

Department for Agitation and Education

Edited by
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Facts for Speakers

(Clip for your note book).

The following excellent facts on the conditions of rail workers have been taken from the June "Economic Notes" as published by the Labor Research Bureau.

The miserable picture of conditions among "employed" railroad workers is presented in a recent study of 1,000 representative railroad families made by the U. S. Department of Labor at the request of 18 of the standard railway brotherhoods. All classifications of rail labor with the exception of engineers, conductors and long-shoremen were covered. Here are some of the facts contained in the report:

"DIVIDENDS" (?) OF RAIL WORKERS.

Outright wage slashes, irregular employment, enforced furloughs, and demotions have brought wage reductions amounting to 50% DURING THE PAST FOUR YEARS. Half of the men studied reported a loss of 30% or more in monthly income, two-thirds of all the men suffering a 20% loss in monthly income. One-third of the men were forced to accept one or more demotions resulting in wage cuts up to 50%.

In 1932, 38% of 980 men covered made less than \$1,000; two-thirds made less than \$1,500. Some 102 men made as little as \$500 for the year, while only 18% received as much as \$1,750, or an average of less than \$34 a week.

Maintenance of way men are among the lowest paid in the industry. Even Roosevelt has cited examples of way-men who received \$5 and \$7 a week. Yet 29% of the workers studied received in 1932 less than the "normal average" of way-men which is about \$846. The low wages of maintenance-of-way men were reduced proportionately.

A million rail workers have been thrown into the breadlines; 400,000 more forced to work part-time at less than subsistence wages. The loss to railroad workers as a result of the 10% wage cut alone is estimated at \$400,000,000 in two years. But security holders in 1933 collected more in interest than in the peak year, 1929.

NO MILK.

Such conditions have played havoc with the standard of living of these railroad workers and their families. Some families had had no milk in three or four years. Many children were forced to remain away from school because of lack of clothes.

CROWDED HOUSES.

Three-fourths of the families had been forced into debt. Some 43% of the home-owning families lost their homes through foreclosure. Doubling up in housing became common. One 4-room house was occupied by three families of 14 people.

MEDICAL CARE—?

Over a third of the families had one or more members needing medical attention but could not afford it. In 94% of the families members had to forego necessary dental care for lack of money.

DIVIDENDS FOR BOSSES.

The position of the railroad capitalists is obscured by their reported "deficits." The railroads report their profits in a manner that makes return to the owners of railway securities appear largely as a "fixed charge," and "net income" is calculated after more than a half-billion dollars has been paid to the railroad bondholders.

When they reported a "deficit" of \$130,000,000, there was actually a \$326,000,000 profit. In 1933 there was a \$474,000,000 profit on operations, despite a reputed "deficit" of \$14,000,000. Payments to bondholders were actually higher in 1933 than in 1929.

The extension of the wage-out by the "New Deal" government and financial manipulations of the owners account for such headlines in 1934: "Railroads' Income Up 392% in March". In the first quarter of this year, net operating income totalled \$712,000,000, or 230% more than during the corresponding 1933 period.

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Literature Bazaar and Exhibition
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LARGE SELECTION of MARXIST-LENINIST WORKS and FICTION

Fundamentals of a Communist Political Education

Lesson 13

Bourgeois Ideology in the Ranks of the Working Class.— Why is Proletarian Internationalism Indispensable?—The Lovestonites, Trotskyites, P. P., S. L. P., I. W. W., Anarchism, Negro Nationalism — The Founding of the Communist International —

Struggle Against Bourgeois Ideology in the Ranks of the Working Class.

In its fight against capitalism, and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolutionary workers must also overcome other hindering organizations and ideological tendencies besides social-democracy. Like social-democracy, these trends in the working class reflect the influence of the boss-class in our ranks.

Why is Proletarian Internationalism Indispensable?

Probably the outstanding of these is the continual hammering of the bourgeoisie against any international organization of the workers. Only through international working-class unity is the working-class assured of a successful struggle for its emancipation. It is because of this lack of international revolutionary discipline that at the outbreak of the World War, each Socialist Party leadership in each individual country, being autonomous, was able to betray the interests of the workers and go over to the side of their own imperialist fatherlands. It stands to reason that were the discipline of the international organization of the workingclass strong it would have been much more difficult for the Second International, despite its reformist position, to so easily go over to the side of the bourgeoisie in any particular country. The German Party would oppose going over to the side of the allied imperialists as much as the working-class parties in the allied countries would oppose going over to the side of the German imperialists. It is only because of the lack of international unity and discipline that the betrayals were made so easy. This need for internationalism is greater today because of the existence of the Workers and Farmers Government in the Soviet Union, which is the strongest single force in the struggle of the world's workers and farmers against capitalism. It is precisely to force the workingclass to be loyal to its own national bourgeoisie and not to its own class interests, with which the interests of the workers and farmers government in the Soviet Union is united, that the bosses raise misleading cries against "Dictation from Moscow."

Role of Renegades.

International workingclass unity and discipline is the only basis upon which a successful revolutionary movement can be organized. It is precisely for this reason that the scores of the small groups which are renegades from Communism or sectarian groups of a reformist nature, can never play a revolutionary role. Amongst these groups are included such organizations as the Socialist Labor Party, the Proletarian Party, the Lovestonites, the Trotskyites, the I. W. W., Anarchism, Garveyism, etc. All these groups are either entirely independent of international affiliation, or are

affiliated internationally with groups opposed to the First Workers Republic, the Soviet Union.

The Lovestone Group (Self-Styled Communist Party (Majority)).

The Lovestone group developed during the epoch, under the influence of the bourgeois illusions of the so-called prosperity period (1923-1929). They reflected the theory of the bourgeoisie that American capitalism had solved its inner contradictions, and crisis would primarily come from outer factors. Thus economic difficulties in the U. S. might arise from economic collapse in Great Britain or some other big power but not from the "normal" process of capitalist economy at home. This theory became known as "exceptionalism", and constituted a revision of Marxism. If we refer back to Norman Thomas' program, we can see the close affinity between Lovestone's "exceptionalism", and his theory of "The Primacy of outer contradictions," and Thomas' discovery that Karl Marx was wrong about recurring crises.

The Trotskyites (Self-styled Communist Party (Opposition)).

The Trotskyites represent the American section carrying on the anti-Soviet activities of the renegade Trotsky, who was expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and eventually from the Soviet Union, because he used the posts entrusted to him by our USSR comrades to organize counter-revolutionary work in line with the Social-Democratic program, he championed prior to his temporary surrender to Communism in the period of 1917 to about 1922. This group has its origin and organized its activities almost entirely on the basis of supporting Trotsky's opposition to the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union, and a series of other questions, including his opposition to the Leninist approach for unity between workers and peasants, his opposition to the Communist tactics in the Chinese revolution, etc. The American Trotskyites oppose also everything the American Communist Party does, as a matter of principle because they are essentially opposed to the Communist International, to Communism, and to the Soviet Union. They usually carry through this opposition under protestations of their especially great devotion to Communism. But all their practical action, as well as their counter-revolutionary theories in specific situations, speak for their con-

tinually following De Leon's death, this movement disintegrated into a reformist sect. The Industrial Workers of the World.

The Proletarian Party.

The Proletarian Party is the typical fruition of the unity between extremely sectarian and ultra-leftist phrase-mongering, and an opportunist position. They are opposed to any immediate practical struggle to improve the conditions of the workers. They believe that we can have only one possible activity, and that is to educate the working class to a proletarian revolution. These theories are exposed by two factors:

1.—The counter-revolutionary role of the Proletarian Party and its leading members, which always helps the A. F. of L. officialdom and other reactionary groups to defeat any militant struggle. This was especially evident in the activities of the Proletarian Party against the militant policy and unity of the workers in the marine strike in San Francisco (Summer of 1934) in their actions, to disrupt the movement of the agricultural workers to improve conditions (Brentwood, Cal., Summer, 1934), and in the help they gave to the A. F. of L. labor fakers in the Detroit auto struggle, where they hindered the movement for a militant united auto workers union, and in their slandering of the militant movement to free Tom Mooney.

The Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialist Labor Party has a theory similar to that of the Proletarian Party. Theirs is, however, even a more confused position. They are opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even their phrase-mongering is reformist. They began with the revolt against reformist ideology in the United States at the beginning of this century, led by Daniel De Leon. In the early part of this movement they appeared to gather strength, largely because of the anti-reformist position they took. However, they developed a number of theories which made the movement an extremely sectarian one, chief of which was dual unionism. On a number of other questions, they had very unclear positions. For example, they did not conceive of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the workingclass answer to the capitalist state. As a result, es-

pecially following De Leon's death, this movement disintegrated into a reformist sect. The Industrial Workers of the World.

The I. W. W. was the American Syndicalist movement. "Revolutionary" syndicalism is against the parliamentary activity, in fact they are against any effort to capture political power. In its early days, especially when it was under the influence of Bill Haywood, this movement has to its credit the leadership of many militant struggles, notably in the agricultural fields, in the lumber camps, and amongst the seamen in the West. They have now become largely a counter-revolutionary sect. This is largely due to their repudiation of the need for a proletarian political party and the limitation of their activities to attacks upon the Communist Party and upon other militant groups fighting in the interests of the workers.

Negro Bourgeois Nationalism.

Garveyism, which formerly was the ideology of the Negro small property owners and workers in America, and which even now exercises some influence over the Negro masses, like Ghandism, has become a hindrance to the revolutionization of the Negro masses. Originally advocating social equality for Negroes, Garveyism subsequently developed into a peculiar form of Negro "Zionism" which, instead of fighting American imperialism, advanced the slogan "Back to Africa!" This dangerous ideology, which bears not a single genuine democratic trait, and which toys with the aristocratic attributes of a non-existent "Negro kingdom" must be strongly resisted, for it is not a help but a hindrance to the mass Negro struggle for liberation against American imperialism. A number of other bourgeois Negro organizations, especially the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People play the counter-revolutionary role of preventing black and white workingclass unity and attempt to develop the strength of the Negro upper classes.

Anarchism.

Anarchism, with its "revolutionary" talk against all forms of authoritative organization by workers against capitalism, has wherever it gained influence (in the U. S. it was never strong) paralyzed the workers and prevented any effective struggle. They are opposed to a workers' government and believe in abolition of all authority. Some anarchist sects believe in individual terror—the "propaganda of the deed." Since the rise of the Communist movement, anarchism, especially the terrorist sects, have practically disappeared.

The Working Class Revolutionary Movement.

Standing out against all these tendencies is Proletarian Communism, the powerful ideology

Literature Book Reviews

Election Edition of "Why Communism?"

SPECIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN EDITION OF "WHY COMMUNISM?"

We are now printing our fourth edition of "Why Communism" by M. J. O'Leary. 25,000 have already been sold on the coast. In addition to the fine lesson in the fundamentals of Communism which this pamphlet contains, the new edition will also contain the Communist Election platform and a list of the State Candidates. Its sale and distribution will be one of the best ways of contacting workers and professionals who are dissatisfied with the present system and are willing to work for a change of the existing system. All units, mass organizations and individuals should at once order a bundle of these and help build up the sentiment for a tremendous Communist vote in the next election. Make every effort to order a large bundle at once. Send orders and money at once, in orders of 100 or more for a copy, please. Send orders and money to Western Worker Publishers, 37 Grove St., San Francisco.

"Letter To The American Workers" by V. I. Lenin, price 50c. Here is the newest addition to the Little Lenin Library. This world-famous Letter To American Workers was first published in the United States in a magazine of an internationalist group of the Socialist party in 1918. It played an important part in developing among American Socialists an understanding of the nature of imperialism, of the aims of the October Revolution and of the role of the social-chauvinists in the labor movement. That famous letter, published now for the first time in English in a complete and ungarbled translation, can play an even more important role today. Imperialist war threatens to convulse the capitalist world; the lessons of Socialist Construction in the USSR weaken the faith of workers in capitalism; and as in 1918, when Lenin wrote his letter, Socialist "watchdogs of imperialism" stand shoulder to shoulder with their governments in aiding war preparations, in paralyzing the labor struggle against war, above all in poisoning sections of the workingclass with theories of arbitration, peace, League of Nations, class collaboration. Hence the importance of this letter. It is an instructive analysis of the only real democracy, Soviet democracy; working class tactics in imperialist war; praise for the great democratic traditions of the American people.

"Life and Teachings of Lenin" by B. Palme Dutt, price 50c. Cloth. A most substantial contribution to the popularization of Lenin's teachings is made available now in R. P. Dutt's book which we now have for sale.

Dutt, whose keen analysis of all phases of the international labor movement in the British Labor Monthly establishes him as a foremost Marxist journalist, does not limit himself to only a summary of events in Lenin's life—the fashion with "populist" biographers. The author presents a survey of the development of Lenin's teachings against the background of world events. He presents Bolshevism as an international—not "purely Russian" phenomenon and gives a clear exposition of the key points of Marxist-Leninist theory. The author places the main emphasis upon Lenin's teachings, especially on the question of the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nature of bourgeois democracy, the national and peasant questions, and the problem of building socialism.

"Dialectical Materialism" by V. Adoratsky, price 50c. Cloth. A clear and concise exposition of the theoretical foundation of Marxism and Leninism. The author outlines the development of dialectical materialism from the era of Marx and Engels to its commanding status—which Lenin interpreted and defended so brilliantly—today. The author concludes with a chapter on "How to Study Lenin".

JEFF GOODMAN.
Workers Book Shop,
37 Grove St., San Francisco.

of the international revolutionary workingclass. It differs from all these tendencies, and primarily from social-democracy in that it stands determinedly for the teachings of Marx and Engels, it conducts a theoretical and practical revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and in that struggle applies all forms of proletarian mass action.

This International organization collapsed at the outbreak of the World War. Attempts to reunite international working class unity were made at the Zimmerwald Conference in 1916, and at Kienthal Conference in 1919. However, success was finally achieved in 1919 when in Moscow, under the leadership of Comrade Lenin, the Third International was organized.

What strategy and tactics of the Communists hold to? (End Lesson 13)