the various radical groups for their dual unionist policy, which they had elevated to a matter of principle. He polemized against the dual unionists' position and urged participation in the main stream of labor, the A. F. of L. He urged all to abandon the dual-union position and join A. F. of L. unions at their trade.

While he saw the faults of the A. F. of L. leaders and disagreed with them on many fundamentals, he nevertheless felt it was possible to bring many of the conservative leaders into a campaign to organize the unorganized and to work with them on other issues of importance to labor.

#### LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

The steel strike of 1919 proved this was possible and that it was the most effective way to tackle the steel trust at that time. The question of dual unionism, which divided the early radicals before the organization of the C.P., was being decided by life. The C.P.U.S.A. was being organized at this time, when the question of dual unionism was a major issue. Bill Foster helped resolve this question when he contemplated joining the newly formed Party. When he joined it, he brought with him a number of key union leaders, who like himself played a role in the steel strike—among them, Joe Manley, Sam Hammersmark, Jack Johnstone—each of whom made a distinctive contribution to the Party's development of the correct trade-union policy.

In his book on the steel strike, Foster made a major appeal to the American Left which was too impatient with the craft-union leaders, to abandon its self isolating positions by adopting the policy advocated by Tom Mann in England, namely that all British socialists work in the main trade-union movement.

While Foster was thus setting the course for the Left in the trade-union field in our country, he was at the same time putting forward another major proposition: the need for independent political action by the trade union movement. He mentions in the latter part of his steel book that labor leaders such as Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois Federation of Labor, who played an outstanding role in the steel strike, were summoning a convention to form a Farmer-Labor Party in the U.S.A. at that very moment.

Here Foster shows that it is not enough for labor to struggle only for economic gains, but that it must participate in political action on a broad united front basis.

This was an answer to many Socialists who did not see the necessity of such a broad party, but concentrated their attention on Socialist Party electoral campaigns. Thus, Foster fought against the I.W.W. and syndicalist anti-parliamentarianism attitude most decisively as well as the S.P.'s abstract agitation for Socialism.

Here we see Foster's understanding of the necessity for labor to undertake political action on a united front basis around an immediate program. While Foster was obviously concerned with the position of the Left on the electoral question, he was equally opposed to the tailist political position of Gompers and others in the A. F. of L., who continued to follow the bankrupt policy of "Reward your Friends,

and Punish your Enemies."

In drawing the main lessons from the great steel strike, Foster states that it was not the increased terror of the company, the anti-labor actions by the Court, the coal and iron police which broke the strike. He states: "I do not blame the failure of the strike upon these factors. I put responsibility upon the shoulders of organized labor. Had it but stirred a little the steel workers would have won their battle despite all the Steel trust could do to prevent it."

Foster stresses this as the main lesson of the strike. He spells it out in great detail for all to understand. He attacks red baiting as the weapon of the employers and sharply condemns those labor leaders who fall for it as doing the bosses' bidding. He makes a number of recommendations on how to avoid the mistakes which were made in the steel strike. The lessons of the strike did not go down the drain of history. The new Communist Party which Foster helped establish, adopted and applied them. One of the main slogans issued at the founding convention of the C.P. was "organize the unorganized." Charles E. Ruthenberg, who helped found the Party, fought for a similar position on the trade-union question as did Foster. These two, Foster and Ruthenberg, saw to it that the lessons of the 1919 steel strike were not forgotten by the new-formed Party.

With the ending of the 1919 steel strike, many new problems plagued

the growing trade-union movement in the United States. Foster applied himself to their solution.

### THE POST-1919 PERIOD

There was no major strike in this country that did not attract Foster's attention. Strikers often sought his opinion and he freely offered his advice by means of articles and speeches. Even in the mid 20's and early 30's, when the A. F. of L. contented itself by passing resolutions "to organize the unorganized," Foster attempted to put that slogan into action. He urged that industrial unions be built, that craft unions were unsatisfactory, that since the A. F. of L. was stagnating and only passing resolutions and doing nothing to organize, the Left had to act even if by itself for the time being. Foster urged the setting up of organizing committees on industrial union lines. At the same time he urged that work continue in craft unions, like the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, despite the reactionary leadership. When the companies began to set up company unions and some workers joined them, Foster urged that progressives join them also and work in these against the steel companies.

Some A. F. of L. leaders laughed at the suggestion to join company unions, and wrote critical articles, asking if the Left intended to become company stooges. Because the Left followed these flexible tactics urged

by Foster and the Communists, a major contribution to the organization of steel was made.

The steel workers were finally organized on industrial lines by mass support of great sections of organized workers as Foster had urged in 1919.

The leaders of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, under the leadership of Murray and Lewis, abandoned red baiting, took on Communists as organizers and enlisted scores of Left-wingers in many capacities to help build the union.

With a better approach to the foreign born and Negro workers, hiring many as organizers, Negroes and foreign-born workers responded enthusiastically and in many instances were the first to join the union.

The fact that steel is organized and that the trade-union movement is united is the greatest tribute to our Comrade Foster on his 75th birthday, for he, above any other leader, made the greatest contributions towards these victories.

The present-day red baiting and wrong policies followed by the steel union officials must be abandoned, as it was during the drive of the 30's to organize the mills, if labor is to march forward. The honeymoon between the steel trust and the steel-union officials, exemplified by the Fairless-McDonald arm-in-arm tour, will also end. The steel company's drive for greater profits is leading them towards greater exploitation of steel labor, to more

and more speed up. Automation is now in full swing, already resulting in murderous speed-up, and will lead to large scale lay-offs even while production may still be compara-

tively high. The day of reckoning is coming. Steel labor will learn from its mistakes as it did in the past. Its greatest teacher has been William Z. Foster.

### "STOPPING A NEW WAR . . ."

Foster's keen Marxist analysis made possible the exposure of Wall Street's plans very early in the game. In 1945, after V-E Day, and before the defeat of Japanese militarism, Foster already raised the question of the danger of war and pointed to the signs that indicated this direction of American imperialist policy. . . .

In the center of his analyses, Comrade Foster has always placed the basic causes of the danger of war as inherent in the system of capitalism itself. United States capitalism, like all capitalism, has ever increasing profits as its goal. This is the foundation of its policy at home and this is the basis of its foreign policy. The war-like character of capitalism, especially in its imperialism stage, flows from its inner laws and contradiction over which, as a system, it has no control. Therefore, under capitalism the danger of war is ever present. In meeting difficulties, whether due to competition on the world market or to economic crisis, it can only think of wars of aggression as the way out, as the means for continuing its devastating policy of profit and exploitation. Feeling their greater relative strength as compared to the rest of the capitalist world resulting from their favorable position in two world wars, the monopolies of Wall Street concluded that they are in a better position to squeeze enormous profits from all parts of the world.

Before the birth of the first Socialist country, the Soviet Union, and before there came into being a worldwide organized peace camp, it was only possible to describe and rally the masses against the warlike character of capitalism in a general way. But because of these new forces—the organized forces of Socialism, democracy and peace—we must now add something new, namely, that capitalism can no longer have its own way and that the possibility exists of stopping the outbreak of a new war. It was on the basis of such a sound and rounded-out analysis that Foster in 1945 was able to see the path that U.S. capitalism would follow, but also the difficulty it would encounter along its path. . . .

GUS HALL

(*Political Affairs, March, 1951*)

# Foster and the Chicago Federation of Labor

By Sam Kushner

Forty years ago the most vigorous and progressive center of the American labor movement was the Chicago Federation of Labor. Its leading spirit and indefatigable prime mover was William Z. Foster. Comrade Foster's work in the Chicago Federation of Labor is a classic example of how to organize and build and lead struggles within the mainstream of the labor movement despite all the difficulties of craft unionism, corruption, bureaucracy, company terrorism and war-time jingoism.

It is on the basis of Comrade Foster's work here, and in the great steel strike of 1919, that the official publication of the Chicago Federation of Labor, *The New Majority*, wrote in 1920, that "Foster is one of the clearest thinkers, soundest strategists and best organizers in the labor movement today."

As the Illinois labor movement carries on discussions today for the creation of a merged labor movement that will number more than 1,250,000 members in the state, and over 750,000 in Chicago, and as the steel and packing workers prepare for major wage and contract show-

downs with the monopolies this summer, many features of Foster's work in Chicago take on added meaning.

The merger convention of the AFL-CIO in Illinois will symbolize that for which Comrade Foster fought. The workers in the great mass production industries, together with the workers organized along craft lines, will assemble in one united movement.

It was in Chicago, that Foster, then a railroad worker, and a member of the Railway Carmen of America, was many times elected as business agent for a group of Carmen locals. In that city, Foster led the historic and successful drive to organize the packinghouse workers; there Foster started the national drive to organize steel that culminated in the momentous 1919 strike. At the same time, Foster helped lead the Chicago Federation of Labor in the historical struggles to build a Farmer-Labor party and to free Tom Mooney, as well as to organize the unorganized.

## BUILDING LABOR UNITY

As a working-class leader, Foster

fully realized the necessity of bringing the entire labor movement behind the historic organizing struggles that were then on the order of the day and all his efforts were directed towards achieving broad, nation-wide unity.

The basis of the success that the progressive forces, led by Foster, achieved lay in the development of a united front with all desirous of fighting for the needs of the workers. While Foster had many misgivings about and differences with some of the elements in the united front, he recognized the importance of maintaining unity in order to achieve historic goals. His great patience and keen adaptability to changing situations served as splendid examples to many forces in the progressive and labor movement today.

Recognizing the great need for the consolidation of the varied crafts in the railroad industry in order to successfully combat the railroad monopolists, the Trade Union Education League, under Foster's leadership, waged a campaign to win the support of the Chicago Federation of Labor for the formation of a Chicago Railroad Council. In spite of the sharp resistance of the heads of the railroad craft unions, this council was formed at the initiative of the C. F. of L.

Later, in 1920, it was this council, composed of representatives of all railroad locals, that was able to lead a strike of 250,000 railroad

workers throughout the country. It is then no wonder that so many mid-west railroad workers to this day claim Bill Foster as one of their own.

#### ORGANIZING THE STOCK YARDS

It was while Foster was working in Chicago as a car inspector on the Soo Line, that he conceived the idea of organizing the giant Chicago packing yards. This idea, projected by Foster, was adopted by The District Council of the Carmen; then the weak local of the Amalgamated Butcher workmen was approached to co-sponsor with the Carmen a resolution for such a drive at the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Once again Foster showed himself to be no "narrow trade unionist" who thought only in terms of his own local or even his own international union. He was appalled by the miserable conditions in the stockyards. He recognized that the 12,000 Negroes there were subjected to some of the most miserable working conditions in the country. Foster, as a leader of the Carmen and as a militant in the Chicago Federation of Labor, took the initiative to spearhead the historic organizing campaign among the stockyard workers.

The Chicago Federation of Labor unanimously endorsed this campaign and set up the Stockyards Labor Council with William Z. Foster as its secretary. This council, under the

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leadership of Foster, involved all of the locals in the C. F. of L. with an interest in the organization of the yards. The concept of a separate union of packinghouse workers was rejected. The groundwork laid at this time helped provide the basis for the eventual formation of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, which organized the packinghouse workers under the industrial union banner with the initiative provided by the C.I.O.

Together with Foster in this campaign was his close co-worker and later Communist leader, the late Jack Johnstone. Johnstone, another great son of the working class, was chairman of the Communist Party of Illinois in his later years.

Carrying on a valiant struggle against reformist leaders who attempted to sabotage the campaign, combatting those who had no faith in the packinghouse workers, and resisting government intervention by the Wilson administration, the council succeeded in doing what many said "couldn't be done"—it organized the 60,000 Chicago stockyard workers. So solid was the organization and so united the workers that under the threat of a strike the Federal mediator, Judge Altschuler, granted most of the packinghouse workers' demands.

The workers won the basic 8-hour day, wage increases of from 10 to 25 percent, equal pay for men and women, and six million dollars in back pay. Judge Altschuler was

deeply impressed by Foster and said:

"In his [Foster's] representation of employees in various controversies before me in which he participated, he impressed me as being particularly intelligent, honorable, moderate, tactful and fair." (*Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 19, 1919.)

The successful drive led by Foster ended up with 200,000 packinghouse workers joining the Federation unions in the packing field, of whom 25,000 were Negroes. It was after Foster left for the steel campaign that the craft-minded officials, many of them under the thumb of the packing bosses, split the Stockyards Council. This led to the debacle of 1921, when many of the previous gains were wiped out.

#### UNITY OF NEGRO AND WHITE WORKERS

One of the greatest contributions to the labor movement that Foster made in this packing drive, was the successful effort to unite Negro and white workers. The successful drive in packing brought the largest number of Negro workers into the trade-union movement in any given city at that time—a truly monumental achievement.

Today the Chicago packinghouse workers are among the most progressive in the country. The unity that Foster helped to bring into life has been a hallmark of the packinghouse workers through the years. Today the district director of the Chicago Packinghouse workers,

Charles Hayes, is a Negro, who is also vice president of the state C.I.O. The unity that was Foster's trademark, has become the property of the packinghouse workers.

After the successful drive to organize the packing plants, Foster felt the time was ripe to take up the greatest challenge facing American labor at that time—the organization of steel. Once again the District Council of the Carmen, at Foster's initiative, requested the Chicago Federation of Labor to initiate a drive to organize the steel workers. Once again the Chicago Federation of Labor acted. On two separate occasions it called on the A. F. of L. to organize the steel workers. Under Foster's prodding it voiced impatience with the procrastination of Gompers and others.

Foster was the leading figure in the drive to organize the steelworkers. The chairman of the committee, in its later stages was John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

*The New Majority*, Chicago F. of L. organ, spoke often of Foster's leadership and activity in the steel strike, and it especially hailed his courage. Typical was a report from Johnstown, Pennsylvania headlined, "Foster Defied Guns of Steel Trust Gang." The story related how steel gunmen threatened to kill Foster, and that "six guns were pointed at his belly." It continued: "One man commanded him to sign a card which he produced. On it was writ-

ten an order for the steel workers to go to work. Foster said: 'I will never sign that order and you can kill me or do whatever you choose.'"

While the labor press reported on Foster's accomplishments, the *Chicago Tribune* denounced him in editorial after editorial. On September 23, 1919, the lead editorial in the *Tribune* stated, "Fitzpatrick and Foster wish to overturn our present organization of society and our present system of society. They are opposed to conservative labor leadership, and if they win this battle with the steel corporations they will overthrow it."

The three-and-one-half month steel strike failed in its objectives. The failure of the national A. F. of L. leadership to organize simultaneously in all steel centers, as Foster had urged, led to many weak spots on the strike front. With 100,000 workers still out it was agreed to end the strike. While the major objectives were not won, the groundwork was laid for the winning of the eight-hour day, and a number of wage increases.

Seventeen painful years later steel was organized on an industrial union basis—with many of the organizers being leaders who had served under Foster in the 1919 strike.

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Fresh challenges face the new merged labor movement. The labor leadership would do well to learn from the many struggles that Foster

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led. The great challenge of organizing the South can be met in the same forthright manner that Foster met the challenge of Packing and Steel. The greater need for Negro-white unity can be met today as Foster met it in the organization of the Packinghouse workers. The need for trade-union democracy can be met today as Foster met it a generation ago in the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Today the Illinois labor movement faces historic challenges—to organize the unorganized locally and to help achieve the same great end in the South and throughout the country.

Illinois trade unionists face the challenge of helping the strike-bound Kohler workers in Wisconsin, and to guarantee victory for the steel, packing, oil and other workers facing contract demands this year.

The Chicago Federation of Labor long campaigned for a national farmer-labor party. While this question is not foremost in the minds of the trade unionists at this moment, it will assume greater impor-

tance in the coming period. The challenge for 1956 before the Illinois labor movement is to bring into being a powerful independent political apparatus that will not be subservient to any party and will assist in defeating the most reactionary legislators in the state, and in the nation.

In Illinois, as throughout the nation, the unity of the labor movement is not achieved by conventions alone. It is in the course of struggles, on the picket lines, in the fight for civil rights, in developing a strong position for world peace, that the necessary unity will be achieved.

Such forthright actions were those that Foster taught hundreds of thousands in Illinois. Leadership such as Foster's can once again make of the Illinois labor movement the center for meeting the great challenges ahead. This is what is needed for Illinois labor to realize fully the enormous potentials that are inherent in the labor merger, both in the state and in the nation as a whole.

In our April issue, *Political Affairs* joins in the *Monthly Review* discussion of civil liberties under Socialism in the United States.—Ed.

## Foster and Latin America

By Galo Gonzales Diaz

*General Secretary, C. P. of Chile*

THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY of Comrade William Z. Foster fills the workers of North America and of the entire world with joy. This anniversary is especially celebrated by the Latin-American peoples. The long career of the Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States—the fact that he is a great leader of the working class and a profound Marxist theoretician—make of him an example for those who have placed their lives at the service of the most noble and urgent task of our epoch: to win the battle between the forces of war and those of peace. In these years when the peoples confront imperialism and open the road to Socialism, Comrade Foster has distinguished himself as an anti-imperialist fighter.

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The Draft Program of the Communist Party of Chile states:

The North American monopolies have taken possession of almost all our copper, nitrate, and iron; they run our foreign trade; they hold in their hands a part of our water power and of the distribution of electrical energy; they own the telephone service; they control the important steel industry of

Huachipato, and control part of the internal trade through large distributing firms.

The Yankee monopolies are plundering Chile; they carry off our raw material, they prevent its processing in our country, and they make fabulous profits from this.

This plunder is increased tremendously through Yankee monopoly of our foreign trade. . . . An idea of the great losses inflicted on Chile by this monopoly can be had from the fact that during the Second World War we lost five hundred million dollars because the North American government quoted our copper at half its price.

This picture of the exploitation suffered by Chile at the hands of the North American monopolies is generally the same throughout Latin America.

As if this were not enough, in addition to economic control and parallel with it, the North American government makes us the object of pitiless political domination. With the backing of despicable traitors whom they always find at a cheap price, and in alliance with landholding and banking oligarchies, the imperialists impose upon us military pacts, international "agreements"

undercutting the sovereignty of our countries, and repressive laws of every kind. Furthermore, with a systematic plan of ideological penetration, they smother our press and radio and even the universities with their reactionary propaganda; at the same time, they trample upon our culture, our republican traditions, and our national sentiments.

The contemporary history of our continent is, therefore, the record of a long chain of aggressions and acts of robbery by North American imperialism; but it is also the record of a rich, glorious and heroic struggle by our peoples to defend and extend our sovereignty, to maintain or regain our democratic forms, and to rescue our resources from the hands of the hated Wall Street monopolies. In this long struggle, our peoples have found an ally in the working class and the democratic masses of the United States; and the Communist Party of the U.S. has ably pointed out that we have one common, basic opponent and that we must act together in order to defeat him and get rid of his exploitation.

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On the occasion of Comrade Foster's 75th birthday, we can confirm that these 75 years saw a persistent attempt by the Wall Street bosses to reduce our countries to the status of semi-colonies and even of outright colonies. But they are also 75 years of struggle by the Latin-American peoples for their independence and simultaneously—even

jointly, at times—struggles by the North American peoples to open up a democratic path. During these 75 years we have seen glorious figures arise in the struggles for emancipation and against fascism who today are the heroes of the common people, among them thousands of the unsung and unknown who have fallen in the streets, factories, and jails of Santiago or New York, of Mexico or Chicago, welding forever with their blood the brotherhood of Latin American and United States workers.

In accordance with the fundamental law of imperialist economy to exploit us to the maximum—and as the wave of liberation sweeping through Asia and Africa tears from imperialism tens and hundreds of millions of people—the monopolists try to compensate themselves by redoubling their economic and political penetration in Latin America. In Chile, we are being subjected to a new offensive of the exploiters, who wish to unload upon our people the full weight of the crisis. They have tried to silence popular protest with new repressive measures—many leaders of the United Workers Federation have been arrested and concentration camps have been reopened in various parts of the country.

These events highlight the exceptional significance of the judgment made by Comrade Foster in 1951 in his *Outline Political History of the Americas*, and since further confirmed:

The trade unions of Latin America have a heroic record of struggle in the face of the most violent opposition from the state, the employers and the landowners. Their honor roll is replete with the names of innumerable workers shot down and jailed in their dauntless fight to secure the necessities of life for themselves and their families from the parasitic elements who are exploiting them.

At the same time that imperialism is being fought in Latin America, no less intense nor less sustained is the struggle which the comrades of the Communist Party of the United States, with William Z. Foster at the head, are waging against the common antagonist—an antagonist which is directing its repressive blows against the North American working class with as great or greater force than upon our peoples. During the last decade, the North American monopolies have tried frantically to annihilate all democratic forms in that country; they have passed repressive laws of all kinds, have jailed or deported the most loyal sons and daughters of the working class, have persecuted all progressive groups, have persisted in a shameless policy of race discrimination, have let loose anti-Communist hysteria, have filled tons of paper with war propaganda, have converted an important sector of industry into factories of armament and death. They have not stopped even at execution, as in the case of the immortal Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. To

sum up, in seeking domination, they have overlooked nothing in their war upon democratic forms of life so beloved by the North American masses, in order to exploit them and to use them more easily for cannon-fodder.

And, during some years, they achieved successes along these lines.

Nevertheless, facts prove the precarious nature of all this repressive apparatus. The struggles for peace of all the peoples of the world—headed by the U.S.S.R., the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies—began to inflict most important setbacks upon imperialism's plans for war and fascism. The North American people themselves, joining the fight, have contributed in good part to the successes obtained. According to a statement made recently in Carnegie Hall in New York City by Comrade Eugene Dennis, that which five years ago was proclaimed by Communists alone, is now the belief of millions of U.S. citizens, who advocate peaceful co-existence among all peoples, an end to poverty and discrimination, and the restoration of all democratic rights guaranteed in their Constitution.

McCarthyism, already isolated within the United States and repudiated throughout the world, has begun to rot.

The working class has strengthened itself by the merger of the AFL and CIO. Several of the most reac-

tionary candidates were defeated in the last elections. Internal pressure has become a powerful factor, which together with international factors, compelled the holding of the Geneva Conference, eased international tension and lessened the intensity of repression.

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Comrade Foster, unflinching at his fighting post at the head of his Party, with the firmness characteristic of the working class, has proved during these years that a good Communist grows in moments of difficulty. Moulded in the most severe struggle, as have been all great popular leaders, Comrade Foster already at an early age knew what exploitation was, having to leave school when 13 years old and go to work. A striker at 14, socialist at 19, union organizer at 20, he proved staunch in service to his class. The Negroes, the unemployed, organized workers, women workers—all who fight for their rights have always found him at their side.

His ideological firmness led him to watch over the Marxist-Leninist line, combatting the Browder deviation which threatened the very life of his Party. After a sharp inner fight, Foster in 1945 returned to the leadership of his Party, maintaining a consistent proletarian line.

Comrade Foster's contribution to Marxist theory is as valuable as his practical Communist activity. His basic work, *Outline Political History of the Americas*, is a monumental

contribution to the study of the history of our continent.

In its struggle, the Communist Party of Chile is inspired by the traditions and experiences of the working-class movement of our country and by the enlightening examples of the glorious and invincible Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese Communist Party, and of the others which have succeeded in ridding themselves of imperialism. Since we are interested in assimilating everything positive in the history of all peoples, we consider the *Outline Political History of the Americas* important not only for its correct proletarian internationalism, but also for the great wealth of experiences it offers from the North American workers' movement.

Wisely does Comrade Foster observe in this book:

The Communist Parties of the Americas live and function in a capitalist environment; they are therefore subjected to powerful ideological as well as political pressures from the huge capitalist propaganda apparatus of the governments, schools, church, press and controlled labor leaders. It follows that they must wage a constant struggle against these foreign influences and educate their members in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This struggle for ideological development has been continuous since the organization of the Communist movement.

The Communists of Latin America confirm the wise words of Comrade Foster concerning the future of our national liberation movement:

The march toward Socialism is a revolutionary march and, because of the different stages of industrial development and political history in Latin America and of the United States, the road will not be precisely the same in these two areas. . . .

A favorable situation for a real advance toward Socialism by the workers and their allies could develop swiftly in the Americas. Latin America is in an explosive state, and profound revolutionary mass movements may be expected there before long. As for the United States, the last great stronghold of world capitalism, it, too, is by no means invulnerable to mass advances toward Socialism.

Fifty years ago capitalism was triumphant throughout the world and the Communists were but a small minority among the huge ranks of the masses; but today capitalism is visibly rotting, and the Communists are leading 800 million people into Socialism. This is the way the world in general is going, and this is the route, too, of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The great historical process that has gone on in the Americas for more than four and a half centuries since Columbus landed in the West Indies, does not lead to the fascist Yankee-dominated world of Wall Street, but to the new free world of Socialism.

By N.

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# Report to the XXth Congress, CPSU\*

By N. S. Khrushchev

THE EMERGENCE of Socialism from within the bounds of a single country and its transformation into a world system is the main feature of our era. Capitalism has proved powerless to prevent this process of world-wide historic significance. The simultaneous existence of two opposite world economic systems, the capitalist and the socialist, developing according to different laws and in opposite directions, has become an indisputable fact.

Socialist economy is developing towards the ever-increasing satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of all members of society, the continuous expansion and improvement of production on the basis of advanced technology, and closer cooperation and mutual assistance between the socialist countries.

The trend of capitalist economy is that of the ever-increasing enrichment of the monopolies, the further intensification of exploitation and cuts in the living standards of millions of working people, particularly in the colonial and dependent countries, of increased militarization of the economy, the exacerbation of

the competitive struggle among the capitalist countries, and the maturing of new economic crises and upheavals. . . .

## ON CAPITALIST "STABILIZATION"

It is clear that in 1955 industrial output in the capitalist world as a whole was 93 percent greater than in 1929.

Does this mean that capitalism has succeeded in overcoming its internal contradictions and acquiring stability? No, it does not. The capitalist world economy is developing extremely unevenly and has become still more unstable.

In the post-war decade old capitalist countries such as Britain and France increased their industrial output, but this growth is proceeding slowly and contradictorily. Of the defeated countries, Western Germany and Italy regained their pre-war level of production only in 1949-50, while Japan's industrial output is at approximately the 1944 level. Since the war, the United States, the chief capitalist country, has experienced three substantial cut-backs in production; a serious economic crisis began at the end of 1948 but was subsequently stopped by an intensified arms drive in connection with

\* Reprinted, in part, from *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, Feb. 17, 1956.

the war in Korea.

Instability in industrial production is supplemented by financial instability in most capitalist countries, by the issuing of an immense amount of paper money and the depreciation of currency. To this should be added the agrarian crisis in a number of countries, and also the stagnation in world trade that has been observed in recent years on the capitalist market.

The general crisis of capitalism continues to deepen. Capitalism's insoluble contradiction—the contradiction between the modern productive forces and capitalist relations of production—has become still more acute. The rapid development of present-day technology does not remove this contradiction but only emphasizes it.

It should be said that the idea that the general crisis of capitalism means complete stagnation, a halt in production and technical progress, has always been alien to Marxist-Leninists. Lenin pointed out that capitalism's general tendency to decay did not exclude technical progress or an upswing in production in one period or another. "It would be a mistake to believe," he wrote, "that this tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism, certain branches of industry, certain strata of the bourgeoisie and certain countries betray to a greater or lesser degree, now one and now another of these tendencies." (*Works*, Vol. 22, p. 286. Russian edition.) Therefore we must study

capitalist economy attentively, we must not take a simplified view of Lenin's thesis on the decay of imperialism but study the best that the capitalist countries' science and technology have to offer in order to use the achievements of world technological progress in the interests of Socialism.

It cannot be said that the growth of production in the capitalist countries during the period under review took place on a sound economic foundation. It was due to the operation of the following basic factors:

First, the militarization of the economy and the arms drive. By no means all industries have been affected by the upswing. The consumer goods industry is lagging seriously, while some of its branches are stagnating. Only the industries connected in some way with the manufacture of armaments are expanding. In five years, from 1950 to 1954, government expenditure on arms orders increased 300 percent, in the United States, more than 300 percent in Britain, and 200 percent in France. It is clear that the unusually high level of arms manufacture influenced the general level of industrial output in these countries.

Second, greater economic expansion of the world arena by the main capitalist countries contributed to the growth in production. A favorable situation was temporarily created on the capitalist world market for the United States and in part for Britain and France. Germany, Japan, and Italy fell out of the group

of competing countries for several years. The post-war ruin in the West European countries created an acute demand for food and other staple commodities. The United States took the maximum advantage of this, setting the Marshall Plan and other machinery in motion.

Third, a big part was played by the renewal of fixed capital. Owing to the crises and depression of the thirties, and then to the war, the basic industrial plant in the European capitalist countries was not renewed, in effect, for 15-20 years. Modernization and the capital equipment which had seriously depreciated and been damaged during the war really began only during 1951-54. This made it possible to increase considerably the manufacture of capital equipment.

Fourth and last, the capitalist countries were able to increase their industrial output by sharply intensifying the exploitation of the working class and reducing the living standard of the working people. In the past four years the average annual output per industrial worker in the main capitalist countries increased from 10 to 25 percent. But in a number of capitalist countries real wages are lower than before the war, owing to a great increase in prices, rent, and other items of expenditure.

The heavy arms burden thrust upon the shoulders of the working people should also be taken into account here. In the United States, per capita arms expenditure was 3.50 dollars in the 1913-14 fiscal year,

7.00 dollars in 1929-30, and 250.00 dollars in 1954-55—a more than 70-fold increase. In Britain, per capita arms expenditure increased from £1.14s in 1913-14 to £2.10s in 1929-30 and £29.6s in 1954-55. This tremendous expenditure is being covered by steadily mounting direct and indirect taxes.

Unemployment weighs heavily on the working people. In 1955, a period which bourgeois economists hailed as one of "steady boom," official statistics gave the number of totally unemployed in the United States to be about 3 million and the number on part-time as more than 9 million. There were about a million totally unemployed in the German Federal Republic last year, according to official figures. In Italy, where unemployment became particularly widespread and chronic after the war, there were, in 1955, 2 million totally unemployed and a similar number on part-time. In 1954, Japan had, according to official statistics, 600,000 totally unemployed and nearly 9 million working part-time.

These are the factors which played a special part in the post-war increase in capitalist production. Today the capitalist world is approaching the point at which the stimulating action of a number of the temporary factors is becoming exhausted. Some, for example, the large-scale renewal of fixed capital and the favorable situation in foreign markets, operated only during the period directly following the severe and prolonged war. Others are in general capable of bringing about

only a temporary increase in production. The operation of the internal forces of the capitalist economy on the basis of which it succeeded in raising production in the past is becoming weaker and weaker. In order to advance production today capitalism has increasing need of artificial stimulants.

#### ON "ELIMINATING" ECONOMIC CRISIS

Based on the present conjuncture, talk about "prosperity" has again begun in some Western circles. Attempts are made to prove that the Marxist theory of crises has "become outdated." Bourgeois economists are silent about the fact that only a temporary coincidence of circumstances favorable to capitalism prevented the crisis phenomena developing into a deep economic crisis. Even today, when favorable factors are active, underlying crisis symptoms are evident. Production capacities are by no means being used to the full. In the United States commodity stocks and also consumer credit have reached dangerous proportions.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that huge quantities of farm produce which cannot find a market have accumulated in a number of capitalist countries. Governments, particularly that of the United States, are trying to cut crop areas and reduce harvests by every means. This is at a time when millions of people in vast areas of South-East Asia and Africa are starving, and when in the metropolitan countries, too, a large section of the population is

seriously under-nourished. Increasing production, relative technological progress, and rapid intensification of labor coupled with a home market which, far from expanding, is becoming relatively narrower, inevitably give rise to new economic crises and upheavals in the capitalist countries.

The capitalists and the learned defenders of their interests are circulating a "theory" that the uninterrupted expansion of arms manufacture brings salvation from economic crisis. The representatives of Marxist-Leninist science have more than once pointed out that this is a hollow illusion. The arms drive does not cure the disease but drives it deeper. And the more extensive is the militarization of the economy, the graver will be its consequences for capitalism.

The representatives of the capitalist groups repose special hopes in government regulation of the economy. Monopoly capital is establishing direct control over government agencies, sending its representatives to work in them and making the government "regulate" the country's economy in the interests of the monopolies. The government agencies try to sustain business activity, placing orders worth billions of dollars with the corporations, giving them special privileges and subsidies, controlling wages and the prices of many commodities, buying up surpluses, and financing exports. However, the state's intervention in economic activity does not eliminate the fundamental defects of the capi-

alist system. The state is powerless to do away with the objective laws of capitalist economy, which lead to anarchy of production and economic crises. Crises are inherent in the very nature of capitalism, they are inevitable. . . .

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Comrades, I should like to dwell on some fundamental questions concerning present-day international developments which determine not only the present course of events, but also the prospects for the future.

These questions are the peaceful co-existence of the two systems, the possibility of preventing wars in the present era, and the forms of transition to Socialism in different countries.

Let us examine these questions in brief.

#### THE PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE OF THE TWO SYSTEMS

The Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems has always been and remains the general line of our country's foreign policy.

It has been alleged that the Soviet Union advances the principle of peaceful co-existence merely out of tactical considerations, considerations of expediency. Yet it is common knowledge that we have always, from the very first years of Soviet power, stood with equal firmness for peaceful co-existence. Hence, it is not a tactical move, but a

fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy.

This means that if there is indeed a threat to the peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social and political systems, it by no means comes from the Soviet Union, from the socialist camp. Is there a single reason why a socialist state should want to unleash aggressive war? Do we have classes and groups that are interested in war as a means of enrichment? We do not. We abolished them long ago. Or perhaps, we do not have enough territory or natural wealth, perhaps we lack resources of raw materials or markets for our goods? No, we have sufficient of all those and to spare. Why then should we want war? We do not want it, as a matter of principle we renounce any policy that might lead to millions of people being plunged into war for the sake of the selfish interests of a handful of multi-millionaires. Do those who shout about the "aggressive intentions" of the U.S.S.R. know all this? Of course they do. Why then do they keep up the old monotonous refrain about some imaginary "communist aggression"? Only to stir up mud, to conceal their plans for world domination, "crusade" against peace, democracy, and Socialism.

To this day the enemies of peace allege that the Soviet Union is out to overthrow capitalism in other countries by "exporting" revolution. It goes without saying that among us Communists there are no supporters of capitalism. But this does not mean that we have interfered

or plan to interfere in the internal affairs of countries where capitalism still exists. Romain Rolland was right when he said that "freedom is not brought in from abroad in baggage trains like Bourbons." It is ridiculous to think that revolutions are made to order. We often hear representatives of bourgeois countries reasoning thus: "The Soviet leaders claim that they are for peaceful co-existence of the two systems. At the same time they declare that they are fighting for Communism, and say that Communism is bound to win in all countries. Now if the Soviet Union is fighting for Communism, how can there be any peaceful co-existence with it?" This view is the result of bourgeois propaganda. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie distort the facts and deliberately confuse questions of ideological struggle with questions of relations between states in order to make the Communists of the Soviet Union look like the advocates of aggression.

When we say that the socialist system will win in the competition between the two systems—the capitalist and the socialist—this by no means signifies that its victory will be achieved through armed interference by the socialist countries in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries. Our certainty of the victory of Communism is based on the fact that the socialist mode of production possesses decisive advantages over the capitalist mode of production. Precisely because of this, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are

more and more capturing the minds of the broad masses of the working people in the capitalist countries, just as they have captured the minds of millions of men and women in our country and the People's Democracies. We believe that all working men in the world, once they have become convinced of the advantages Communism brings, will sooner or later take the road of struggle for the construction of socialist society. Building Communism in our country, we are resolutely against war. We have always held and continue to hold that the establishment of a new social system in one or another country is the internal affair of the peoples of the countries concerned. This is our attitude, based on the great Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The principle of peaceful co-existence is gaining ever wider international recognition. This principle is one of the cornerstones of the foreign policy of the Chinese People's Republic and the other countries of people's democracy. It is being actively implemented by the Republic of India, the Union of Burma, and a number of other countries. And this is natural, for there is no other way out in present-day conditions. Indeed, there are only two ways: either peaceful co-existence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third way.

We believe that countries with differing social systems can do more than exist side by side. It is necessary to proceed further, to improve relations, strengthen confidence be

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tween countries, and cooperate. The historic significance of the famous Five Principles, advanced by the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India and supported by the Bandung Conference and the world public in general, lies in that they provide the best form for relations between countries with differing social systems in present-day conditions. Why not make these principles the foundation of peaceful relations among all countries in all parts of the world? It would meet the vital interests and demands of the peoples if all countries subscribed to these Five Principles.

#### THE POSSIBILITY OF PREVENTING WAR IN THE PRESENT ERA

Millions of people all over the world are asking whether another war is really inevitable, whether mankind, which has already experienced two bloody world wars, must still go through a third one? Marxists must answer this question, taking into consideration the epoch-making changes of the last decades.

There is, of course, a Marxist-Leninist precept that wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists. This precept was evolved at a time when, 1) imperialism was an all-embracing world system, and 2) the social and political forces which did not want war were weak, poorly organized, and hence unable to compel the imperialists to renounce war.

People usually take only one aspect of the question and examine only the economic basis of wars

under imperialism. This is not enough. War is not only an economic phenomenon. Whether there is to be a war or not depends in large measure on the correlation of class, political forces, the degree of organization and the awareness and resolve of the people. Moreover, in certain conditions the struggle waged by progressive social and political forces may play a decisive role. Hitherto the state of affairs was such that the forces that did not want war and opposed it were poorly organized and lacked the means to check the schemes of the warmakers. Thus it was before the First World War, when the main force opposed to the threat of war—the world proletariat—was disorganized by the treachery of the leaders of the Second International. Thus it was on the eve of the Second World war, when the Soviet Union was the only country that pursued an active peace policy, when the other Great Powers to all intents and purposes encouraged the aggressors, and the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders had split the labor movement in the capitalist countries.

In that period this precept was absolutely correct. At the present time, however, the situation has changed radically. Now there is a world camp of Socialism, which has become a mighty force. In this camp the peace forces find not only the moral, but also the material means to prevent aggression. Moreover, there is a large group of other countries

with a population running into many hundreds of millions which are actively working to avert war. The labor movement in the capitalist countries has today become a tremendous force. The movement of peace supporters has sprung up and developed into a powerful factor.

In these circumstances, certainly, the Leninist precept that, inasmuch as imperialism exists, the economic basis giving rise to wars is also preserved, remains in force. That is why we must display the greatest vigilance. As long as capitalism exists in the world, the reactionary forces representing the interests of the capitalist monopolies will continue their drive towards military gambles and aggression, and may try to unleash war. But war is not fatalistically inevitable. Today there are mighty social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war, and if they actually try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventurist plans. To be able to do this all anti-war forces must be vigilant and prepared, they must act as a united front and never relax their efforts in the battle for peace. The more actively the peoples defend peace, the greater the guarantees that there will be no new war.

#### FORMS OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

In connection with the radical changes in the world arena new pros-

pects are also opening up in respect to the transition of countries and nations to Socialism.

As far back as the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin wrote: "All nations will arrive at Socialism—this is inevitable, but not all will do so in exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own in one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate at which socialist transformations will be effected in the various aspects of social life. There is nothing more primitive from the viewpoint of theory or more ridiculous from that of practice than to paint, 'in the name of historical materialism,' this aspect of the future in a monotonous grey. . . ." (*Works*, Vol. 23, p. 58.)

Historical experience has fully confirmed Lenin's brilliant precept. Alongside the Soviet form of reconstructing society on socialist lines, we now have the form of People's Democracy.

In Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and the other European People's Democracies, this form sprang up and is being utilized in conformity with the concrete historical, social and economic conditions, and peculiarities of each of these countries. It has been thoroughly tried and tested in the course of ten years and has fully proved its worth.

Many peculiarities in the process of socialist construction are to be found in the Chinese People's Republic, whose economy prior to the victory of the revolution was exceed-

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ingly backward, semi-feudal and semi-colonial in character.

Having taken over the decisive commanding positions, the people's democratic state is using them in the socialist revolution to implement a policy of peaceful reorganization of private industry and trade and their gradual transformation into a component of socialist economy.

The leadership of the great cause of socialist reconstruction by the Communist Party of China and the Communist and Workers' Parties of the other People's Democracies, exercised in keeping with the peculiarities and specific features of each country, is creative Marxism in action.

In the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, where state power belongs to the working people, and society is founded on the public ownership of the means of production, specific concrete forms of economic management and organization of the state apparatus are arising in the process of socialist construction.

It is probable that forms of transition to Socialism will become more and more diversified. Moreover, the implementation of these forms need not be associated with civil war under all circumstances. Our enemies like to depict us Leninists as advocates of violence always and everywhere. True, we recognize the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. It is this that distinguishes the revolutionary Marx-

ists from the reformists, the opportunists. There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable. But the forms of social revolution vary. It is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to remake society.

It will be recalled that in the conditions that arose in April 1917, Lenin granted the possibility that the Russian Revolution might develop peacefully, and that in the spring of 1918, after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin drew up his famous plan for peaceful socialist construction. It is not our fault that the Russian and international bourgeoisie organized counter-revolution, intervention, and civil war against the young Soviet state and forced the workers and peasants to take to arms. It did not come to civil war in the European People's Democracies, where the historical situation was different.

Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser degree of intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or the non-use of violence in the transition to Socialism, depends on the resistance of the exploiters, on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence, rather than on the proletariat.

In this connection the question arises of whether it is possible to go

over to Socialism by using parliamentary means. No such course was open to the Russian Bolsheviks, who were the first to effect this transition. Lenin showed us another road, that of the establishment of a republic of Soviets, the only correct road in those historical conditions. Following that course we achieved a victory of world-wide historical significance.

Since then, however, the historical situation has undergone radical changes which make possible a new approach to the question. The forces of Socialism and democracy have grown immeasurably throughout the world, and capitalism has become much weaker. The mighty camp of Socialism with its population of over 900 million is growing and gaining in strength. Its gigantic internal forces, its decisive advantages over capitalism, are being increasingly revealed from day to day. Socialism has a great power of attraction for the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of all countries. The ideas of Socialism are indeed coming to dominate the minds of all toiling humanity.

At the same time the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real opportunity to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership and to secure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people. The Right-wing bourgeois parties and their governments suffer fiasco with increasing frequency. In these circumstances the working class, by

rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing the opportunist elements who are incapable of giving up the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to the popular interest, to capture a stable majority in parliament, and transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the people's will. In such an event this institution, traditional in many highly developed capitalist countries, may become an organ of genuine democracy, democracy for the working people.

The winning of a stable parliamentary majority backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all the working people could create for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes.

In the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will of course inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to Socialism will be attended by a sharp class, revolutionary struggle.

Whatever the form of transition to Socialism, the decisive and indispensable factor is the political leadership of the working class headed by its vanguard. Without this there can be no transition to Socialism.

It must be strongly emphasized that the more favorable conditions

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for the victory of Socialism created in other countries are due to the fact that Socialism has won in the Soviet Union and is winning in the People's Democracies. Its victory in our country would have been impossible had Lenin and the Bolshevik Party not upheld revolutionary Marxism in battle against the reformists, who broke with Marxism and took the path of opportunism.

Such are the considerations which the Central Committee of the Party considers necessary to set out in regard to the forms of transition to Socialism in present-day conditions.

\* \* \*

The Communist Party was founded and built up by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our great leader and teacher, as a great inspiring and guiding force of the working people in their struggle for the freedom and happiness of the people, for Communism. Lenin vigorously combated every attempt to belittle or weaken the leading role of the Party in the Soviet state. The Central Committee has always and undeviatingly been guided by Lenin's teachings on the Party. And we can say today that in the period under review our Party has played a still greater role in the affairs of state, in the country's entire political, economic, and cultural life.

In the struggle for further consolidation of the Soviet state, for a new advance of the socialist economy and culture, for higher living standards of the working people, the Party has vastly extended its ties with the masses and has formed

still closer bonds of kinship with the people.

It would be wrong, however, to think that the period under review was for our Party a triumphal march under clear skies and over a smooth road. Far from it. We have had big victories, but also some failures, we have had much to rejoice in, and grief too. But the Party was not carried away by the victories nor dejected by the failures. It continues to advance along its chosen road with courage and confidence.

Shortly after the Nineteenth Congress, death took Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin from our ranks. The enemies of Socialism hoped there would be confusion in the Party's ranks, discord among its leadership, hesitation in carrying out its internal and foreign policy. However, their hopes came to nought. The Party rallied still more closely around its Central Committee, and raised still higher the all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The imperialists had placed special hopes on their inveterate agent, Beria, who had perfidiously wormed his way into leading posts in the Party and Government. The Central Committee resolutely put an end to the criminal conspiracy of that dangerous enemy and his accomplices. That was a big victory for the Party, a victory for its collective leadership.

The destruction of this gang of contemptible traitors helped further to strengthen the Party and successfully solve the tasks confronting the country. The Party has become still more monolithic. Its ideologi-

cal and organizational unity is the earnest of its invincibility. No enemies and no difficulties are a danger to it when it is united. It can cope with any problem when it acts as a united force which knows no fear in battle, does not hesitate in carrying out its policy, and does not give way to difficulties. Today our Party is united as never before, it is closely rallied around the Central Committee, and is confidently leading the country along the path indicated by the great Lenin.

The Party's unity has been built up over the course of many years and decades; it grew stronger in battle with a host of enemies. The Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists, and other malignant enemies of the people, the men who would restore capitalism, tried desperately to undermine the Party's Leninist unity from within—and all of them broke their necks.

Underlying this unity of the Communist Party and its leading core are the moral and political unity of the whole of Soviet society and the bedrock principles of Marxism-Leninism. People join our Party not for personal gain, but to help achieve the great aim—Communism. The leading core of the Party is not a group of men bound by personal relations or mutual advantage; it is a working collective of leaders whose relations are based on ideas and principles permitting neither of mutual forgiveness nor personal antagonism.

Whenever it was found a Party leader had made mistakes in his

work, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. unanimously took the necessary steps to correct these mistakes. The work of a number of Party organizations and individuals, among them members of the Central Committee, was subjected to Bolshevik criticism, without fear or favor, at C.C. Plenary Meetings. Some Party officials who did not justify the high confidence placed in them by the Party, were removed from the Central Committee. It need hardly be said the unity of the Party, far from losing by it, has actually gained thereby.

Lenin taught us that a line based on principle is the only correct line. Never to deviate a single step in anything from the Party interests—that is the bedrock principle by which the Communists are guided in the struggle for the unity of their ranks. And the fact that in the period under review new and outstanding success has been achieved is the surest proof that the Party and its Central Committee have ably guarded and strengthened the unity of the Communist ranks.

In reviewing the path we have traversed, we can confidently say that, in the period under review, the Central Committee's political guidance of the country was on a high level. The Party provided correct solutions for the questions of state and Party building and competently led the country along the Lenin path.

The main task of the Party, and of its Central Committee, was to ensure the further consolidation of the economic might of our socialist

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country, to make her sacred borders still more impregnable, and raise the material and cultural standards of Soviet people.

Our Communist Party is a ruling party. The success of every major undertaking depends to a decisive degree on its leadership, on the activity of its local organizations. And in order to cope with the tasks facing the country it was necessary, first of all, to muster all the strength of the Party organizations and imbue every one of its members with the spirit of intolerance for shortcomings.

The Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., held regularly during the period under review, played an exceptionally important part in the life of the Party and the country generally. At these, the Central Committee, with Leninist straightforwardness and fidelity to principle, laid bare, before the Party and the people, the serious shortcomings in the development of agriculture and industry, and outlined ways and means of eliminating them and of accomplishing the urgent tasks involved in ensuring the country's continued economic progress and raising the material and cultural standards of the working people.

In criticizing defects in economic development, the Central Committee proceeded from the belief that the Party should not be afraid to tell the people the truth about the shortcomings and difficulties that beset our forward movement. He is no revolutionary who is afraid to admit

mistakes and faults. And there is no need to conceal our shortcomings, for our general line is correct, the work of building Communism is going forward victoriously. Defects will be the fewer the more widely we enlist the masses to combat them.

The Central Committee has urged Party organizations to develop criticism and self-criticism in every way, to review the results of the work done with a critical eye, resolutely to combat self-delusion, boasting, and conceit. Many of the shortcomings we are now working to eliminate would never have arisen if not for the complacency that at one time gained currency in some links of the Party, and for the tendency to give a rosy picture of the real state of affairs. Principled and open criticism and self-criticism is the surest means of further strengthening the Party, rapidly eliminating shortcomings, and registering fresh successes in all sectors of Communist construction.

If Party unity was to be further consolidated and Party organizations made more active, it was necessary to re-establish the Party standards worked out by Lenin, which in the past had frequently been violated.

It was of paramount importance to re-establish and to strengthen in every way the Leninist principle of collective leadership. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. tried to set an example in this matter. Everyone can see how much the role of the Central Committee as the collective leader of our Party has grown in recent years. The Presid-

ium of the Central Committee began to function regularly as a collective body, keeping in its field of vision all major questions concerning the life of the Party and country generally.

The Central Committee was concerned to develop the creative activity of Party members and all the working people, and to this end it took steps to explain widely the Marxist-Leninist conception of the role of the individual in history. It vigorously condemned the cult of the individual as being alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, a cult which tends to make a particular leader a hero and miracle worker and at the same time belittles the role of the Party and the masses, and tends to reduce their creative effort. Currency of the cult of the individual tended to minimize the role of collective leadership in the Party, and at times resulted in serious drawbacks in our work.

In the words of our Party anthem, the "Internationale": "No saviours from on high deliver, no trust have we in prince or peer; our own right hand the chains must shiver. . ." Reflected in these inspiring words is the correct, Marxist, understanding of the revolutionary and creative role of the masses, the role of the collective. The people, led by the Party armed with the Marxist theory,

are a great and invincible force, the builders of a new life, the makers of history.

Application of the Leninist principles in Party affairs has heightened the activity of Party organizations, strengthened their ties with the working people, increased their influence among the masses. The result has been to make our Party organizations stronger still, and immensely increase their efficiency in carrying out the tasks of economic and cultural development.

And so, in the period under review the Party's unity was further consolidated, its political and organizational role enhanced, its influence among the masses increased. The Party has worked out a comprehensive program for a new economic upswing and higher living standard; it has mobilized the whole people to implement this program, and has gained substantial success in all fields of Communist construction.

However, today, too, when the strength and prestige of our Party are higher than ever, we must not indulge in complacency. To ensure continued progress, we must keep all our Party organizations highly mobilized, and constantly improve and perfect every aspect of Party work. Above all, we must raise the level of the Party's organizational and ideological activities. . . .

*Typical of the scores of greetings sent to Comrade Foster from every country on the globe, on his 75th birthday, was the one which we print below. Its author, R. Palme Dutt, is the internationally renowned Marxist, and Editor of the Labour Monthly, published in London.—Ed.*

Dear Comrade Foster:

In the midst of the many tributes that you will be receiving from all sections of the Communist and working-class movement, may I take the liberty of also expressing to you my warmest congratulations, respect and admiration on the occasion of your 75th birthday.

Your example and record in the American working-class movement was already inspiring to us on the Left in this country from the days of the great Steel Strike in 1919 before there was any Communist Party in Britain. The formation of the Trade Union Educational League helped to throw new light on the possibilities and methods of developing the work of the Left in the trade unions, and overcoming the tendencies to isolation of the militant minority; and as you know in the discussions of 1923, which led to the formation of the Minority Movement in this country, the example of the Trade Union Educational League played an important role.

Since then I have always followed with the keenest attention and appreciation the many fields of your work, considering it an honour to have had the pleasure of personal contact with you as well as our occasional correspondence.

Your stand against Browderism was of outstanding helpfulness for the movement in Britain as elsewhere, especially as we had previously received a somewhat distorted picture of the real situation in the Party in the United States.

In the most recent phase, when the hard conditions of health have inevitably limited the forms of your activity, it has been an inspiration to see the way in which you have found the means not only to carry forward the leadership of the struggle in the United States, against the most ferocious offensive of reaction, but at the same time produce such a treasury of valuable works on the broadest questions of the United States and of the international movement. May I say how much I appreciated your recent work on the three Internationals as filling a long-felt gap in our literature, and now look forward to your forthcoming book on the trade-union movement.

With warmest comradesly good wishes for your health and strength,

R. PALME DUTT

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