

THESES OF C.E.C. OF WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

On the Economic and Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party

HEADLONG TO THE NEW WORLD WAR.

The most outstanding feature of the recent development of the international situation determining the course of the policies of the United States is the unprecedented rapid growth of Anglo-American antagonism. The menace of a second world war is looming up bigger than ever before since 1914. The many-sided antagonism on all fronts between Great Britain and the United States of America is today the axis of the imperialist world situation just as the antagonism between Germany and Great Britain was in 1914. A whole series of events have proved the absolute correctness of the analysis of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International:

"The transference of the economic center of capitalism from Europe to America and the growing efforts of Europe, now recovered and trusted to liberate herself from the economic domination of the United States...cannot but lead in the final analysis to another explosion."

The tremendous growth of the power of American imperialism, the all-round technical revolution which is taking place in the United States, the acceleration of the development of the monopolistic tendencies of capitalism in America bring into bold relief the growing disproportion between the economic growth and power of American imperialism and its "lack" of colonies and its "insufficient" military preparedness. The economic decline of British imperialism is in sharp contrast with the political power of the British Empire, with its huge colonial monopoly. The final struggle between the two imperialist giants to "solve" this disproportion is inevitable and can only be consummated by the one means capitalism knows to solve its contradictions—by force, by war.

The export of American capital was and is the basis for European stabilization of capitalism. The investment of billions of American capital in Europe have proved to be veritable dragon-teeth for American imperialism; sown, they spring up in the form of a harvest of renewed technique, increased trustification, growth of armaments of the European powers directed against American imperialism.

The Anglo-French alliance was renewed, uniting the biggest navy on the seas with the biggest army in the world, directed first and foremost against the most powerful American imperialism. Great Britain and Japan get together in an agreement over China which turns its edge not only against the Soviet Union but also against the United States. A new attempt, more intensive than ever before, is being made to rearrange reparations and international debts, in order to bring about a united front of all imperialist debtor powers against the world creditor, the United States. Tariff conflicts are arising everywhere. The United States government is making preparations to increase its already high tariff, which is one of the most aggressive weapons of American trustified capital against its competitors. Under the pretext of "safeguarding" weak industries Great Britain is gradually introducing a protective tariff system. There is a reappearance of the tariff quarrel between America and France.

United States imperialism is taking decisive steps toward a complete domination of Latin America. The conquest of the Chinese market plays a growing role in the reckoning of American imperialism. The recognition of the bloody Nanking government of the Chinese bourgeoisie is not only a blow directed against Great Britain and Japan but aims especially at subduing the workers' and peasants' revolution in China, which is slowly but surely gathering its forces. The growing resistance against the domination of British imperialism is shown by maturing forces of the colonial revolution in India.

The bulwark of the proletarian world revolution, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, is making big headway in building up Socialism, in the realization of industrialization, in the collectivization of agriculture, in its cultural reorganization. At the same time the counter-revolutionary, imperialist forces are everywhere preparing for an attack against the Workers' Republic: the exposure of the French military plots with Poland and the Balkans; the formation of the Anglo-German bankers' committee for a financial boycott of the Soviet Union; the statement of Kellogg against the recognition of Soviet Russia; the international campaign of wild rumors and slanders about peasant revolts; Ukrainian secession, and Party split in the Soviet Union. The international labor movement shows a marked tendency of the swinging of the masses to the left; at the same time a moving to the right of the reformist trade-union bureaucracy and renegade social democracy. In America the tendency toward the complete transformation of the American Federation of Labor into an important war machine of American imperialism has become an accomplished fact. The A. F. of L. serves today as the model for the whole capitalist world as a machine to poison the minds of the working class. The tendency toward the complete transformation of the socialist party of America into a petty-bourgeois organization has now become an accomplished fact. Despite its ebb and flow, unemployment remains a permanent, chronic phenomenon, an organic defect of world imperialism.

The "conservative landslide," the big temporary victory of finance capital achieved by the election of Hoover, marks a turning point in the life of American imperialism. The "Hoover era" means the consummation of gigantic war plans, the unheard-of growth of imperialistic antagonisms, hostility towards the Soviet Union, the final attempt to complete the conquest of Latin America, arousing the growing resistance of the Latin American people, increased attempts at financial penetration and partition of China, increased bribing of the labor aristocracy, and increased attacks against the working class. The "new Hooverian age" means the tremendous growth of general capitalist reaction, the sharpening of outer and inner contradictions, the sharpening of the class struggle, the growing discontent and resistance of the proletarian masses.

THE UNITED STATES STRUGGLE FOR COMPLETE WORLD HEGEMONY

1. The Sharpening of Anglo-American Antagonism. Nothing characterizes more clearly the whole imperialist world situation than the sharpening and deepening of the struggle between British and American imperialism. This fight for the domination of the world occupies the central place in the whole capitalist world situation. The struggle for the redistribution of the world market, of the colonies, of the sources of raw material, and of military means is going on feverishly in every corner of the world on every issue. Rubber, cotton, oil are playing the principal role in this fight. The British-American oil struggle is the bitterest war of competition ever known in the history of imperialism. The newly revived struggle over reparations and inter-allied debts is first and foremost a struggle between British and American imperialism. Great Britain endeavors to expose the United States in its real role as the Uncle Shylock of the world. America tries to arouse "moral indignation" against the European governments which are arming themselves with America's money. Great Britain is making desperate efforts to keep up with the United States in the export of capital. But American imperialism is crowding out Great Britain in every section of the world from Latin America to Poland and the Balkans. Great Britain is suffering the heaviest losses in its influence and trade in Latin America. The United States is paying increased attention to Africa, invades even India, and weakens increasingly the chain which links the Dominions to the British Empire. Canada is already virtually an American possession. The struggle for Australia has only begun.

An increasingly furious race for bigger navies and more powerful armadas is developing on the basis of the economic rivalries. Since the failure of the Geneva conference naval competition between Great Britain and the United States and between the second rank of the great powers—Japan, France, Italy—is on the order of the day. America, with her newly won economic supremacy, wants to overthrow Great Britain's naval supremacy. Blow follows blow in this struggle. The Anglo-French naval accord against the United States was answered by the American note, which is unquestionably the sharpest diplomatic document since the world war. The tenth anniversary of the Armistice was celebrated by Coolidge with the sharpest war speech of recent years. The speech was justly characterized as an "ultimatum to Europe" and this imperialist ultimatum was backed up by the statement of the General Board of the Navy declaring for the most complete policies of naval preparedness. The Naval Board proclaimed the principle of an American navy second to none, but Coolidge's speech went even one step further, demanding the biggest navy for America. Coolidge's last message and last budget submitted to Congress—a worthy crown to the presidential career of the president-strikebreaker—pleads for the most powerful air fleet and contains the hugest appropriations for the army, navy, and aviation.

Submitted by Comrades Gitlow, Lovestone and Pepper.

Adopted by the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee, December 19, 1928.

SUMMARY OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE THESIS

"Headlong to the new world war"—this is the keynote of the thesis of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party.

The main features of the thesis are as follows:

1. The United States struggles for complete world hegemony.
1. The sharpening of Anglo-American antagonisms.
2. Attempts at subjugation of Latin America.
3. Fight for the Far-Eastern markets.
2. The delayed economic crisis.
1. The industrial revolution in the South.
2. Intensified exploitation of Latin America.
3. Increased foreign trade with Europe.
3. Structural changes in American economy.

The most important trends analyzed here are: technical revolution; electrification; transformation of transportation; establishment of new industries; capitalist offensive against the workers; accumulation, concentration and centralization of capital; competition between industries; development of two kinds of profit; installment selling in the retail trade and hand to mouth buying in the wholesale trade; organization of the world trade apparatus; extension of finance capital; trustification of banking; growing rentier class.

4. Organic chronic unemployment.

Simultaneously the big imperialist robber powers are erecting a smoke-screen of pacifist phrases, "good-will" speeches, get-together meetings, treaties of "friendship." The League of Nations continues to fulfill its historic mission of deceiving the toiling masses, constituting, under the pretext of an instrument of peace, the tool of the interests of British imperialism. The Kellogg Pact is the American counterpart of the European League of Nations. The Kellogg Pact is the most infamous world-historic fake: it is the quintessence of bourgeois pacifism, which—varying Marx's words—is the modern "opium of the people." Under the cover of the pacifist smoke-screen there are already being formed new alliances of the imperialist powers for the coming world war. The Anglo-French alliance is supplemented by an Anglo-Japanese agreement. The United States is trying to mobilize her vassal states, the puppet governments of Latin America. The struggle is already on to win the support of Germany. The fight on the reparations question is to no small extent a fight for enlisted the revived German imperialism as an ally. The much-vaunted English-American "cooperation" belongs to the past. The jingoist dream of the blood brotherhood of the big English-speaking nations has been replaced by a sober awakening to open hostility. The common English language serves not as a bond but as a means of clearer expression of imperialist antagonism. The old pacifist babble that "war is unthinkable" between the "Anglo-Saxon" nations is replaced by open war talk, which shows that the jingo imperialist elements of both countries are doing nothing but thinking about war. In answer to Coolidge's preposterous ultimatum to Europe the British capitalist press already compares him to Kaiser Wilhelm; and Field-Marshal Robertson already likens America's present attitude to that of Germany in 1914. Anglo-American rivalry has already manifested itself as a tendency during the last few years, but now this basic antagonism of the imperialist world appears without any camouflage in open hostility in the sharpest possible form. United States imperialism plays the most aggressive role in this struggle. It fights not only for a navy second to none but for the largest navy in the world. It fights now openly for the supremacy of the seas. It aims at the destruction of the British Empire. The growing power of American imperialism is today the greatest menace for the world. It is the first and foremost factor for a new world war. It leads inevitably to the greatest catastrophe.

2. Attempt at Subjugation of Latin-America. United States imperialism is concentrating its efforts on consuming a complete economic and political domination over the Latin-American countries. It is wiping out in an increasing degree all foreign competition from Latin-America. It uses all means of imperialist brutality and bribery to break down the resistance of the nationalist movements in the Latin-American countries. It is attempting to turn Latin-America into an outpost of American imperialism against other imperialist powers. Large sections of Latin-America are already colonies and semi-colonies of the United States, but the new aggressive policy of United States imperialism attempts to transform Latin-America as a whole into colonial hinterland of American capitalism. The Monroe Doctrine, which serves to keep out competition of other imperialist powers. The selling out by the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois Latin-American governments increase the independent fight of the workers and peasants. Workers' organizations, peasants' leagues, student leagues, branches of the Anti-Imperialist League spring up everywhere. Sandino's small but heroic army still holds out against 7,000 marines of United States imperialism equipped with the most up-to-date killing machinery after more than a year and one-half of fighting. The struggle of the Communist Parties in Latin-America is gaining momentum. The Communist Parties of Cuba and Paraguay, the socialist party of Ecuador, the revolutionary socialist party of Colombia, joined the ranks of the Communist International at the recent Sixth World Congress. The brave strike struggle of the 30,000

5. The Hoover election—a victory of capitalist reaction.

1. Class relations on the eve of the elections.
2. Relations of the political parties.
3. Causes of the Hoover victory.
4. Outstanding features of the political struggle and the resistance of mass forces, the trend of radicalization.
5. Changing class basis and function of parties.

6. State capitalistic tendencies.

7. The fraud of capitalist "conquest of poverty."

8. Military preparedness and pacifism.

9. Fight against social reformism and for a mass Communist Party.

10. Problems, achievements, shortcomings, and tasks of the Party.

Under this chapter the following subjects are analyzed: organization of the unorganized and trade union work; election campaign; struggle against social reformism, work among the Negroes; labor party; unemployment; work among farmers; Party organization; ideological level; work among women; Young Workers League; Labor Defense; Cooperatives; Party Unity.

11. Struggle against the Right danger and Trotskyism.

12. Contradictions of American capitalism—outlook for struggle and the Party's basic line. Need for Party unity.

Colombian fruit workers—their determined resistance against the joint attempts of the American United Fruit Company and the troops of the Colombian Government, the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations in Latin-America, and the protests against Hoover's imperialist visit—are other signs of the growing spirit of militancy and resistance.

The concentrated attempt of United States imperialism to transform Latin-America into the hinterland of American capitalism is setting into motion powerful forces against United States imperialism, forces of the nationalist movements of the 80,000,000 people of Latin-America, forces of the workers and peasants. United States imperialism, in increasing its power by the conquest of Latin-America, is itself creating the forces which help to undermine the very foundations of its power. The most recent clash between the so many times "definitely defeated" Sandino, the bloody struggles in Magdalena Province of Colombia, the armed clash between Bolivia and Paraguay—manifest clearly the actual presence of imperialist "colonial" war as well as the increasing danger of World War growing out of the aggressive policies of United States imperialism.

3. Fight for the Far-Eastern Markets. The conquest of the Chinese market is the foremost aim of American imperialism in the Far East. A combination of direct military intervention for the partition of China and cooperation with the Chinese bourgeoisie is the main feature of the policies of American imperialism in China today. Unceasing struggle of all imperialist powers against each other, groupings and regroupings of alliances—Anglo-Japanese agreement against the United States, but American-Japanese understanding for the financial penetration of Manchuria—characterize the various maneuvers of the imperialist powers. United States recognition of the Nanking Government, which is covered from top to bottom with the blood of the Chinese workers and peasants, the appointment of American economic and financial experts and advisors, aim to secure a growing share of China's markets and raw materials for American capitalism.

In the Philippines American exploitation is rapidly growing. The open military rule of General Wood is being replaced by the Stimson Plan, which is based upon the bribing of the upper stratum of the native bourgeoisie. The general policy is the dropping of all bars to American imperialism, the abolition and annulment of the land reversion law, the establishment of huge rubber plantations, the incorporation of the native bourgeoisie in the imperialist system—these are the newest "achievements" of American capitalism.

But, on the other hand, there is a growing movement of protest against the increasing penetration of the Philippines by American imperialism and the betrayal of the cause of Philippine independence by the native bourgeoisie. There is a growing cooperation between the revolutionary movement led by the Communists in the Philippines and the forces of the Chinese Revolution and the Red International of Labor Unions.

THE DELAYED ECONOMIC CRISIS

The spokesmen of American capitalism boast about the "invincibility" of American prosperity. A whole series of theories are being put forward to "explain" the "miraculous secret" of American capitalism, which in the midst of an ebb and flow of prosperity and crisis in the other capitalist countries is able to maintain its uninterrupted prosperity. "Theoreticians" of American capitalism are even going so far as to assert that conscious measures of trustified capital, planned interventions of the Federal Reserve Bank, "high wages" can prevent the recurrence of industrial crises. The crisis which would put at least a temporary end to American prosperity has already been due for quite a long period. But it has been delayed, though by no means prevented as apologists of imperialism maintain. It is necessary to give an account of the reasons for this war.

The 1920-21 crisis, which shook the foundations of American capitalism, was followed by a period of prosperity, which lasted from 1921 to 1924. Then, in the middle of 1924, there followed a short-lived depression, which was replaced by renewed prosperity, which lasted from the second half of 1924 until the middle of 1927. Then a depression set in. The resolution of the May, 1928, plenum of the CEC gave the following evaluation of the depression:

"Though the depression gives every evidence of continuing for some time and though there are many indications of the tendency to deepen the present depression and develop an industrial crisis, there are insufficient facts at hand to indicate today that we are facing a crisis of the dimensions of the 1921 crisis."

But at the time the May Plenum resolution was written the depression had already reached its bottom and a new upward trend had begun. Since March, 1928, the volume of production has been steadily increasing. The depression did not develop immediately into a crisis, but was transformed into a new wave of prosperity.

But it would be wrong to say that it is an all-around prosperity. The coal and textile industries are still lagging behind. Agriculture is in many respects in bad shape. But the fact remains that the 1927 depression did not develop into an industrial crisis. The crisis has been delayed, but despite all the babbles of the capitalist theoreticians and bankers, the crisis has not been prevented, and the recent breakdown of the New York Stock Exchange is perhaps the first storm signal of the new devastating cyclone.

The following three reasons are mainly responsible for the delaying of the crisis:

1. The chief reason is the rapid industrialization of the South.

2. Intensified exploitation of Latin-America.

3. Increased foreign trade with Europe.

1. The industrial revolution in the South. The extremely rapid industrialization of the South—which has been going on for the last score of years, but which very recently is being accelerated with an unprecedented speed—is first and foremost responsible for the delaying of the industrial crisis. The industrial revolution in the South, which amounts to the creation of a new Ruhr of America, was not sufficiently evaluated by those analyses which predicted the early coming of the crisis. The industrialization of the South worked in the following three ways:

1. It created an outlet for the "export" of capital from the northern capitalist centers of the United States.

2. It opened up a tremendous market of 40,000,000 population for manufactured products of the trusts of the northeast.

3. Based on cheap labor and water power, a most modern large-scale industry has been established in the South which has increased the competitive capacity of the United States in the world market.

The first period of the industrialization of the South assumed the character of developing an extensive light industry, first of all textile. The present, second period is of a different character. Its main feature is the building up of heavy industries—coal, oil, potash, electrical power, machinery, especially heavy transmission machinery. The significance of the industrial revolution in the South can be correctly estimated only if the former "colonial" character of the South is taken into proper consideration. Before the industrial revolution the Solid South—with its Negro share-croppers, half-feudal, half-slave conditions, big plantation owners, its political system still bearing the earmarks of the period of slavery—constituted virtually a colony within the body of the United States of America. Large sections, which are not touched by the new industrial revolution, still have in many respects a colonial status, despite the fact that they are embodied within the most powerful imperialist country in the world.

The industrialization of the northeast of the United States was based on coal and steam. The new industrial revolution in the South is based on water power and electricity. The industrialization of the northeast assumed the form of building individual factories, and only in a later stage of development did company towns, mill cities, mining camps crystallize around the plants. The industrial revolution in the South starts out with the building of whole factory towns, mill villages, and industrial cities.

Glorified company towns for the workers with all the sophistication of the most modern methods of exploitation and complete tax-exemption for the capitalists—this is the situation in the industrialized South. Cities, advertising, offer to new industries: "American labor; freedom from strikes." The American-Plan, open-shop conference, held November 15-17, 1928, emphasized proudly: "The South is a mighty bulwark in defense of the American open shop."

A new working class has been created in the South, almost entirely American, English-speaking. The eastern division of native-born and foreign-born labor is replaced in the South by a division between Negro and white workers. The capitalists are doing everything to intensify prejudices against the Negroes in the minds of the white workers. The proletariat of the South receives the lowest wages, works the longest hours, is enslaved in every respect. The last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at New Orleans, started a fake organizational drive to embrace the workers of the South. The labor bureaucracy will never seriously tackle the question of the organization of the South, which is one of the biggest problems for the American working class. The first effect on the American working class of the industrialization of the South—is the shifting of the center of the coal and textile production to the South—was the breakdown of union conditions in the older central coal fields and the endless series of wage cuts for the textile workers in New England. But this is only the first effect. In the long run the industrialization of the South, the creation of a huge new proletariat in the Southern section of the country will strengthen immensely the power of the American working class and will play a decisive role in the overthrow of American capitalism.

2. Intensified exploitation of Latin-America. The second cause of the delaying of the crisis has been the increased exploitation of Latin-America by the United States. Recent developments have shown an unprecedented opening-up of the Latin-American countries, which are becoming increasingly integral parts of the world market. The direct effect of this on the economic conditions of the United States were:

1. Possibilities for an unprecedented increase of export of capital.

2. Rapid growth of export of industrial commodities.

The growth of the export trade to the Latin-American countries has had all the greater effect on the economic situation of the United States because it consists first of all of manufactured goods, in a much larger degree than the United States exports to Europe. The export of United States capital to Latin-America is characterized by the following two features:

1. It is directed more and more to corporation investments and not to State loans. In other words, it flows into production and not to cover expenses of armaments or armies.

2. It does not serve to establish manufacturing, but is invested in the opening up of natural resources (minerals, oil, etc.). In other words, it does not create a competing manufacturing industry. Quite the contrary: it opens the way for the export of United States manufactured commodities.

3. Increased foreign trade with Europe. The present relative stabilization of Europe has been achieved by American capital and is maintained by further American capital export. Stabilization of European currencies was completed through the recent export of over \$500,000,000 gold. The reestablishment of the gold basis of European currencies increases the possibilities of purchasing manufactured commodities of the

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States, a tremendous rationalization, an increase in the forces of production, which in its effects can be compared to a second industrial revolution.

Electrification.—The erection of super-power plants; extension of public utilities. Not only in economies but in politics public utilities play today the same dominating role railroad played in the first industrial revolution.

Development and Transformation of Transportation.—New railroad lines; electrifications of rail-lines; the tremendous development of autobus traffic—autobus mileage already exceeds railroad mileage; inland waterways; commercial air traffic; combination of air and rail-road lines.

Establishment of New Industries. like the chemical and artificial silk industry; intensified methods of utilizing coal and oil; the extension of all methods of mass production from isolated industries to all industries; mechanization and intensification of agriculture; shifting of industries to sources of raw material or power; industrial use of agricultural products.

Capitalist Offensive Against the Workers.—To lower the standard of living of the working class, to wipe out the last remnants of trade unionism, to degrade the workers into tools of capitalist rationalization; increased exploitation of labor everywhere through a whole system of speed-up, stop-watch group piece-work, bonus system, efficiency engineering, conveyor travelling-belt system, wage cuts, injunctions, spy system, open-shop drive, company unions, trade union capitalism.

Accumulation, Concentration and Centralization of Capital is taking place at a greater tempo than in any other capitalist country. Uncasing trustsification in the form of mergers not only in individual corporations into trusts, but of the largest trusts into gigantic super-trusts, investment trusts. Trustification of production goes hand in hand with the trustification of communication and transportation. Growing extension of rationalization and trustsification in the field of distribution, which amounts to a revolution in the methods of distribution in the form of chain stores and chain department stores.

New Kind of Competition.—Not so much within the individual industries as between the industries, steel vs. lumber; electricity and oil vs. coal; aluminum vs. iron; rayon vs. silk.

The development of two kinds of rate of profit—a lower rate for small undertakings and a higher rate for the large trusts, as brought out in bold relief by the last income tax figures or corporations.

Installment selling in retail trade and hand-to-mouth buying in wholesale trade.—Hand-to-mouth buying was made possible by the recent acceleration of methods of communication and transport.

One of the most significant features of the present economic life of the United States is the organization of a world trade apparatus (branches of American banks and manufactory plants) in all countries.

The basic tendency of the present-day economy of the United States is the extension of finance capital in the form of trustsification of banking, establishment of branch banks of national banks, the entrance of industries into banking, the appearance of industrial corporations on the stock exchanges as money-lenders, the tremendous growth of insurance, the factory-owned banks, investment trusts, the organization of coordinated export bodies competing with European and international trusts and cartels.

The development of a growing rentier class through the wider distribution of stock ownership, extension of ownership of bonds, and of participation in the profits of foreign investments, as well as of participation in the speculation on the stock exchange. A growing stratum of parasites is thereby created completely divorced from production, reaching out from the most powerful bankers into the ranks of the labor aristocracy, building the class backbone of the new aggressive imperialist policies of the United States.

ORGANIC, CHRONIC UNEMPLOYMENT.

The very technical revolution, organizational progress and rationalization of American industry is responsible for the creation of a new organic, chronic, unemployment. The development of new machinery, the increased productivity of labor becomes under capitalist conditions a source of growing unemployment. The introduction of new machines has been decreasing the number of workers. The opening up of new markets cannot keep pace with the speedy development of technique. The introduction of machinery makes the skill of the workers superfluous. Unskilled workers can take the place of the skilled. The time of apprenticeship is being greatly shortened. Young workers and even children can take the place of adults. A growing number of women are entering into industry.

Mass production with its murderous competition is ruining the lower middle class and is driving its members as workers into the industries. Monopoly capitalism is ruining the farmers and is forcing them to sell their labor power as industrial workers in the city. Mass production opens up hitherto backward agrarian regions industrially. The large-scale industrialization of the South has driven hundreds of thousands of Negroes into industry. Despite all prohibition of immigration there is an annual influx of hundreds of thousands of workers from other countries.

Under present capitalist conditions it is inevitable that there should be a constant industrial reserve army of jobless. The new feature of the present unemployment consists in the fact that even in times of prosperity industry is unable to absorb the unemployed, that hand in hand with the powerful increase of production there goes on a diminution in the amount of labor power employed by capital in industry. The present unemployment has two sources: the lesser one is a remnant of the 1927 depression; the major one is the present prosperity itself, which creates a state of "chronic and increasing unemployment" and is giving us a "permanent jobless class" (Secretary of Labor Davis).

In many basic industries the number of workers employed is not only relatively but absolutely decreasing. It is unclear today whether this tendency will further develop uninterrupted or will be checked by new extensions of markets for American capitalism. Capitalism is able to regulate this process to a certain degree. Prohibition of immigration to America, possibilities of emigration from America to other younger capitalist or semi-capitalist countries may put a temporary end to the tendency of diminishing the absolute numbers of the working class.

The charge that the analysis which takes into consideration the facts of permanent unemployment, the absolute decrease in the numbers of the working class in America, leads to opportunism is absolutely unfounded. Millions of workers permanently unemployed, out of the process of production—that does not mean the complete elimination of the working class, does not mean the solution of the problems of capitalism on a capitalist basis. It does not mean harmonious development, but it does mean bringing nearer the revolutionary situation. The workers who are thrown out from the process of production, even if they do not produce, are still proletarian elements, who will resist starvation. The "creeping paralysis" of chronic, organic unemployment leads to a growing resistance on the part of the workers which will not permit that capitalism shall push out the bulk of the working class from the process of production, leads to an increasing sharpness of the class struggle, and will be an important factor in crystallizing the class-consciousness of the American working class.

THE HOOVER ELECTION—A VICTORY OF CAPITALIST REACTION.

The 1928 election marks a new era in the imperialist domestic and foreign policies of the United States. Increased reaction at home, increased aggressiveness in the world market—this is the outcome of the elections. The following were the main features of the relations of the classes on the eve of the 1928 elections:

1. Complete hegemony of finance capital over the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Not only the various strata of the bourgeoisie, but also the bulk of the farmers, the petty bourgeoisie, and the labor aristocracy accepted the leadership of finance capital to a greater degree than before 1927. Within the bourgeoisie a growing stratum of capitalists depending on interest from exported capital, and finance capital appeared as the leader of the imperialist policies of the country.

2. Decline of the traditional, numerically important political role of the farmers, due to the steady but rapid decrease in number of the agricultural population and to the decrease in economic importance of agriculture in the life of the country.

3. In relation to the increased power of finance capital, of trustsified industries, the working class, as a class, entered more weakly into the political arena than in 1924. The working class in 1928 is less homogeneous and less organized than in the immediate post-war period. The following factors are responsible for this: the widened gap between the labor aristocracy and the proletariat proper; the influx of new elements into the working class—such as Negroes, ruined farmers, Mexicans, new foreign immigration from Europe—creating new temporary divisions in the ranks of the working class; the organized sections of the working class, faced with the new super-trusts, have grown weaker, due to its craft unions and to the growth of the state capitalist tendencies of the government; at the same time the overwhelming majority of the working class is unorganized, espe-

cially in the basic industries; recently formed new unions small and weak. Although a steady growth in the vitality of the class-conscious section of the working class can be observed, this was not yet big enough to upset the effects of the eight years of relatively continuous prosperity. The depressions in 1924 and 1927 were too short-lived to undermine the influence of social-reformism upon the working class.

4. **Changing class relations in the South.**—The penetration of the South by capitalism, its rapid industrial development, has established a modern industrial bourgeoisie in the South which is replacing the old ruling class, the plantation-owners, the latter merging with the former. A new industrial working class was called into life in the South. Deep-going changes have taken place in the life of the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie of the South, brought about by the newly developed capitalist conditions.

The above class relations reflected themselves in the following way in the political situation and in the relations of the various political parties and factors:

1. The republican party appeared in the political arena as the party par excellence of finance capital. The republican party machinery was completely merged with the business machinery of big capital. The significance of Hoover's very nomination was the fact that it expressed the perfect blending of capitalist apparatus and political machine. Hoover's nomination was an expression of the deep-going rationalization—the putting of the efficiency expert, the champion of the open shop, the exponent of intensified struggle for the conquest of the world market, at the head of the executive committee of the trust, the United States government. The nomination of Hoover, who never before held an elective office, manifests the growth of the executive branch of the government, and exposes it all the more clearly as the open agent of finance capital. The campaign issues of the republican party constituted the platform of finance capital; unceasing prosperity, aggressive imperialist expansion; extremely high tariff; prohibition as part of capitalist rationalization; "farm relief" in the form of the creation of a farm board with a revolving fund, in order to draw the farmers more completely under the domination of finance capital, the fake slogan about the "conquest of poverty" (progress from the full dinner pail to the full garage).

2. The democratic party had never before been so completely and so openly under the domination of big capital as in 1928. Tammany Hall, the organization of petty-bourgeois grafting, was transformed into the organization of big-bourgeois corruption. A section of the biggest manufacturers and bankers (Raskob, DuPont, Sabin, etc.) constituted the new leadership of the democratic party. The campaign policies of the democratic party were the following: breaking with the oldest democratic tradition and coming out for high tariff; open advocacy of imperialist relations; taking essentially the same attitude toward the water-power trust, farm relief and immigration as the republican party; no prohibition representing the other capitalist side of the issue, taking a stand against it, because it tends to break down "law and order." The policies of the democratic party had never before been so deeply permeated with the interests of finance capital as in 1928, and the democratic party had never received such a large amount of financial and moral support from big capital as in the last elections. The nomination of Al Smith marked the shift of power in the democratic party from the southern plantation-owners to the northern capitalists.

3. Unlike 1924 no third openly capitalist party appeared in the 1928 elections.—All the so-called "rebels" went back meekly into the two big capitalist parties, despite the fact that both the republicans and democrats were more frankly reactionary in 1928 than they were in 1924. The so-called "progressives" (Brah, Brookhart, Wheeler, LaFollette, etc.) showed the picture of a complete and miserable surrender to the biggest finance capitalists.

4. There was no labor party movement on a mass scale on foot in 1928, and there was a manifestation of complete political bankruptcy of the farmer-labor parties.

5. The American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods, which are under the full domination of the labor aristocracy, appeared more reactionary than in 1924, when they supported LaFollette's third party. In 1928 they were almost equally divided between the two capitalist parties. The official trade-union movement, under the leadership of the most treacherous and corrupt labor bureaucracy, did not show any signs of an independent political force, and even as an agent of the bourgeoisie played a diminished role. Their platform contained only one plank: class collaboration.

6. The Socialist Party showed the effects of its all-around and complete transformation into a petty-bourgeois party. The leadership of the Socialist Party shifted into the hands of middle-class intellectuals, wiping out all remnants of working-class traditions; in place of Debs, Norman Thomas. The Socialist Party did not present any challenge to capitalism. Its platform was restricted to the shallowest reforms. It officially dropped the meaning and even the word of proletarian class struggle. It replaced it with rank pacifism and with empty amendments, aimed at the peaceful transformation of the bourgeois constitution. The whole "fight" of the Socialist Party centered about the extension of state capitalism. It dropped the slightest claim to the 1920 Debs vote, which represented in a large measure a working-class protest against the war and against the effects of the war, and officially declared itself the heir of the 1924 petty-bourgeois LaFollette vote.

7. The Workers (Communist) Party of America was the only force in the election campaign representing the interests of the working class, putting forward openly the program of the overthrow of capitalism. Its platform was the platform of the class struggle. It fought the whole election fight in the sign of the struggle: Class against Class. It raised the basic issues of the present situation: the struggle against imperialist war, the abolition of wage slavery, the fight against the oppression of the Negroes, uncompromising war on social reformism, the exposure of fake capitalist democracy, and the defense of Soviet Union. The Communist Party was the only party which had as its banner-bearers members of the working class.

The main causes for the big victory of republican reaction can be enumerated as follows:

1. A considerable improvement in the economic situation of the country during the last few months which strengthened the illusions of the masses as to "Republican prosperity."

2. The effects of the industrialization of the South, which made it possible for the republicans to break into the Solid South, hitherto the undisputed domain of the democrats, and under the reign of a virtual one-party system. The plantation-owner's fear of the Negro masses had kept the democratic party in power as the undisputed political ruler of the South for the past two generations. For the first time since the Civil War the republican party carried Florida, Virginia, Texas and North Carolina, and also received a large vote in the other Southern States. The new, modern industrial bourgeoisie of the South went over to the republicans. It was not without significance that the first action of Hoover on November 7th was a letter of thanks to the editor of the *Manufacturers Record*, the official organ of the Southern industrial bourgeoisie. At the same time—as a paradox of political life—the mass discontent of the Southern petty-bourgeoisie, which suffers under the new capitalist conditions turned the impetus of its discontent against the traditional ruling party of the South and went over, under the leadership of the medieval forces of the Methodist Church and the Ku Klux Klan, to the republicans, to the party of the trusts, of finance capital.

3. The partial liquidation of the agricultural crisis and the growth of the purchasing power of the farmers, which in 1920-21 was 69 per cent of what it had been before the war, and in July, 1928, 95 per cent.

4. The tremendous pressure exercised by the manufacturers and other employers on the workers in favor of the republican party. Manufacturers even organized factory committees embracing hundreds of thousands of workers as their political machinery for Hoover.

5. The superior organization and finances of the republicans as compared with the democratic party.

6. The direct and increased participation of the state apparatus on the side of the republican party.

7. The ability of the republican party to mobilize the forces of the Protestant Church and the Ku Klux Klan.

The big temporary victory of capitalist reaction, "the conservative landslide," is characterized and emphasized by the following features of this victory:

1. No ruling party had ever received so many votes, ever been able to mobilize such large masses for participation in the elections and on the basis of strengthening parliamentary illusions as did the republican party of finance capital. The republican party, and especially its conservative elements, has a better hold on both houses of congress than formerly. The so-called "balance of power" of the "progressive" group, composed of "liberal" elements of both republican and democratic parties, no longer exists.

2. The democratic party had never received such a big vote, despite the fact that it had never been so indistinguishable from the republican party and had never appeared so openly as a pro-capitalist party as in the last election.

3. The victory of capitalist reaction is brought into bold relief by the fact that no capitalist third party challenged the monopoly of the two-party system, that no labor party appeared on the scene, that the Farmer-Labor parties had lost their political independence, and that there was a general flowing back of the masses of workers and poor farmers into the capitalist parties.

4. While the number of workers who consciously voted for the revolutionary party of their class—the Workers (Communist) Party—was larger than ever before, nevertheless the proportion of the total votes in the 1928 elections, for the parties claiming to be representative of the working class (the socialist party in reality a petty capitalist party, and the Workers (Communist) Party—the sole part of the working class) has not been so small since 1904.

5. The unquestionably existing discontent which is growing in many sections of the working class, and even some sections of the poorest farmers, did not assume a sufficient class consciousness to break thru the framework of the two-party system. The big electric vote for the democratic party showed the existence of a large voter of discontent. This discontent has not yet assumed the character of a radicalization. In considering the attitude of the workers in elections, attention must be given to the fact that parliamentary elections do not mirror the actual sentiments and moods of the most proletarian sections of the working class. Millions of foreign-born and Negro workers and farmers are disfranchised and their anti-capitalist attitude did not appear in the vote at all. Terror of the employers forced many workers to vote against their own conviction for the capitalist parties. Wholesale theft is also a factor of import in lowering the vote recorded for the revolutionary party. Consequently the extent of process of radicalization in the depths of the proletarian masses could not find expression in the election vote.

The stubborn economic struggles of the miners, textile and needle trades workers, are a more adequate evidence of the amount of radicalization which, though not yet politically crystallized, not yet national and general, is, however, the most promising sign of the growing class consciousness of important sections of the working class.

6. The reactionary character of the domination of finance capital was emphasized by the big role which bigotry, religion, and the churches played in the elections.

The Hoover election reveals the changing class basis of the various political parties and points out certain changes in their role and function.

The republican party, which since the Civil War had been a coalition of eastern capitalists and western farmers under the hegemony of the capitalists, mustered in the 1928 elections the support of Eastern capitalists, the Western farmers, the new industrial bourgeoisie of the South, and the petty bourgeoisie in the rural sections and small towns. The victory of the "regular" party machines over the "rebels," over the various genuine and staged "farm revolts" means a more complete domination of the republican party by finance capital than ever before.

The democratic party had been, since the Civil War, a coalition of the Southern plantation-owners and the petty bourgeoisie of the big cities, in whose wake marched the bulk of the labor aristocracy as organized and led by the American Federation of Labor. Today the democratic party shows essential changes. It is today under the leadership of a section of the big Eastern capital. And if the republican party got the support of the petty bourgeoisie of the small towns, the democratic party was able to line up the petty bourgeoisie of the big Eastern cities (a comparison of votes shows that in the big cities Al Smith got comparatively many more votes than in the national average). The democratic party got an essential part of the farmer vote in the north-west, which means an increased support of the lowest stratum of the farmers of that region. It lost a big portion of the South, though it retained those states where the Negroes form the bulk, or are near to being the majority, of the population, and where the fear of the Negroes by the white ruling class is still strong enough to bar the progress of the republican party.

The 1928 elections show the reign of the infamous two-party system in full swing. The American bourgeoisie is still able to utilize the two-party system—which is "one of the most powerful methods of preventing the foundation of an independent labor, that is, genuine socialist, party" (Lenin)—to bar the crystallization of class-consciousness in the bulk of the working class.

There has never been so little differentiation between the two big capitalist parties. The lack of any real differences in policies is a powerful force for the disintegration of the two-party system, but we must emphasize that the forces making for the continuation of the coalition of the various classes within the old parties (in both under the hegemony of the capitalists) are today still strong enough to prevent the immediate breakdown of the two-party system. The Roosevelt attempt in 1912 succeeded in shaking up the two-party system, but the World War brought about the collapse of this effort. The LaFollette third-party movement in 1924 was able to mobilize large masses, but was terminated by the strengthened world hegemony of the United States. The inevitable sharpening of the class antagonisms and the next crisis will break up the present coalition of classes. The petty bourgeoisie, the farmers, and, first of all, the masses of workers will no longer be willing to accept the political leadership of finance capital, and that will produce the disruption of the two-party system.

The 1928 elections show that the Farmer-Labor parties of the Northwest—which were blocs of different classes (well-to-do and poor farmers, city petty-bourgeoisie and workers, under the leadership of petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois elements)—had lost all significance for the working class and had become petty-bourgeois tools in the hands of the capitalists.

The Socialist Party—which in the past attracted the adherence of the class-conscious section of the workers of the cities and a considerable portion of the poorest farmers—has now lost the farmers completely, and has lost the largest portion of its working class following. On the other hand, it has gained a certain amount of support among the small business men and especially among the professionals and clericals of the big cities. It is of great significance that after the elections this party dropped its last pretenses of being a socialist party. It new leader, Norman Thomas, stated clearly that the socialist party no longer appeals to the labor movement but rather to the "liberal" elements in the republican and democratic parties, and even went so far as to propose to change the party name either to "liberal" or "progressive."

To sum up: The election of Hoover means that trustsified capital, throwing away all its former veils and subterfuges, has taken the helm of the government openly and frankly into its own hands. The big, though temporary victory of capitalist reaction leads to an unprecedented increase of imperialist aggressiveness, to a vehement struggle for a greater share of the world market.

The determined attempt of United States imperialism to complete the conquest of Latin America has, since Hoover's election, already assumed much sharper and more vicious forms, as evidenced by Hoover's trip, the Cumberland plan for the permanent occupation of Nicaragua, the plans to build a Nicaraguan canal, the new clash with Sandino's troops, the bloody suppression of the Colombia strike, the Pan-American conference at Washington, the role of the United States in the Bolivia-Paraguay conflict.

The antagonisms between America and Europe, and especially between America and Great Britain, have already been sharpened to a high degree since the Hoover election. Coolidge's ultimatum to Europe was answered by a new attempt to form alliances of the various European powers against the United States, to shift the blame for the burden of reparations to America. The big navy program is being consummated.

The basic tendency of merging the business and government apparatus will be strengthened by the forces which are represented by Hoover. Hoover will now complete the job, and will transform the whole governmental apparatus into a board of directors of the super-trusts.

Trustification and rationalization will go ahead with greater speed. Already there are proposals before congress to empower the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant railroad mergers, plans to revise the Sherman Act, which already today is being used not for the prevention but for the promotion of the organization of trusts. The high protective tariff will go through a general upward revision.

There will be a definite change in the direction of the export of capital, lessening the amount of export of capital to Europe and concentrating to a greater degree on Latin America and Asia.

The industrialization of the South will be accelerated by conscious policies of the Federal Government.

Communist Party Must Organize the Unorganized, Unskilled and Negro Workers

(Continued From Preceding Page)

on the "prosperity" in which the labor aristocracy shares but which for the working class as a whole is illusory.

The Party must do everything to expose the fraud of the capitalist "prosperity" propaganda which saps the militancy and life of the working class. The Party must engage much more than it has in the past in making clear to the workers their sufferings under capitalism, the daily heavy casualties in industry through accidents and deaths, the severe sufferings the great mass of the workers are subject to in the slums, through injunction rule, strike breaking and ruling class violence. The Party must make clear to the workers the sham and fraud of capitalist "prosperity" and on the basis of the concrete effects of American capitalism, show that poverty can be conquered only through the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the building up of Socialism.

MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AND PACIFISM

The American bourgeoisie are feverishly and openly preparing for the impending imperialist war. These gigantic war preparations manifest themselves in the following ways:

1. Military, naval and aerial preparedness on a greater scale than at any time before when the country was not actually at war. Witness the Armistice Day speech of Coolidge; the statement of policy "for a navy second to none" issued by the General Naval Board; the report of Gen. Fries on the Chemical War preparations; the proposal of Major-Gen. Summerall for further strengthening of the standing army and reserves; the proposed new Nicaraguan Canal to supplement the Panama Canal; the development of a powerful subsidized merchant marine; the extension of military training in the schools and the development of Reserve Officers Training Corps; and last but not least the Coolidge program to appropriate about 140 million dollars for aviation next year.

2. The militarization of industry and the mechanization of the military forces: The American war staff is studying the mechanization of the army. Under the National Defense Act industry is being reorganized with a view towards the swiftest mobilization for operation on a war basis. The A. F. of L. machinery has already been pledged to serve as an integral part of the imperialist war machinery. It has already endorsed the big navy program and the demand of the American Legion for conscription.

3. The rapid integration of the State apparatus with the biggest business apparatus is being consciously fostered with a view towards war efficiency.

4. Intensified repression of workers: The preparation of a national anti-strike law by the American Bar Association is an essential war preparation measure.

5. Redoubled drive to extend control over certain raw material resources, to make the U. S. fully independent in the event of war—ruber in the Philippines.

6. Pacifism and Jingoism. The ideological preparation of war assumes two forms: Jingoism and Pacifism. Jingoism is fostered by well planned country-wide tours, of admirals and generals supported by the biggest chains of capitalist newspapers. The A. F. of L. is one of the most poisonous sources of spreading jingoist propaganda. There is an official pacifist offensive of the government as part and parcel of the general preparedness of war: the Havana and the present Washington Pan-American conferences, the renewed attempt to consider American entry into the World Court, the Hoover "good will" tour, the infamous Kellogg Pact; such manœuvres as that of Congressman Britton, head of the House Naval Committee and a notorious "big navy" man, to secure an "understanding" with Great Britain.

These pacifist manœuvres of the imperialists are further helped along by the pacifist efforts of churches, various liberal organizations and the Socialist Party, today the most contemptible and dangerous source of pacifism, which now favors the Kellogg Pact, American entry into the League of Nations, and all sorts of plans and conferences for the Limitation of Armaments.

Thus there flow two streams of poison against the workers; jingoism and pacifism—both weapons in the arsenal of the imperialists preparing for war. At the same time, there is to be noted a growing persecution of the Communists and all fighting workers who dare at all to voice their protest against the war measures or against this propaganda.

THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL REFORMISM—THE STRUGGLE FOR A MASS COMMUNIST PARTY

On the whole, the American working class is less developed politically than the working classes of the other big capitalist countries. The bulk of the American working class has not yet been broken away from the parties of the big bourgeoisie. "The American working class is the most conservative working class in the world" (Bukharin). A very small proportion of the workers (some of the skilled elements) is organized and the leadership of the organized trade union movement is the most reactionary trade union leadership in the world. The ideology of the trade union bureaucracy and their Socialist Party co-workers is definitely bourgeois and is an expression of the rankest social reformism. The social basis of this ideology is the world hegemony of American imperialism, the huge amount of superprofits extorted by it from all sections of the world, the broad stratum of labor aristocracy which still enjoys its privileges. American social reformism with its manifold schemes of class collaboration is today the model of all imperialists the world over and for their Social Democratic lackeys, who try to pattern them in order to paralyze the class struggle. The ideology and organization of social reformism is the most dangerous obstacle to the development of a mass Communist Party. We must fight it ruthlessly in order to hasten the development of a mass Communist Party in the United States. It is necessary to destroy the ideological base of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and their Socialist partners.

Recent years have witnessed important changes in the composition and structure of the working class. Immediately after the World War, there was noticeable a marked development towards working class homogeneity because of the then developing trend towards reducing the gap between the skilled and unskilled, the shutting off of immigration, the levelling process in wages, and the increasing strike-breaking role of the centralized government even against the labor aristocracy. Under these conditions the trade unions grew quickly, the labor party movement assumed a mass basis, great national mass strikes (railroad, textile, coal) were manifestations of this rising working class solidarity and resistance to the bourgeoisie.

The basic tendency towards the homogeneity of the American working class remains, but this basic trend does not move in a straight line or in a continuous upward curve. On the contrary, the trend has its ups and downs. Within the last five years, several factors have contributed for countering somewhat this basic trend and, for the present, making against homogeneity amongst the working class.

These factors are: entrance of hundreds of thousands of foreign-born workers as immigrants (especially from Mexico and other Latin-American countries); influx of Negro workers from the South to the Northern industries; bankrupt farmers migrating into industrial centers; gap between wage levels of skilled and unskilled workers growing bigger. Temporarily the influx of these new elements means a decrease of homogeneity of the working class.

As a result of this change composition of the working class significant changes took place in the labor movement: the shifting of the leadership of the organized section of the labor movement to the right; the merging of the apparatus of the trade union bureaucracy with the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie; most intensive and varied forms of class collaboration. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy is today an instrument of the bourgeoisie against the working class with its policies of preventing the workers from using the strike weapon; for union management-cooperation schemes, semi-company unions, anti-labor party "non-partisan" policies; complete endorsement of all war schemes of American imperialism as evidenced in the last A. F. of L. convention endorsing Hoover's fraudulent three billion dollar unemployment proposal and the big navy plan of the government, the demand for the restriction of immigration of Latin-American workers and the complete accord with the American Legion's military program.

The trade union movement is facing today the crisis of its life. The terrific open shop drive of the bourgeoisie and the treachery of the labor bureaucracy, drove millions of members out of the unions, mostly unskilled workers who joined during the war. The sweeping trustsification movement, the intensified rationalization, the new methods of struggle of the employers, the close bond between the trade union bureaucracy and the big capitalists, the increasing interference of the capitalist government in the most elementary economic struggles against the workers, brought about the crisis of the trade union movement and decreased the number of organized workers considerably. The upward trend of imperialism, the narrowing down of the trade union movement and the close working together of the trade union leadership with the bourgeoisie, made for the labor party movement being nationally on a very low ebb.

It is under these conditions that the American bourgeoisie dared launch their present heavy attacks upon the standard of living (wage cuts, speed-up), on the most elementary rights; on the organizations of the working class. However, the bourgeoisie did not succeed in crushing the resistance of the ranks of the workers; particularly in the ranks of the great mass of unorganized, signs of resistance to the capitalist offensive have been multiplying. Passaic, Colorado,

mining struggle, needle trades conflict, Hayerville, Flint, Canton, New Bedford, the recent coal strikes in Kentucky, Wyoming, etc.

The decisive defeat of the United Mine Workers of America means the breaking of the proletarian backbone of the present official trade union movement. It means still further, narrowing the base of the A. F. of L. Nothing can be expected from any section of the trade union bureaucracy in the interests of the working class. The more the capitalists will attack the workers, the more the trade union bureaucracy will betray them. The more the need for organizing the unorganized and the readiness of the unorganized masses to respond, the more the leaders of the labor aristocracy will try to undermine all efforts and to paralyze the movement for organizing the workers. The Socialist Party is only another section of the capitalist enemy's front against the proletariat. The narrow craft trade unions, robed of their proletarian base, are today less representative than ever of the aspirations and needs of the working class. The Party must meet the new conditions, must counteract most energetically all social reformism, all social democratic, all opportunist influences and elements in the ranks of the working class. This is a prerequisite for success in our fight for building a Mass Communist Party. The decisive orientation of the Party must be away from the labor aristocracy and towards the real proletarian masses. The Party must not only be ready to meet the needs of the great bulk of the American working class, the semi-skilled and unskilled, whose resistance to capitalist aggression, speed up, effects of rationalization, wage cuts, against the growing power of trustsified capital, is increasing and is bound to increase further, but must especially stimulate the desires of these masses for struggle and work to deepen the most elementary struggles with a view of preparing the workers for more decisive class battles to be led by the Communist Party. The emergence of the new union movement, the National Miners Union, the National Textile Workers Union, the amalgamation of various needle trades organizations into one union, is the most promising sign of new aspects of the struggles of the American working class. The face of the Party must be sharply turned in the direction of the organization of the unorganized, to building new unions in the heavy industries among the real proletarian millions of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers and Negro masses.

PROBLEMS, ACHIEVEMENTS, SHORTCOMINGS AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

1. The Imperialist War Danger. The anti-war activities of the Party have increased since the last convention (anti-war meetings, demonstrations against shipment of marines, against Hoover's tour, beginning of work among the armed forces, attempts of coordination of our anti-imperialist work with the Latin American Parties) but are not sufficient. The Party was not able to mobilize large masses because it did not always react in time, did not concentrate sufficiently on the Latin American problems. The Party showed an attitude of provincialism and insufficient attention to the anti-imperialist League. In the main, the Party was able to uproot pacifist ideology from its own slogans, statements, and articles but remnants of pacifism still manifest themselves. A number of serious right errors have been made: pacifist mistakes ("Stop the Flow of Blood in Nicaragua"—Gomez; "We Welcome Our Boys of the Fleet But Do Not Shoot the Nicaraguans"—California District; "Agitate for the Slogan 'Against the Building of More Cruisers'."—Bittelman; plea of guilty in the Washington demonstration last Spring—Gomez). Incorrect understanding of American imperialism and underestimation of the powers of resistance of the Latin American peoples (Nearing). Characterizing Colombia strike in a legalistic way, as a strike "to uphold the law of the land" (Bittelman).

Tasks

- To place the struggle against imperialist war danger and the defense of the Soviet Union in the center of all activities of the Party.
- Coordination of our anti-imperialist work with the Communist Parties of Latin America, Canada, China and Great Britain.
- The strengthening of the Anti Imperialist Department of the CEC.
- Increasing the support of the Party for the anti-Imperialist League.
- Systematic fight against the jingoist and pacifist propaganda of the A. F. of L., Socialist Party, liberals, churches.
- More frequent and better prepared street demonstrations.
- Mobilization of the Party fractions in the trade unions to combat the pro-imperialist policies of the trade union bureaucracy.
- Extension of the Party's work in the armed forces.
- The emphasis of defeatist slogans coming to a head in the slogan of turning the next imperialist war into a civil war.

II. Organization of the Unorganized and Trade Union Work. The trade union work has absorbed the greatest resources and the attention of the Party in organizing the unorganized, strike leadership and strike relief. Our central driving force and guiding perspective has been to organize the unorganized masses. The Party has been the "stalwart leader of fierce mass struggles." (Thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern). The most outstanding campaign waged by the Party in its trade union work was the building up of a powerful left wing in the United Mine Workers of America and the participation in the organization of the new National Miners Union. Despite unheard government terrorism, a substantial gain in Party membership as well as an improvement in the social composition can be registered in the Districts located in the coal fields. The bulk of the striking textile workers in New Bedford, Fall River, Pawtucket, Paterson, were under the leadership of the Textile Mill Committees, under the influence of the Party. The new National Textile Workers Union is already showing considerable vitality despite unprecedented persecution by the government. The prolonged needle trades struggle which has been going on against the united forces of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party bureaucracy has entered upon a new stage through the building of one industrial union by the amalgamation of the cloakmakers, dressmakers and furriers. The Railroad Conference held on June 3, 1928, was one of the best conferences organized by the left wing in the American trade union movement. In the automobile and rubber industries, the Party has been renewing its efforts to lay the foundation for the organization of the unorganized. Though the first National TUEL Conference held in several years is to be noted during this period, the TUEL did not make sufficient progress and the left wing in the A. F. of L. unions did not make headway.

A number of serious mistakes, among them many right errors, were committed by the Party in its trade union work. These mistakes are of the following types:

- Hesitancy in organizing the unorganized, particularly delay in throwing full forces into mining work.
- Insufficient attention to developing an effective strong Trade Union Department and apparatus.
- Serious neglect of direction of the trade union fractions from the center.
- A wrong reaction to the correct policy of the Party in laying the greatest emphasis on organizing the unorganized and building new unions. The tendency to neglect the work in the already existing unions.
- Remnants of craft ideology (needle trades).
- Capitulation before difficulties (Chicago, Boston needle trades).

7. Opposition to the inclusion of the use of the term "class struggle" in the preamble of the new unions (Swaback, Foster, Jakira, Weisbord; Jakira immediately Foster and Weisbord at the December 1928 Plenum, admitted this mistake).

8. Impermissible use of injunctions of bourgeois courts in trade union struggles (Boston District Secretariat).

9. Insufficient effort to draw the Party membership into trade unions.

10. Insufficient emphasis on political issues in strike movements. The Main Tasks Confronting the Party are:

1. The organization of the unorganized is the basic historical task of the Party. The whole future of the Party as a mass party is tied up with this work. Extensive campaigns must be developed especially in the steel, automobile, industries and among the packinghouse workers.

2. Help the speediest consolidation of the new miners, textile and needle trades unions on a mass scale.

3. Building up the left wing in the reactionary trade unions, as an auxiliary instrument in carrying out the task of organizing the unorganized. The Party cannot abandon to the bureaucracy the three million organized workers.

4. Strengthening and reorganizing the T.U.E.L. to adapt it to its new tasks to make it able to link up the left wing movement in the reactionary trade unions with the new militant unions and to lend further co-operation to the new union movement itself.

5. The Party must assume leadership in all struggles of the workers against wage cuts, speed-up, effects of rationalization and must make every attempt to develop such struggles.

6. To uproot the influence of social reformism in the trade

unions. To fight against all schemes of class collaboration, to destroy the influence of the A. F. of L. and socialist party bureaucracy.

7. To link up all strike struggles with the political slogans of the Party and especially with our fight against imperialist war danger.

8. To bring the whole Party membership into the trade unions, to build up an efficient trade union Party apparatus and extend the network of Communist Party fractions in all trade unions.

9. To mobilize the entire Party for the energetic execution of the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R. I. L. U.

III. The Election Campaign. Though the biggest campaign ever waged by the Party, the 1928 election campaign did not show a sufficiently great increase of the Communist vote. Because of the disfranchisement of the many millions of foreign born workers and Negro masses, the Communist vote does not express the range of the political influence of the Party. The following features characterize the significance of the election campaign in reaching out to the masses and in bringing the Communist program to the working class:

1. Getting on the ballot in 34 states as compared with 14 states in 1924.

2. The National Nominating Convention, which was the first one of its kind held by the Party.

3. The substantial increase in the Communist vote despite huge theft, especially in the coal and textile centers, and the improved character of the vote which came this year unlike 1924, from the most industrial states; the increased role of the factory nuclei and nuclei papers in the campaign.

4. The Party's going South for the first time, the prominent part played by Negro comrades in the election, and the increased attention given by the Party as a whole to the Negro problem in the election campaign.

5. The resistance of the Party membership to the wide persecution and interference with and disruption of our meetings, the reaching of many thousands of new workers by the Party with its millions of leaflets, pamphlets, and other campaign literature, the gain in new membership thru the election campaign.

6. The effect that the Party appeared in the election campaign not only as the spokesman of the working class but the champion of the struggle for the liberation of the colonies against American imperialism and for the liberation of the Negro race.

7. The ideological advancement expressed in the fact of the election platform of 1928 being truly Communist, having as its key note "class against class," as against the opportunistic platform of 1924, with its slogan for immediate nationalization and workers' control of capitalist industries.

8. The fact that the campaign was linked up with the struggle of the workers against wage cuts, speed-up, unemployment, was based especially on the strike struggles of the miners, textile and needle trades and had as its central issue the struggle against imperialist war danger.

9. The fact that the full Communist program of overthrowing capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat played a prominent role in the whole propaganda of the Party and that based on the clear Communist character of the campaign, every Communist vote was the expression of a truly revolutionary working class sentiment.

The election campaign shows some serious shortcomings and errors.

1. The inability of the Party to get those working class masses who followed the Party's strike leadership, to accept its political leadership.

2. Insufficient attention to draw the membership of the new unions into the election campaign (needle trades leadership of New York).

3. Lack of everyday detail work in the campaign.

4. Insufficiency of Party forces primarily due to the fact that so large a number of leading comrades were dispatched to the World Congress of the Comintern, and cases of extreme incompetency in the part of certain functionaries (Carlson, Bloomfield and the ex-pupil O'Flaherty).

5. A series of right wing opportunistic errors: the unauthorized non-Communist instructions for gathering signatures (Codkind); organizing symposiums on our own platform, inviting bourgeois parties (New York Women's Committee); capitulation before difficulties, failing to get on the ballot (Levin, California); the open letter to the State Committee of the Socialist Party (Levin, Calif.).

Based on the lessons of the recent election campaign, the following tasks confront the Party:

- More systematic everyday detailed work.
- Base the whole election campaign in an increased degree on the factories, mills and shops.
- Show more clearly the face of the Party in trade union and other mass activities.
- To utilize more local issues.
- To concentrate more on the industrial centers of the country.
- To utilize in fuller extent the Party and especially the Party language press.

IV. Fight Against Social Reformism. The complete transformation of the A. F. of L. into an agency of American imperialism places in the forefront of the tasks of the entire Party the struggle against the ideology of social reformism of the labor aristocracy which tends to poison the whole working class. The complete transformation of the socialist party into a petty bourgeois party, places before us the task of waging a merciless campaign against the social democratic forces. The Central Executive Committee has unreservedly accepted the criticism of the Communist International of the errors the Party and the Central Executive Committee have made in its attitude towards the socialist party prior to the Sixth World Congress: The Panken election (New York District Executive Committee and Central Executive Committee); open letter to the National Committee of the Socialist Party (Central Executive Committee); Bearak case (Boston District); open letter to the Socialist Party officials at Reading, Pa. (Benjamin, who later corrected his error, Bittelman approval); proposal to refrain from opposition to the Socialist Party in municipal election (Shklar); proposal for united front with the Socialist Party on Sacco-Vanzetti anniversary (Kraske-Miller). In full acceptance of the criticism by the Comintern, the Convention must take the most energetic measures, ideologically and organizationally, to sharpen and intensify the Party's struggle against all manifestations of reformism. The last election campaign has shown that the socialist party, though it has lost heavily in votes, is still a sufficiently important element to be contended with as a poisonous force among the workers.

Emphasis must be laid on the need of sharpening the Party's critical attitude towards the so-called centrist and middle group elements in the trade union movement. These bearers of reformist illusions must not only be exposed but must be fought organizationally in the trade unions and in all working class organizations.

V. Negro Work. In the main, the Party cannot be satisfied with its work among the Negroes. But since the last convention and especially since the criticism of the Party by the Sixth Communist International Congress, some headway has been made in the Party's Negro work: the establishment of the Negro Department; full time Negro organizers in a number of Districts; the regular appearance of the Negro Champion; the increase in Negro members; the prominent part played by Negro comrades in the election campaign; contacts established with Negro workers especially in the South; energetic fight against white chauvinism.

A number of serious right errors have been made in our Negro work; insufficient leadership by the Central Executive Committee; underestimation of the Negro work; white chauvinism in the ranks of the Party, especially in the South; surrender to white chauvinism in Detroit (Goetz); weakness of Party membership among the Negroes and weak Communist cadre and insufficient proletarian Negro forces attracted to our Party; an un-Communist attitude towards the church among some of the leading Negro comrades (Moore).

A decisive turn in the policies of the Party towards the Negro work is necessary.

1. The attitude of underestimating the Negro work must be combated vigorously, the work among the Negroes is not to be considered as a special task of the Negro comrades but it

Demand Complete Unity of Communists Against Right Danger and Trotskyism

(Continued From Preceding Page)
ganda; further improving and strengthening of the Party press (Daily Worker) and publications; to transform the Daily Worker into a true leading organ of the Party and a mass' spokesman of the American working class; systematized study of the work of Marx and Lenin; more energetic efforts in drawing the mass of Party members into an understanding of the Party's tasks; broad ideological campaign against the Right danger and Trotskyism.

XII. Work Among Women. The establishment of a Women's Department nationally and in some districts, has lent a certain impetus to the Party's participating in and leading the struggles of the working women but on the whole the department and the work of the Party generally among working women is still very weak. There is a general underestimation of the importance of the work among women in the Party which must be overcome. The Party has to combat a certain attitude which manifests itself in emphasizing the organization among housewives at the expense of the work among factory women. In some districts the Women's Committees are of an insufficiently proletarian character. (New York).

XIII. Young Workers League. The Young Workers League has participated as a distinct force in the mass struggles of the workers (mining, textile). There is a decisive reorientation in the work of the League toward the proletarian youth as against the former student and clerk orientation of the since then expelled former leadership (Abern, Schachtman, Mass, Edwards, Borgeson, Carlson). Effective results were achieved by the League in its anti-militarist and anti-imperialist work which, however, must be further strengthened. The whole Party must increase its support and direction given to the Young Workers League. It is the duty of the party to combat the opportunistic attitude displayed in underestimating the role of the youth and the work of the League.

XIV. Labor Defense. The failure of the Party fraction in the I. L. D. to help develop it into a mass organization must be registered. Especially there should be noted in this respect the failure to build district organizations.

The most dangerous error here is the development of a special attitude of "LLDism" (Cannon-Abern), holding this work as something distinct from the General Party work, and in certain respects even above it. Insufficient emphasis has been laid here on basing this work on the organizations of the workers and on the shops. A serious Right error is also to be noted in the proposal to make the Party the tail of the liberals in the Mooney campaign (Wagenknecht).

XV. Cooperatives. The Party has achieved some results in its being able to mobilize left wing forces for a sharp struggle against the Right wing in the Cooperative League of America, but at the same time we must note certain serious Right errors manifesting themselves in the Party's cooperative work.

1. Failure to at all stages in the development of the cooperative movement to tie it up organically with the labor struggles, struggle of the workers in the unions, etc.

2. Tendency toward the development of producers cooperatives as a substitute for struggle within the trade unions.

3. Failure to define the limitations of building cooperatives.

4. Tendency for development of "cooperative Communists" placing the interests of individual cooperators above the interests of the Party.

XVI. Party Unity: The Sixth Party Convention must take energetic measures to bring about the unification of the Party. The Party must make a decisive effort to carry out the instruction of the Comintern World Congress, "The most important task confronting the Party is to put an end to the factional strife." There is no principle basis today for the continuation of the factional struggle in the Party. For Trotskyists, there is no room in the Party. Permanent factionalism is incompatible with Communist Party organization. The present international situation, the growing menace of war, the sharpening attacks of the bourgeoisie against the Party and the working class, especially necessitates the unhesitating, fullest compliance of the entire Party with the decision of the Sixth World Congress for the "absolute subordination of the minority to the majority." At the same time it is necessary to bring about an extension of Party democracy, to promote political discussions, exercise thoroughgoing self-criticism, and uproot bureaucracy.

THE RIGHT DANGER AND TROTSKYISM.

In the present international situation the Right danger is the main danger in the Communist International and in its American section.

At the same time though Trotskyism is defeated in the leading parties of the Comintern, it raises its head in the American Party menacing the Leninist line and unity of the Party.

The Right danger has its roots in the partial stabilization of capitalism and in the influence of social democracy, and trade union bureaucracy. At all times a menace to the workers revolutionary party, the Right danger becomes, at a time of threatening imperialist world war, the greatest and most urgent of all dangers. In the United States the Right danger is especially serious because our Party has not yet gone thru a revolutionary struggle, because of the present strength of American imperialism, the corruption of the labor aristocracy, the reformist ideology of so large a section of the working class, and the general political backwardness of the working class.

The outstanding types of expression of the Right danger in the Workers' (Communist) Party since the last convention are:

Certain forms of legalism, a tolerant attitude to the socialist party; passivity in strikes or even outright refusal to take leadership; an underestimation or a nihilistic attitude towards the national question and the struggle of the colonial peoples and an underestimation of the Negro work; white chauvinism; a static attitude on the trade union question; wrong attitude toward the labor party; an underestimation of war danger and manifestation of pacifism; insufficient proletarianization; capitulation before difficulties; lack of faith in the Party; attitude of reservations of the Communist International; lack of internationalism; indifference and even hostility to theory.

Cannon's acceptance of Trotskyism is very dangerous because the recurrence of this social-democratic ideology passing under cover of left phrases is deeply rooted in the objective conditions—the strength of American imperialism, the contradictions of the simultaneous development of reformism and the radicalization of certain sections of the working class tend to create confusion in some sections of the Party.

The Party is at a turning point in its life, in the process of passing from a mere propaganda organization to a political party of action. The Party has become the leader of working class mass activities. This creates new problems and new difficulties for the Party. Some sections of the Party have been unable to adapt themselves to this sharp turn.

It is precisely for this reason that the platform of Trotskyism in the United States today is serving as the rallying point of all opportunist elements within and all groups of renegades outside of our Party. The complete destruction of Trotskyism in our Party can be realized only through an uncompromising, energetic fight not only against Trotskyism but against every manifestation of the open Right danger, through merciless self-criticism of all mistakes made by the Central Committee and by the Party as a whole.

The line of the Party is based on an unqualified recognition of the fact that the Right danger is the chief danger today in our Party as well as in the rest of the Comintern. Hence the endorsement by the Central Executive Committee of the position of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Conference of the Communist Party of Germany in their fight against the Right danger and those who show tolerance of the Right.

Under its present leadership, the American Party has been in the forefront of the fight against Trotskyism from the very moment it reared its head in the Comintern. This fight against Trotskyism has been bound up with the fight against out and out opportunism and Right wing policies. It has been an unbroken fight, ranging from the expulsion of such crass opportunists as Salutsky, Lore, Eastman; such notorious Right wingers as Sulkanen, Askel and Company to such a conscious, malignant enemy of the left forces in the Party as Cannon, now a blatant and militant Trotskyist.

The convention must take all decisive measures to sharpen the fight against both dangers—against the open Right danger and against Trotskyist opportunism.

The convention decides to take all necessary ideological and organizational steps to root out every manifestation of the Right danger, the slightest tolerance of the Right danger and every vestige of Trotskyism. The convention decides to enforce vigorously all decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. Communist unity must be maintained as the guarantee for an energetic fight against the Right danger and Trotskyism. Unity on the basis of the unreserved acceptance of all decisions of the Comintern is the best guarantee for a successful fight against the Right danger and Trotskyist opportunism.

CONTRADICTIONS OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM—THE OUTLOOK FOR STRUGGLE AND THE PARTY'S BASIC LINE.

The Party convention endorses the position of the Central Executive Committee which repudiates all notions that American capitalism is unassassable, that American imperialism is invincible. The

Central Executive Committee rejects without the slightest hesitation any viewpoint which tends toward a fatalistic attitude towards or conception of the present power of American imperialism. There is no room in our Party for those holding a pessimistic view. There is no room in our ranks for those who do not see the developing bases for sharp struggles in the United States. The Party roundly condemns any policy or line based on blindness to or minimizing of the multiplying evidences of working class resistance to capitalist exploitation and oppression. Those who maintain clearly or vaguely that American capitalism is not subject to the basic contradictions undermining international capitalism, or who give the slightest credence to the spurious bourgeois theory that American capitalism is so powerful and so "healthy" that the American workers are immune from the propaganda of the class struggle, from Communist influence, are maintaining a position entirely at variance with the line of the Party.

Those who are overawed by the bourgeoisie factors retarding the development of class consciousness on a national scale amongst the American workers, are basing themselves on temporary and superficial phenomena and are against the basic lines of the Party. Those who do not see the increasing bases for Party work, the increasing opportunities for the development of a mass Communist Party in the United States, have no place in our membership. Any conception which directly or indirectly lends the slightest support to the notion that the fate which befalls the socialist labor party, the socialist party and the I. W. W., awaits our Party, is a non-Communist conception, the entertaining of which is incompatible with Party membership.

What is the outlook for the class war and the role of the Party therein? What is our perspective?

Though American imperialism is still on the upgrade, it would be a major, fatal mistake not to see the basic contradictions of American capitalism, not to see those factors which are bound to create serious complications for American imperialism. The Party convention emphasizes that despite all the outward appearances of towering strength of American capitalism in the eyes of superficial observers, the contradictions of American imperialism are being intensified and not solved. Chief among these contradictions:

1. The election of Hoover marks a sharp turn in the increasingly aggressive imperialist policies of the United States. But these very aggressive imperialist policies are bringing on in their train numerous complications in world politics. All these complications are bound to have their reflex in the inner situation of the country, in the relations between the classes, in the class war in the United States. The conflicts resulting from these outer contradictions can only serve to sharpen the class war at home, to intensify the inner contradictions of American imperialism. The very fact that American imperialism is continuing to push back British imperialism on every front, insures an increasing rivalry for the world market, for capital and commodities; increasing naval and military competition between the British and Yankee imperialists. The increasing resistance to American imperialism by British and other imperialist powers, means sharper attacks against the workers at home by the American bourgeoisie. The increasing domination by United States imperialism over the Latin American countries brings about a rising resistance on the part of the Latin American masses against United States imperialism, and the sharpened attacks on the workers in the United States inevitably brings about increasing mass resistance by the workers.

The increasingly aggressive participation of the United States in world politics, necessitates the building up of a huge navy, army and merchant marine. The maintenance of a huge war machine, a gigantic strike-breaking apparatus, can be realized only through increasing taxation and growing oppression, further making for a tendency of large sections of the workers, working farmers and even certain petty bourgeois elements resisting imperialist aggressiveness.

2. Though American capitalism has for the present succeeded in delaying a deep-going crisis, the last economic depression has already created many important complications for the bourgeoisie. Many important industries suffer from large excess productive capacities. The intensive installment buying system, on which American "prosperity" is based to an extent, is only a mortgage on the future purchasing power of the workers and exploited farmers, and though this system may for a time serve as a factor for deferring an economic crisis, once the crisis is on, will become only an aggravating force. The very technical and organization progress of the industries calls for partial crises in the attempt to intensify rationalization (textile, shoe, mining, etc.) and thus important sections of the working class are stirred to resistance against the capitalist drive.

Mass production is producing murderous mass competition. The technical revolution in the United States is only a further source of mass unemployment. Prolonged unemployment means intense suffering to the bulk of the workers, especially because in America there is no social insurance. Prolonged unemployment will bring serious grief to the households of millions of workers based largely on installment buying.

3. The first violent stage of the agricultural crisis has been liquidated by the ruination of hundreds of thousands of farmers and through the driving of millions of the farming population into the cities. But fundamentally the agricultural crisis is not over. The basic reason for the agricultural crisis is the existence of the monopolistic trusts on the one hand—a trustification movement is going on with terrific speed today—and the unorganized, the atomized status of the relatively technically backward farmers on the other hand. Despite recent growth of mechanization of American agriculture, the gap between the technical development of the manufacturing industries and agricultural remains, because of the more rapid rate of progress by the former. The resulting process of expropriation of large masses of the poorer farmers inevitably makes for greater resistance by these masses to bourgeois rule. The chronic agricultural crisis is consequently undermining the most important social foundation for allies of capitalist reaction, is destroying the illusions about the "independent farmers," is turning tenants into veritable peasants and is, thus helping to develop a powerful mass reserve and valuable allies for the proletariat in its decisive struggle against capitalism.

4. The industrialization of the South will serve to awaken new sources of resistance to capitalist exploitation. It means an expropriation of additional rural masses, a pauperization of great masses of Negroes, a proletarianization of new large sections of the population. The creation of this new powerful industrial centre in the United States will bring new unemployment, more wage cuts and general insecurity of life for hundreds of thousands of workers in New England and in other sections of the land.

5. Further proletarianization: With the tremendous accumulation of capital in the United States, there is proceeding a terrific concentration of ownership and centralization of operation. Capital is increasingly flowing into constantly fewer hands. Additional sections of the broad masses are being proletarianized. Example: Farmers, Negroes. This process develops a greater, more powerful proletarian army to give final battle to the bourgeoisie.

6. The centralization and the bureaucratization of the United States government is making constant headway.

The increasing strike-breaking role of the government is one of the most powerful factors making for the radicalization of the American workers. The manifold tendencies of a special type of state capitalism manifesting themselves in the United States to an increasing extent are forces helping to turn the struggles of the working class more than ever before directly against the state and thus helping to deepen and give an increasingly political basis to the everyday struggles of the working class.

7. The existence of the Soviet Union: The very existence of the Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union is another limitation of paramount importance to the growth of American imperialism. The existence of the Soviet Union serves as a source of inspiration to the forces of the proletarian revolution gathering in other countries and to the forces of resistance to imperialist aggression in the colonies.

8. Likewise the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries constitute another limiting force to the upward development of American imperialism. The struggle for the liberation of the oppressed Negro people for realization of the national self-determination of the Negroes to the establishment of a Negro republic in the South will help undermine one of the most important pillars of American imperialism.

9. The existence of the Communist Party is bound to play a role of decisive importance. The existence and growth of a conscious disciplined Party of proletarian revolutionists following the path of Leninism, is a factor of decisive importance in the limitation of the growth of American imperialism, in the mobilization of the working class and its allies for the overthrow of American capitalism.

10. The star of American capitalism is still ascending, but American capitalism is part and parcel of world capitalism which has already entered into the last, the declining stage of its development. As America becomes ever more a country exporting industrial commodities, it becomes increasingly dependent upon the world market. This subjects it ever more deeply and extensively to all economic and political complications of international capitalism. The United States is becoming increasingly a country of exporting capital. Thus the United States is living more and more at the expense of other coun-

tries. Coincident with and as a consequence of this growing phenomenon of capital export, we have stagnation and parasitism becoming more evident on a growing scale.

11. Last but not least, American imperialism will not be able to bribe broad sections of the working class for many more years. United States imperialism is not the sole workshop of the world as Great Britain was for decades. There are other mighty imperialist powers limiting the expansion of American imperialism, competing with it on every front. Thus the menace of a new imperialist war is looming up ever bigger on the horizon; a war which will prove a catastrophe to international capitalism, a war which through the existence of the Communist International will be turned into civil war. The very present strength of American imperialism generates contradictions in the entire bourgeoisie world. The sharpening contradictions of American imperialism—conflicts and antagonisms in the entire bourgeoisie world. The sharpening contradictions of American imperialism—conflicts and antagonisms in the entire bourgeoisie world.

The Party must turn full face to the most exploited sections of the American proletariat, which is the main body of the working class in the United States.

The efforts of the American ruling class to solve the present contradictions by further pressure on the toiling masses at home, and intensified imperialist exploitation abroad, is calling forth bitter

resentment of the masses. Strike movements and readiness for organized struggle among large sections of the workers must follow. The magnificent fight put up by the coal miners, the heroic resistance of the textile workers, are evidence of the potential militancy in the ranks of the American workers. Our Party must be prepared ideologically and organizationally not only to respond to this situation but to organize and lead the workers in the impending mass struggles for the overthrow of capitalism.

In the period of rising working class struggles, the Party must make it one of its central objectives to expose and defeat the trade union reactionaries, the socialist party leaders, the reformists of all kinds, the propagandists and apologists of capitalist prosperity, all of whom aim to paralyze the militancy and readiness of the workers to struggle, to chain the workers to capitalism. Social reformism, social democracy, and their reflex in our midst, Trotskyist opportunism and outright opportunism, must be fought with the maximum resource and vigor at the Party's command.

In the face of the sharpening war danger, in the face of the increasing attacks of the capitalists, in view of the new period of working class struggle that we are entering, the unity of all Communists, the complete unification of the Party was never more necessary and never more imperative than it is today.

On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist International, the Party will go forward to becoming a mass Bolshevik Party.

OCTOBER PLOUGHS DEEP IN THE VILLAGE

By ALBERT RHYNS WILLIAMS.

THAT hectic night in November with the alarm that Kereny and the wild division was moving up on Petrograd. The factory whistles shrieking the tocsin to war. Out of the shops and slums march long lines of slanting bayonets, women with rifles, boys with picks and spades. Freezing slush oozes into their shoes, winds from the Baltic chill their bones. But in their veins burns a crusading fire and they push on to the front. They plunge forward into the black cope against hidden foes. They stand up to the charging Cossacks and tear them from their horses. Into the ears of their dying comrades they whisper, "Peace is coming! Power is ours!" Magnificent the rise of the poor and exploited with arms in their hands fighting for power and winning it.

Now in the villages a sight not less magnificent—the poor and ex-

plotted using the power that was

One sees the poor mujik, one time serf of the landlord, plowing with his own horses the land he once ploughed for the landlord, reaping for himself the fields he once reaped for another.

One sees illiterates with joy-illuminated faces making the once all-so-mysterious books yield up their secrets to them. "The czar only wanted us to plow and pay taxes. He put bandages on our eyes. The Soviet took them off and now we can see!"

One sees the batrak (barefooted)

now rising to self-esteem, a member of a union writing contracts. This is from a batrak's letter to me: "In the old days when we came to the kolkhoz (hardfist) for work, we had to kneel with cans off and often got only a kick. If he said 'come tomorrow' we thought it great luck. If he lent me one pound of rye we had to pay him two. Then

we were the blackbone and we didn't dare open our mouths to the white bone. Now we can speak to anyone and go anywhere into any hall or building. So I say the revolution has pulled up poor peasants and batraks out of the grave. We are just born anew and we know it."

To see the batrak rising to the consciousness that he has a government of his own; the poor peasant rising in economic stature; the illiterate rising with pens in their hands—is that less impressive than to see the masses in 1917 rising with guns in their hands? Only the hopelessly childlike will think so. Only the romantic will fail to see the revolution in the process now at work in the villages.

It is still October. Only with new implements and new strategy, to meet the new situation. Then, thrusting guns into the hands of the masses; now, books and papers. Then, enlisting the masses into regiments and Red Guards; now, in co-

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LIFE AND DEATH OF A RUMANIAN COMMUNIST

(Red Aid Press Service)

BERLIN, (By Mail).—After a long and serious illness the Rumanian Communist, Konstantin Ivanus, died in the Virchow sanatorium in Berlin.

Ivanus was a carpenter of peasant origin. Always standing with the radical wing of the labor movement, shortly after the war he joined the illegally existing Communist groups. Since 1921 he was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Rumania, and of the central council of the carpenters' union.

The trust of the labor movement, especially of the wood workers, and of the peasantry, in Ivanus, was great. He was arrested in 1924. Again released. Arrested again in 1925, he was sentenced to two years in prison in the process against the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party. In this process the workers and peasants from the forest regions stood by his side. They made their statements and refused to take the religious oath at the trial.

Ivanus already had diseased lungs when he began to serve his term. The previous arrests, the hunger and thirst strikes which he had been thru, had ruined his health and eaten away his lungs. He was imprisoned a sick man. The hellish punishment system of the Rumanian prisons did the rest. In 1927 Ivanus was released from jail very seriously sick.

The Red Aid section of Berlin-Brandenburg, which had adopted the persecuted workers of Rumania, invited Comrade Ivanus to come to Berlin and seek a cure here. His joy was indescribable when he came to Berlin and felt the care given him and his two children by the Red Aid organization. Everything was done to receive the courageous fighter of the working class. In vain! The best care could not repair what was destroyed in the hell of Rumanian class justice.

Konstantin Ivanus is dead. Again Rumanian torture with its Sigmar, has done its work. Again one of the best fighters of the labor movement is physically destroyed.

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