

Edwin Rolfe

THE PLATFORM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

NATIONAL PLATFORM
OF THE
WORKERS (Communist) PARTY



NATIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
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The Platform of the Class Struggle

National Platform
of the
Workers (Communist) Party

1928



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FOREWORD

"The Platform of the Class Struggle" was adopted at the National Nominating Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America held on May 25-27, 1928 in New York City. 296 regular delegates and 150 fraternal delegates, coming from 39 States and the District of Columbia, attended this important working-class gathering. The convention was a true cross-section of the exploited and oppressed masses of this country. Native-born and foreign-born white workers, representatives of the Negro race, exploited farmers, and working women, veterans of the class struggle, delegates of the youth, and representatives of the colonies and semi-colonies of American imperialism joined in a powerful demonstration against their common enemy—capitalism.

The National Convention nominated Comrade William Z. Foster for President and Comrade Benjamin Gitlow for Vice-President. Our nominees are fighters in the struggle for the liberation of the working class and are not servants of Wall Street as are the nominees of the Republican and Democratic parties. The advocates of capitalism—and foremost among them are the corrupt bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor and the renegade leadership of the Socialist Party—are spokesmen of class collaboration between the working class and the master class.

"The Platform of the Class Struggle" exposes the whole fraudulence of all the schemes of class collaboration, which serve only one purpose: to perpetuate the rule of capitalism, the wage slavery of the workers, the oppression of the Negro race, the exploitation of the working farmers, and the subjugation of the colonial peoples.* The keynote of our platform is struggle—relentless, uncompromising, determined class struggle against the capitalist world. The Workers (Communist) Party presents its platform as a rallying base for all the exploited and oppressed, as the organizing and mobilizing instrument for all struggles of the toiling masses.

We call upon all workers, exploited farmers, and Negroes to endorse "The Platform of the Class Struggle"! Vote for and join the Communist Party!

The PLATFORM of the CLASS STRUGGLE

NATIONAL PLATFORM of the WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY, 1928

I. AMERICA TODAY

President Coolidge said to the big bankers and manufacturers in Philadelphia: "We hold a great treasure which must be protected." In the name of the working class and the exploited farmers of this country the Workers (Communist) Party raises the question: *Who owns the "great treasure," in whose interests must it be protected, and who bears the burden of its protection?* And our answer is: The "great treasure" is owned by a handful of powerful bankers, manufacturers, and railroad magnates. The only share of it the workers and working farmers receive is exploitation and poverty, and all the burden of defense of the "great treasure" of American imperialism rests on the shoulders of the industrial and agricultural workers.

America is today the most powerful country in the world. America's wealth, the "great treasure," mounts up to 400 billion dollars. Half of the gold of the world is now in the possession of the United States. With but seven per cent of the world's total population America controls the bulk of the world's resources: 44 per cent of the world's coal, 70 per cent of the oil produced, 52 out of every 100 tons of steel, 60 per cent of the cotton and corn, and half of the world's railways, copper and pig iron.

A gigantic accumulation and concentration of capital is going on. The total amount of bank deposits is now over 56 billion dollars. There are over 1,000 factories in America employing more than 1,000 workers each, with a total of about 2½ million workers. Of all wage-earners in manufacturing over 56 per cent work in those 10,000 factories each of which

turns out annually products to the amount of a million dollars or over.

Trustification is asserting itself with irresistible power. Consolidations of railways, big combines and mergers in all industries are the order of the day. The United States Steel Corporation has a capital of 1.4 billion dollars. A food trust is attempting to combine 2 billion dollars into one powerful corporation. The recent consolidation of the Brooklyn Edison Company and the Consolidated Gas Company of New York resulted in a merger of over one billion dollars. Five powerful companies control almost half of the whole national output of water power, and eleven groups control 80 per cent. Eight companies control three-fourths of the anthracite coal. Two companies exercise control over half of the copper resources of the country.

A process of centralization similar to that in *production* is going on in the field of *distribution*. There are today 3,893 chain store organizations controlling 101,536 retail outlets in thirty merchandise fields. These chains realized in 1927 a volume of business estimated at almost six billion dollars or 16 per cent of the total retail business of the country. The anti-trust laws function today not as instruments of "trust-busting" but as a means of trustification.

The United States is the leading country in respect to capitalist rationalization. The productive power of American industries has increased tremendously. In a decade productivity per employee in American manufacturing has increased 33 per cent, cost of management has decreased 12 per cent, but wages per unit of production have increased only 2 per cent. Overdevelopment of industrial productive capacity is one of the basic features of American imperialism.

Finance capital is almighty today. *Banks and industries are merged.* The climax of this development was marked by the fact that J. P. Morgan, head of American finance capital, became the head of the United States Steel Corporation, the country's biggest industrial company. Hand in hand with the trustification of industry goes the trustification of State power. *The Government of the United States is today an administration of finance capital.* The identity of the dominating person-

nel in finance capital and government administration is complete. Finance capital sends its direct representatives to the Cabinet as well as ambassadors to foreign countries.

Trustification, high tariff, monopoly, merger of trusts and State power, growing export of capital—this is the picture of American imperialism today.

The stabilization of European industries and the decline of British imperialism have increased competition on a world scale. United States imperialism is in a growing measure dependent on the world market, and it struggles for world hegemony in every corner of the world—from Latin America to China. It is engaged in murderous competition for the Russian market as well as for the markets of the British Empire.

Increased competition, increased struggle for the resources of raw material and for the export of capital, high tariff walls, and ever-larger armies and navies create a growing menace of war. *A second world war is inevitable.* Wars on a smaller scale are going on today in a period which the spokesmen of imperialism call the era of "world peace." American imperialism is conducting a war of extermination against Nicaragua, is participating in interventions in China, and is an active accomplice of the capitalist conspiracy against Soviet Russia.

Two main antagonisms lead today towards a world conflagration. One is the chief capitalist antagonism between British and American imperialism, which has taken the place of the pre-war British-German rivalry. The other one is the general capitalist conspiracy against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Although British imperialism is today the most reactionary force in world politics, American imperialism is the leading power and represents the most dangerous, most aggressive force of world capitalism. There is an ever-clearer crystallization of the *two poles*: on the one hand, *the counter-revolutionary pole* under the leadership of the United States to defend capitalism against the growing revolt of the colonial peoples and the working masses of the capitalist countries; on the other hand, *the revolutionary pole* under the leadership of Soviet Russia, around which all the oppressed peoples of the colonies and all the exploited workers of the world rally.

WEALTH AND POVERTY

The United States is the richest country in the world. "Uncle Shylock" is the creditor of all countries. The world owes the United States today not less than $23\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars. The yearly income of the United States from foreign investments amounts today to the huge sum of one billion dollars. The number of millionaires is growing fast. In 1919 there were only 65 incomes over a million; in 1926 there were 228. In 1919 there were only 189 incomes between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000; in 1926 the number was 465.

In his 1926 address to Congress President Coolidge said: "The wealth of our country is not public wealth but private wealth. It does not belong to the Government; it belongs to the people." The prodigious wealth of the country is private wealth, but the "people" who own it are not the workers and exploited farmers. They are the few millionaires. The country is growing richer, but the share of the millions of working people in the wealth of the country is decreasing and the share of the few powerful millionaires is increasing with amazing speed. One per cent of all recipients of any income in this country receive not less than 20 per cent of the whole national income and get not less than 86.2 per cent of all corporate dividends. *One per cent of the population possesses today not less than 33 per cent of all wealth; 10 per cent own 64 per cent; and the poorest 25 per cent possess only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.* The overwhelming majority of the "people" to whom President Coolidge refers are born poor and die poor. The Federal Trade Commission states that "about one per cent of the estimated number of decedents owned about 59 per cent of the estimated wealth, and more than 90 per cent was owned by about 13 per cent of the decedents."

The accumulated wealth is not distributed equally. *Hand in hand with the growing fortunes of the few millionaires goes the growing exploitation and poverty of the unskilled workers, Negroes, and exploited farmers.* Even President Coolidge was forced to admit in his Hammond dedication speech that there is a "considerable class of unskilled workers who have not come into full participation in the wealth of the nation." The share of the wage-earners in the national income has decreased. The

manufacturing wage-earners received only 40.1 per cent of the "value product" in 1925 as against 44.8 per cent in 1921. The wages of the shamelessly exploited four million agricultural workers amounted in 1920 to 2.3 per cent of the national income and in 1926 to only 1.4 per cent. *The "democratization" of wealth is only a capitalist myth.* Bankers and industrial magnates own the big corporations. The workers do not possess more than one per cent of all stocks and bonds. "High American wages" is today the most popular publicity stunt of American and international capitalism, but high wages embrace only a thin aristocratic stratum of the working class. The overwhelming majority of wage-earners is not able to earn even sufficient to fulfill the most elementary needs of a decent life. In the middle of the most advertised prosperity, in the summer of 1926, the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that the average wages for "common labor" were 42.6 cents an hour. The United States Department of Labor was forced to admit that huge sections of the working class are receiving wages of only \$10.34 a week.

President Coolidge made the bold declaration that "*the people are prosperous,*" but reality shows that the overwhelming majority of the people work on starvation wages, that nearly 60 per cent of the workers still work more than 48 hours a week, that women and children, Negro and foreign-born unskilled workers are exploited at least as mercilessly as the most exploited strata of the European working class. *The prosperity of the "people" is best illustrated by the miserable shacks of the Southern cotton fields and the poverty-stricken slums of the Eastern cities.* In his 1926 address to Congress President Coolidge said: "The power of the purse is the power over liberty." A handful of millionaires exercise power over the purse, and they exercise power over the liberty of the overwhelming majority of the people of the United States. A handful of powerful millionaires own all the means of production—the factories, machinery, mines, railroads, water power—of this country, and are thus in a position to force the overwhelming majority of the people into wage slavery. *The wealth of the few is the poverty of the many; the liberty of the few is the bondage of the masses.*

INDICTMENT OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM

Overproduction and starvation, overtime and unemployment, accumulation of wealth and accumulation of poverty—these are the features of capitalist prosperity for the workers and working farmers. The very fact that there can be such a thing as overproduction as long as the needs of every member of society are still unsatisfied is the most terrible indictment against capitalist society. Cyclones of periodic crises sweep over the whole capitalist economy. Capitalist society is unable to control its own forces of production. As the President of the United States Chamber of Commerce put it in his speech of May 10, 1928, there has been an *"economic thunderbolt of increasing production unloosed by industry."*

Unemployment is a permanent phenomenon in capitalist society. There is at any time 1½ million unemployed. The constant industrial reserve army is one of the props of capitalist society. The present depression with its 4 to 5 million unemployed workers brings untold misery. The labor of hundreds of thousands of children is one of the basic institutions of capitalism. Peonage, no better than chattel slavery, Jim Crowism and lynching are regular accompaniments of present-day capitalist prosperity. The shameless exploitation of the unskilled foreign-born workers and the oppression of whole races are parts of the capitalist system. The modern industrial serfdom of company towns is in existence to the glory of the "freest" constitution in the world. Capitalist industry conducts in the form of industrial accidents a bloody war of extermination against the working class. The infamous speed-up system causes the workers to age prematurely. Old workers are thrown away like slack, like useless byproducts. Not less than 1,800,000 old people are forced to live the life of "dependents." Sickness and early death are the punishment for poverty. The United States Public Health Service states: "Both sickness and death are much more frequent among those with low incomes than among those with incomes adequate to comfortable living."

Capitalist decency and morality is symbolized by almshouses, brothels, slums, and bootleg saloons. Prostitution of science, literature, and art is on the same level as prostitution of women. Capitalist "justice" is equivalent to frame-ups,

third degree, filling the penitentiaries with political prisoners, execution of working-class fighters like Sacco and Vanzetti. There is a crusade against the "crime wave," against petty larceny by the poor, conducted by those who are guilty of large-scale corruption and lobbying. With the exception of backward and impoverished China and India the powerful and rich and civilized United States is the only country which does not have any social legislation. The latest "achievement" of American imperialist civilization is the appearance of a *rentier* class completely divorced from the process of production and foisting its parasitic existence upon the toiling masses. Jingoism, militarism, robber wars against Nicaragua and China—these are the results of American capitalism.

President Coolidge summed up in the following way his picture of American capitalism: "*Those are some of the economic results which have accrued from the American principles of reliance upon the initiative and the freedom of the individual. It is the very antithesis of Communism.*"—And President Coolidge is right. American capitalism as it is—with all its economic, political, and moral results—is the very antithesis of Communism. There is no other alternative. *The issue is capitalism or Communism.* The Workers (Communist) Party of America declares itself the deadly enemy of capitalism. It has as its aim the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government, the establishment of a Communist society in which the means of production will not be the private property of the few, a society which will not be based on profit but on labor, which will not be founded on class divisions, which will eradicate both imperialist wars and class wars, which will be able to eliminate poverty.

THE PARTIES OF BIG AND SMALL BUSINESS

With the exception of the Workers (Communist) Party all political parties and groups are defenders of the present capitalist society.

The two old capitalist parties, the Republican and Democratic, are twin brothers in the expression of the interests of the bosses.

The *Republican Party*, which in the interests of the then

revolutionary capitalism conducted a war against chattel slavery, is today working in the interests of the now counter-revolutionary capitalism for the perpetuation of wage slavery. The Republican Party of today is nothing but the party of trusts, of finance capital, of the biggest business interests of the country.

The *Democratic Party* was in the early stages of its history the party of slavery, against Northern capitalism and in the interests of the Southern plantation owners. Today, though many times masked with phrases of liberalism, it stands for the perpetuation of the peonage of Negroes in the South and for the maintenance of wage slavery throughout the country.

There are no real political differences between the two big political parties. Both are parties of capitalism; both are the enemies of the working class. The very existence of the two-party system is the most reactionary factor in American politics, is one of the factors which are responsible for the lack of an independent mass political party of the working class. Both capitalist parties try to put up the semblance of being defenders of the farmers, vying with each other in putting forward fake "farm relief" measures. *The "struggle" between the Republican and Democratic Parties is a staged fight, a mock struggle. There are no political issues between these two parties.* On the question of tariff, prohibition, taxation, imperialist war, farm relief, League of Nations, and all other discussed political issues there is much more division *within* each party than *between* the two parties.

The main slogan of the Republican Party today is "Prosperity." But reality shows depression and unemployment. The main slogan of the Democratic Party is: "Honesty in Government." But reality shows at least as much corruption on the part of the Democrats as on that of the Republicans. Tammany Hall can successfully compete in corruption with Teapot Dome.

There are several classes combined in each of these parties. Both still mirror in many respects the old sectional and regional groupings of the country, but in both there is an outspoken, decisive dominance of finance capital. *Both are one on the basic issues: the oppression of the working class, the maintenance of the exploitation of the workers and working farm-*

ers, and the robber policies against the colonies and semi-colonies of American imperialism.

The group of so-called *Progressives* is by no means better than the Republican "Old Guard" or the Democratic heroes of Tammany Hall and the "solid" South. In 1924 the bulk of the so-called progressive group supported the LaFollette movement, which betrayed the interests of the working class and the working farmers, dissipating the discontent of the masses and leading them back to the capitalist parties.

In 1928 the attitude of the so-called Progressives is still more cowardly. They have even deserted the idea of a third party, and have gone back meekly into the old capitalist parties. Senator Wheeler came out openly in support of Al Smith, who is the embodiment of the new Tammany Hall and the hero of the labor-smashing policies in the needle trades. Senators Borah and Norris and their Republican colleagues are equally untrustworthy. Borah's empty gesture of "outlawing" war serves only as a cover for Kellogg's imperialist wars and war preparations. Senator Shipstead, who still usurps the name of a Farmer-Laborite, is betraying the interests of the workers and exploited farmers in the most shameless way. He upholds the Nicaraguan war, and gives his support to the anti-labor injunction policies of the courts by introducing a fake anti-injunction bill. These "progressive" Senators and Congressmen are in many respects more dangerous enemies of the workers and working farmers than the official spokesmen of big business, because they hide their capitalist face and create illusions in the minds of the masses. *All these Progressives and semi-Progressives serve as a prop of the present capitalist society and must be combatted by all honest workers and farmers.*

The official leadership of the *American Federation of Labor* is today part and parcel of American imperialism. Under the leadership of the most corrupt trade-union bureaucracy in the world the A. F. of L. has become mainly an organization of the labor aristocracy, an instrument of class collaboration with the bosses instead of a means of struggle against big business. The capitalists are conducting the most murderous offensive of the open shop and wage cuts against the workers. The answer of the leaders of the A. F. of L. is a joint pro-

posal with the American Bar Association for a Federal anti-strike law. *The trade-union bureaucrats are today the partners of the bosses.* They are trying to wrench the weapon of the strike from the hands of the workers. The whole infamous system of labor banks and trade-union insurance—trade-union capitalism—is nothing but the most elaborate system of class betrayal. The leadership of the A. F. of L. does not conduct any struggle against wage cuts or for higher wages and shorter hours. The trade-union bureaucracy sabotages the great task of organizing the unorganized. The worthy heirs of Gompers—Green, Woll and Co.—are the advocates of the "*Monroe Doctrine of Labor*," are the spokesmen of a "*labor imperialism*." They have come out openly for a policy of common exploitation of all Latin-American peoples by the capitalists and workers of the United States. The B. and O. plan, the Mitten plan, compulsory arbitration, the transformation of the trade unions into semi-Fascist and semi-company unions—is today the policy of the A. F. of L. These corrupt misleaders of labor are helping to keep the workers in the camp of the old capitalist parties by maintaining the sterile and treacherous policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies" within the capitalist parties. There cannot be successful struggles of the working class against its exploiters without a systematic struggle against the whole edifice of the labor aristocracy and its corrupt bureaucratic leadership.

The *Socialist Party of America*, which still claims to be a working-class party, is in fact a party of the lower middle class. Its leadership has become part of the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. Its whole ambition is to inherit the traditions of the LaFollette third-party movement. The militant spirit of Eugene Debs has been completely wiped out from the Socialist Party. In Wisconsin the Socialist Party is an official party of the capitalist administration. In New York the Socialist Party has substituted the red-white-and-blue flag of patriotism for the red flag of revolution. In Reading the city officials of the Socialist Party have pledged themselves to "*understand that their responsibilities will be those of capitalist officials rather than of Socialist Party members.*" James H. Maurer, one of the councilmen elected by the Socialists in Reading and vice-

Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, declared: "We are going to give the workers a typical working-class government, but *if there is a strike in Reading while we are in power, the capitalist employer will have his property and life protected as he never had it before.*"

The presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, Norman Thomas, is the worst kind of pacifist, a typical preacher, who performs the greatest service for American imperialism by creating illusions about the League of Nations, about the possibility of preventing wars by peaceful means. The Socialist Party today is an advocate of the League of Nations, and is a supporter of the hypocritical "peace offensive" of Secretary of State Kellogg. The Socialist Party is uttering some critical phrases about the war in Nicaragua not because it is an imperialist war in the interests of Wall Street but only because it is "unauthorized and unsanctioned by the people or Congress."

The Socialist Party of today is for the protection of capitalist law and order, is against revolution, is against the working-class government of Soviet Russia, and supports every measure of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy for class collaboration. The Socialist Party has transformed its party organization from a membership organization into a ward organization of voters. It has shifted its class basis from the working class entirely and definitely to the lower middle class. The last national convention of the Socialist Party in April, 1928, went so far as to drop the class struggle pledge that applicants for membership had to sign in the past.

The small sects, the *Socialist Labor Party* and the *Proletarian Party*, have become completely fossilized, and do not play any role in the political life of the country or in any of the struggles of the working class.

The Workers (Communist) Party is today the only genuine working-class party. It is the sole party which has a program for the workers and working farmers. It is the only party which conducts a relentless struggle against capitalism, against the old parties of the bosses and against the corrupt labor bureaucracy and the treacherous Socialist Party.

The Workers (Communist) Party is the party of the class struggle. It is the deadly enemy of class collaboration because

it is the deadly enemy of capitalism. It is the revolutionary party of the working class. The Workers (Communist) Party is the champion of the interests of the working class and the working farmers. It is the advocate of the most exploited stratum of the working class, of the unskilled workers. It is the champion of the oppressed Negro race. It is the organizer of the struggle against imperialism, against imperialist wars.

The Workers (Communist) Party is the only party which fights for the interests of the working class, working farmers, and the oppressed Negro race; and that is the very reason why *all the forces of the old capitalist parties, the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and the leaders of the Socialist Party are united against the Communists.* The Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, and labor bureaucrats have a common platform. That platform is Red-baiting, anti-Communism.

In its 1928 election campaign the Workers (Communist) Party offers the *following program against trustified capital* and in the interests of the working class, working farmers, and oppressed Negro race:

II. THE CURSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

There is a heavy economic depression over the country with a very heavy unemployment in its wake. Bread-lines are long. Hypocritical "charity" is in its flower. Even conservative Senators estimate the number of unemployed at four million.

The curse of unemployment is the most terrible plight of the working class. The cyclical crises of capitalist industry bring with them time and again the untold sufferings of mass unemployment. But there is unemployment not only at times of crises; it is here at all times. Unemployment on a mass scale is a "*normal*" phenomenon of this glorious capitalist society.

The very technical progress—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 decreased 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. Large masses of *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.

The introduction of machinery creates the basis for mass production. Mass production with its murderous competition ruins the *lower middle class* and drives its members as workers into the industries. Monopoly capitalism ruins the *farmers* and forces them to sell their labor power as industrial workers in the cities. Mass production opens up hitherto backward agrarian regions industrially. A large-scale industrialization of the South is taking place, and has driven hundreds of thousands of *Negroes* into the industries. 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. Even in the best periods of prosperity the number of jobless is estimated at one and a half million. In 1927, the factories produced 26 per cent more than in 1919. During this same period the number of wage-earners employed in *manufacturing* decreased by not less than 980,000. Eleven per cent fewer wage-earners than in 1919 produced in manufacturing in 1927 26 per cent more products. In other words, each worker produced 42 per cent more. The same tendency manifests itself everywhere. The *railways* had in 1927 almost 200,000 less workers than in 1919. The number of "*superfluous*" miners is near to a quarter of a million. In manufacturing, mining and railroading, there were almost one and a half million fewer workers employed by the end of 1927 than in 1919. During the last few years there has been a continuous movement of population from the *farms* to the cities: in 1925, 834,000, in 1926, 1,020,000, in 1927, 604,000 more persons left the farms for the cities than the cities for the farms. A large proportion of these bankrupt and ruined farmers became industrial workers or rather tried to become industrial workers. Even Secretary of Labor Davis has been forced to raise the question:

"Is automatic machinery driven by relentless power going

to leave on our hands a state of chronic and increasing unemployment? Is the machinery that turns out our wealth also to create poverty? Is it giving us a permanent jobless class?"

A capitalist writer characterizes the present unemployment as a "technological unemployment, not cyclical—an unemployment developing gradually, almost unawares, like creeping paralysis, in the midst of unprecedented prosperity, the by-product of improved technological efficiency."

Unemployment is indeed the "creeping paralysis" of capitalist society. It represents the most vicious contradiction of the present economic order. The more machinery, the higher the productivity of labor, the more unemployed. Labor itself produces unemployment. Unemployment of one part produces overtime for the other part of the working class. The pressure of unemployment forces wage-earners to accept jobs at lower wages and longer hours. The fear of unemployment is the most powerful chain which binds the workers to wage slavery. The fear of unemployment increases competition among the workers. Unemployment lowers the power of resistance of the workers on the job. The working wage-earners are forced to accept overtime. Overtime again makes new masses of wage-earners superfluous. *Unemployment creates overtime, and overtime creates unemployment.* The bigger the factories, the more expensive the machinery, the greater is the tendency of the capitalists to lengthen the working time instead of increasing the number of workers. Hand in hand with the increasing accumulation of capital goes a relative and today even an absolute decrease in the number of workers.

The hypocritical advocates of capitalism lament about the existence of unemployment and call it the "greatest blot on our capitalist system" (Owen D. Young), but in fact the existence of a constant industrial reserve army is not a hindrance to capitalism. Quite the contrary. It is one of the basic conditions for the existence and maintenance of capitalism. Technical development, new inventions, the introduction of new labor-saving machinery will not cease. The opening up of new markets will not go on at the same speed as heretofore. The industrialization of the colonies, the increasing competition with Europe, the existence of non-capitalistic Soviet Russia, and the

revolt of the colonial peoples are the narrowing limitations.

The present depression is not an "accident." It has been brought about by prosperity itself. Disproportion between production and consumption, which is a part of the general anarchy of capitalist production, is responsible for cyclical crises. Saturation of the automobile and building construction markets, over-production of oil, the world coal crisis, the migration of the textile industry to the South, the limits of installment buying, the restriction of the farmers' market, the effects of American export of capital and of the stabilization of Europe, the increased competition with Europe—these are the basic features of the present economic depression. Neither the existence of huge monopolies and trusts nor the "interventions" of the Federal Reserve Bank are able to prevent the occurrence of economic crises.

There is no cure for unemployment under capitalism.

Shortening of the working day alone would not do away with unemployment. A general shortening of the working day would result in general part-time work, in perpetual overproduction, would bring about a crisis in permanence.

High wages alone cannot cure unemployment. It is futile to try to "convince" the capitalists to increase wages for the purpose of increasing the purchasing power of the workers. The capitalists will never sacrifice a portion of their profits, by transforming it into wages, for the purpose of broadening the home market. Just the opposite is the policy of imperialist capitalism. It is cutting wages everywhere, and trying to increase its exports for the foreign markets.

Neither can *public works alone* cure unemployment. Public works would tend to increase the forces of production, and would in the long run tend to reproduce unemployment on a larger scale. Higher wages, shorter hours, and public works would not cure unemployment, but might bring about a certain limited and temporary relief.

An especially dangerous illusion is created in the minds of the workers by a whole string of efficiency experts and economists of capitalism who predict a so-called capitalist efficiency "socialism." These capitalist engineers and experts try to make the workers believe that it is possible not only to cure unemploy-

ment but to liquidate capitalism itself by social insurance, profit-sharing and employee stock-buying plans, by technical improvements, by elimination of waste, increased mass production, or various forms of State capitalism. This capitalist efficiency "socialism" is the more harmful because its real aim is not the liquidation of capitalism but the liquidation of the every-day struggles of the workers to improve their living and working conditions and the wiping out of all revolutionary movements of the working class.

Unemployment is a world phenomenon today. The constant industrial reserve army has always been in existence, but the present chronic unemployment has assumed such proportions that it is no longer a prop of capitalism but an *organic defect*, one of the basic sicknesses of post-war capitalism. Unemployment is a horrible curse upon the working class. It is the most powerful weapon in the hands of the bosses. It chains the worker to wage slavery. It brings tormenting uncertainty into the life of every wage-earner. It breaks up the family of the worker by driving the women and children into the factories. It brings about moral degradation; creates a slum proletariat. There follows in its wake a growing criminality. It is the foundation of prostitution. In other words, it embodies and sums up capitalism as a whole.

DEMANDS

1. Unemployment insurance. A federal system of unemployment insurance should be established. A federal law must be enacted immediately by Congress providing for unemployment insurance for all wage-earners without any exceptions or disqualifications. The amount of compensation should be full wages for the entire period of unemployment, up to \$30 per week. An unemployment insurance fund should be created, fifty per cent to be contributed by the employers and fifty per cent by the State. The amount contributed by the State should be raised by special taxes levied against inheritance, high incomes and corporation profits. The administration of unemployment insurance should be carried out by unemployment insurance commissions, composed of representatives of trade unions, organizations of the unemployed, and factory committees.

2. Immediate enactment of a federal law providing for a general 40-hour, 5-day week working time and forbidding all overtime.

3. A federal law should be enacted providing for immediate emergency help for all workers who have been unemployed two months or more, consisting of eight weeks' wages for each worker. The average wage received during the last four weeks of employment should serve as the basis.

4. Establishment of public kitchens by municipalities to provide free meals for all unemployed workers and their families.

5. Municipal provision for supplying free medical treatment, medicine and hospital care to all unemployed.

6. Public works. The federal, state and city governments should devise schemes for improving the roads and bridges of the country, improving the rivers, canals, docks and harbors, setting up electric power stations, reforestation, land drainage and land reclamation, extension and electrification of railways. On all public works trade union wages and conditions must be guaranteed by law.

7. Immediate abolition of all vagrancy laws. Protection of unemployed workers from arrest on charges of vagrancy.

III. THE OFFENSIVE OF THE BOSSES

The working class of this country is facing a great crisis. A general offensive of the bosses is being conducted against the workers, an offensive to smash the whole trade-union movement, to lower the standard of living of all workers.

The trustification of capital, the erection of huge monopolies, the all embracing rationalization have increased the power of the bosses tremendously.

The capitalists are using all methods of rationalization mercilessly. Wage-cuts everywhere—in the shoe, textile, automobile and rubber industries and in mining. A whole system of speed-up has been put in operation. The stop-watch, group piece work, bonus system, efficiency engineering, the conveyor

or travelling-belt system increase mass production and intensify the exploitation of the workers. Concentration of industries, Fordization, technical innovations, and the wholesale introduction of new machinery is the order of the day. The lengthening of working hours is attempted everywhere, with especially disastrous results for the unskilled workers. An injunction mania raves against every movement of the workers to resist the effects of rationalization. All the forces of the Government—the police, the state constabulary, the coal and iron police, the most infamous spy system—are mobilized against the workers. The open-shop drive, the “American Plan,” is today the official policy of the capitalist class on the whole front. Company unions are being set up by the bosses, and strenuous attempts are being made to company-unionize all existing trade unions. All the combined forces of the bosses and their government are concentrated to prevent the organization of the unorganized masses in the basic industries.

The trade union bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. has met the general offensive of the bosses—by a general surrender. There has never been in the history of labor such a shameful capitulation as the treachery of the A. F. of L. leadership and of the Socialist Party in the present grave situation of the American labor movement. Instead of fighting the harmful effects of capitalist rationalization, these misleaders try to cooperate in introducing speed-up systems and capitalist efficiency. They put forward the “union-management cooperation” policy. They babble about “industrial democracy.” They have elaborated the “higher strategy of labor,” the notorious theory of Matthew Woll about the three stages of the American labor movement: the stage of conflict, of collective bargaining, and of worker-employer cooperation. They proclaim the passing of *war* and *truce* and the coming of the age of *permanent peace* between the bosses and the workers. The trade union bureaucracy has dropped the last semblance of any resistance to company-unionizing the trade unions. They have come out openly for the Watson-Parker Bill and for a federal anti-strike law. They have dropped their previous petty-bourgeois trust-busting program and have become the high apostles of “efficient” trusts.

The result of the offensive of the bosses and the treachery

of the trade union bureaucrats is *the growing crisis in the labor movement*. Trustified industry is out for a general open shop. The trade unions have been driven out from all basic industries. For the first time in the history of the A. F. of L. the number of organized workers has decreased even during a period of prosperity. The climax of the struggle was reached in the present fight of the United Mine Workers of America. This most powerful and most militant unit of the American labor movement has now been broken to pieces and delivered to the mercy of the operators.

The present depression has ruthlessly exposed the notorious formula of the trade union bureaucracy about "mass production, high wages and low prices" as the foundation of permanent prosperity. Millions of workers are jobless, desperately walking the streets. The crisis in the labor movement and the depression have exposed the true meaning of all class-collaboration plans. They show up the so-called profit-sharing, employee stock-buying, group insurance, B. and O. plan, Mitten scheme, and other systems of "union-management cooperation." The smash-up of the labor bank of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is beginning to open the eyes of the workers to the disastrous effects of trade-union capitalism.

Despite all the treachery of the labor bureaucrats, the workers are beginning to resist. The long struggle of the textile workers in Passaic, the Haverhill shoe strike, the battle of the Colorado miners, the firm and solid front of the needle trades workers in New York, the strike struggle of the textile workers in New Bedford and Fall River, and heroic struggle of the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners, who have already maintained their fight against the whole world for fourteen months, are the first powerful signs of the defensive struggle of the working class. Despite all the sabotage of the misleaders of labor, the vast masses of unorganized workers are beginning to organize themselves. The first attempts to organize the automobile workers have been made. The needle trades workers and the textile workers are being organized into new unions. *The mill committee movement of the textile workers, the shop chairman movement of the needle trades, the Save-the-Union movement of the miners, etc., constitute the basis and means for a con-*

solidation of fighting unions in these industries and are the most promising signs of a militant future.

The Workers (Communist) Party of America considers it its duty to mobilize the masses for a relentless struggle against all harmful effects of capitalist rationalization. The workers must understand that rationalization in a capitalist society, with the means of production in private hands, can only intensify the exploitation of the workers. Rationalization in the interests of the whole of society can be carried out only in a Communist society in which the means of production are the property of the whole nation.

DEMANDS

1. Shorter hours of labor. A 5-day, 40-hour week. A minimum of 48 consecutive hours rest in seven days.

2. Fight for high wages. Strike against wage cuts.

3. Fight for the protection of the workers from the bad effects of capitalist rationalization, of the technical advances of mass production. Struggle against the speed-up system.

4. Organize the unorganized. Organize new unions in the unorganized industries. The American working class cannot successfully resist the power of the trusts without building up a powerful organization of the workers in the basic industries.

5. Destroy company unions. Abolish the B. and O. and Mitten plans. Eradicate trade-union capitalism.

6. Save the unions from the onslaught of the bosses and the treachery of the bureaucrats. Amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions. Democratization of the trade unions. The present corrupt leadership must be driven out.

7. Trade-union methods alone cannot wage a successful fight. Trade-union struggle must be supplemented by political struggle.

IV. THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE MINERS

There has never been a more heroic struggle than the present strike of the hundreds of thousands of miners. They are fighting against the whole capitalist world. They are not only up against the coal operators, who are in close alliance with

the big railroad companies and banks and are backed by the government, but are also betrayed by their own leaders.

There is a deep-going crisis in the mining industry. The industry is unorganized. Production is in a chaotic state. Each of the 7,000 coal companies produces as much as it can. There is a murderous competition for markets. The mines are able to produce twice as much coal today as industry and consumers can absorb. The operators are closing down mine after mine, creating heavy unemployment. At the same time, new labor-saving machinery is being introduced, aggravating the unemployment situation everywhere. The miners are being forced to increase their daily output by speed-up and longer working hours, thus making themselves in growing numbers superfluous. *The operators say that the industry is faced with the problem: either it must get rid of its superfluous coal or its superfluous miners. They are driving out 250,000 miners from the industry.*

The government has exposed itself frankly as the instrument of the operators in the present struggle. It has mobilized everything against the miners. Courts, injunctions, the national guard, state constabulary, judges and sheriffs are at the service of the operators. Every miner must now clearly see that the government is but the organization of the bosses. *The operators themselves sit in the government.* The Secretary of the Treasury, Mellon, a member of President Coolidge's cabinet, is one of the biggest shareholders of the most unscrupulous Pittsburgh Coal Company. The governor of Pennsylvania, Fisher, was a member of the Board of Directors of the Clearfield Coal Company. The officials of the government are either the bosses themselves or their paid agents. In the company towns the coal operators exercise directly State power in the form of coal and iron police and company gunmen. The coal operators there own everything—land, streets, buildings, stores. The local judges and sheriffs are paid by the operators, as has been proved by the Senate Investigating Committee. The Senate Investigating Committee itself is nothing but a smoke screen to deceive the workers, to create illusions in the minds of the miners. *The miners have no constitutional rights in the "freest" country in the world.* And there cannot be any real democracy and

freedom in a society in which the few own everything and the masses do not own anything.

The scores of thousands of Pennsylvania and Ohio miners are engaged in a bitter, desperate strike struggle for higher wages, better conditions, and the right to organize. But to win their struggle—which will require a whole series of battles against the employers, the Government, and the Lewis bureaucracy, and which will be directed against the deadly effects of the rationalization drive of the capitalists and for higher wages and union conditions—they must completely defeat the Lewis bureaucracy and build up a new militant union in the mining industry. The Lewis machine is nothing but the agent of the bosses in the union. It sold out the struggle of the miners to the operators and to the government. The Lewis machine does not want to win the strike. Its whole history is but an uninterrupted betrayal of all the fights of the miners. It betrayed the miners in 1919, in 1922, in 1925, and it has betrayed them in the most shameless way in the present struggle.

District after district was lost for the United Mine Workers under the leadership of the Lewis machine. In 1919 the miners' strike tied up 70 per cent of production; the present strike only 20 per cent. Lewis and the operators have broken up the U. M. W. A. The Lewis machine criminally neglected the necessary preparations for the strike. It sabotaged the organization of the unorganized. It has signed up individual agreements. It has betrayed the cause of a national agreement. It has split the movement by ousting everybody from the union who wants a militant struggle. It is cutting off relief from every striking miner who dares to criticize it. It is trying to enforce a yellow dog pledge of starvation. The last vestiges of democracy have been eradicated from the union. Lewis stole the elections. *The Lewis machine is not a leadership set up by the rank and file, but a leadership set up with the aid of the bosses over the rank and file.* From June to December, 1927, while the striking miners were starving on a dollar or two a week relief, Lewis drew \$11,093.66 in salary and personal expenses.

The mining industry is in a crisis. The issue is: Who shall pay the expenses of the crisis? Shall it be solved at the

cost of the operators or of the miners? The miners, and with them the whole labor movement, must multiply their efforts to combat the onslaught of the operators. *The defeat of the miners would be a defeat for the whole labor movement.*

DEMANDS

1. Lewis and the whole reactionary machine must go. The rank and file must take over the organization to build a new militant union in the industry, to organize the unorganized, to re-establish union conditions, to fight for a national agreement.

2. The unorganized miners must be organized. The big organization drive must be intensified and speeded up.

3. Support the Pennsylvania and Ohio strike. Fight against wage cuts and for the Jacksonville scale. Mass picketing and mass violation of injunctions against the workers. Mass resistance to evictions.

4. It is the duty of the whole labor movement to organize relief for the starving and struggling miners.

5. Railroad workers, don't haul scab coal!

V. COLONIES AND IMPERIALIST WAR

Increasing rivalry with the other imperialist powers and brutal exploitation of the economically weaker, more backward peoples—these two features characterize the foreign policy of United States imperialism at present.

Wall Street's dollars and marines are extending their domination over ever greater sections of the world. Wherever there is a revolutionary upheaval United States imperialism is on hand and ready to crush it. United States imperialism is in a conspiracy with Great Britain against the Russian revolution. It cooperates with Japan and England in the interventions against China. *United States imperialism supported Great Britain in her infamous Nanking policies, and it now supports Japan in her ruthless intervention in Shantung.* All talk about the United States as the "friend of China" is mere babble in view of the fact that America supports Japan's domination over Manchuria in order to protect her own vast financial investments there.

Japanese intervention in China today promotes the striving of the United States for financial hegemony in the Far East. American-British-Japanese cooperation in the dismemberment of China includes at the same time growing possibilities of a dash between the rival interests of these three leading imperialist powers on the Pacific. United States warships and thousands of marines are "pacifying" China, and Washington admits that Admiral Bristol is empowered to call out the whole Pacific fleet against China if United States imperialist policy requires it. The conquest of the tremendous Chinese market is in a growing degree one of the foremost aims of United States imperialism. United States imperialism goes hand in hand with Japanese imperialism in Shantung against the armies of Chiang Kai-Shek, but at the same time its representative, Admiral Bristol, cooperates with Chiang Kai-Shek in crushing Soviet Canton, suppressing all revolutionary movements of the Chinese workers and peasants.

The military dictatorship of United States imperialism is exercised more ruthlessly than ever before over the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands. Cuba, Haiti, Panama and Liberia are today reduced to vassal states of United States imperialism. *The independence of all the Caribbean and Central American republics has become nothing more than a tragic farce in view of their increased bondage to Wall Street.* The Havana Conference, which was called in the name of Pan-Americanism, was only the instrument of United States imperialism. The Monroe Doctrine, which once served as a defense against European powers, is today the most aggressive means to conquer all America for the United States. The pressure of Wall Street forced Mexico to surrender her oil and land resources to dollar imperialism. The appointment of Morrow, the employee of Morgan, as United States Ambassador to Mexico exposes the whole Latin-American policy of the United States as the policy of finance capital and big business. The fake "good will" flights of Colonel Lindbergh tried to exploit the sentimental illusions of the North American masses for the conquest of Latin America. Large parts of Central and South America have already been reduced to a state of semi-colonies of United States imperialism,

and Wall Street and its White House agency are trying to transform them into true colonies.

The most disgraceful action of United States imperialism is its robber war against Nicaragua. President Coolidge disclosed in his speech of the 10th of January, 1927, the true meaning of the Nicaraguan war: "*If the revolution in Nicaragua continues, American investments and business interests will be in danger.*" The infamous, bloody crusade against Nicaragua is as naked an imperialist profit-war as any ever conducted.

United States imperialism cooperates with British imperialism against China, against Soviet Russia, against Nicaragua; but at the same time there is a murderous competition and increasing imperialist rivalry between the two robber powers. *There is hardly any part of the world in which there is no open or covert struggle between British and American imperialism.* United States imperialism is breaking up the British Empire by catering to Canada and Australia. United States imperialism has successfully challenged Great Britain's financial hegemony. There is a permanent rubber struggle and oil war going on between America and Great Britain. The fiasco of the Three-Power Naval Limitation Conference in Geneva and the American slogan for a "second to none" navy show the irreconcilable nature of this imperialist antagonism. *The present cooperation of the United States Government with Japan in China has in it the germs of future conflicts on the Pacific.*

The recent "peace offensive" of Secretary of State Kellogg under the slogan to "outlaw war" is nothing but an imperialist maneuver to counteract the genuine struggles for peace of the Soviet Union. United States imperialism aims through the Kellogg treaty to diminish the power of the League of Nations, which is the organization of the European big powers, and tries to render futile any attempt of the European powers to build a bloc against United States imperialism. At the same time the Kellogg treaty tries to unite all the capitalist powers, not under the leadership of the League of Nations, but under the leadership of United States imperialism against the Soviet Union. Despite all empty talk about "outlawing" war, imperialist antagonisms are steadily growing, and there is *increasing resistance* against the aggressive imperialist policies of the United States.

The growing competition with Europe, the organization of European trusts and cartels, the tariff issues with Germany, Great Britain and France, the questions of the war debts and the Dawes Plan, the domination over the Pacific, the growing revolt of the Latin-American countries—all these conflicts are pregnant with future imperialistic wars.

The whole policy of United States imperialism is today a policy of preparedness for imperialist wars. The entire country is bristling with bayonets. The United States has never before had such a big army and navy. No other country in the world has spent as much for its navy as this country. In 1926-27 Japan spent \$119,000,000, the British Empire \$299,000,000 and the United States \$334,000,000 for navy purposes. In 1928 the appropriation for the United States navy has already reached \$363,000,000 and for the army \$394,000,000, totalling \$757,000,000. In his last message to Congress President Coolidge came out openly for the big navy program. On December 14, 1927, the big navy program was introduced in the House of Representatives, appropriating not less than \$725,000,000. Federal government expenses for past and future wars amounted to 82 cents out of every dollar spent in 1927. *It is estimated that in 1928 Congress will directly or indirectly vote about two billion dollars for military purposes on land and sea and in the air.*

United States imperialism is making the most elaborate preparations for war. *The workers and working farmers must know that wars under capitalism are inevitable.* "Small" wars are going on all the time, even today, and the next big imperialist world war is already looming up. The next world war will be even more devastating than the first one. The whole life of the entire country will be subordinated to war purposes. The whole population will be mobilized. The whole country will be turned into a huge munition factory. The phrase about "outlawing war," the promise about preventing war by arbitration, and the babbling of the Socialist Party about democratizing the League of Nations of the European robber powers are only designed for one purpose—to distract the attention of the masses from the war danger, from the real revolutionary struggle against imperialistic wars. Disarmament

is impossible under capitalism. Compulsory arbitration is a reactionary utopia and delusion. Only the proletarian revolution can be the way out from the present situation.

DEMANDS

1. Not a man, not a gun, not a cent for the imperialist army and navy!

2. Down with the imperialist war against Nicaragua! Defeat Wall Street's war in Nicaragua! Marines sent to Nicaragua must refuse to fight against the National Liberation Army. American marines in Nicaragua and China, go over to the side of the Nicaraguan and Chinese revolutions!

3. Immediate withdrawal of all American troops from Latin America and from the colonies of the Pacific. Immediate withdrawal of United States warships and marines from China.

4. Complete and immediate independence for all American colonies and semi-colonies.

5. Hands off Mexico!

6. Abolition of the regimes of United States Customs control or "supervision" of finances in Latin America. Withdrawal of support from the puppet governments subsidized by United States imperialism, such as those of Gomez of Venezuela, Leguía of Peru, and Ibañez of Chile.

7. Abolition of all extra-territoriality privileges of the United States in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

8. Abolition of the present mercenary army and navy and State militia, and struggle for a toilers' militia. Election of officers by the soldiers and sailors. Full right to vote and hold office for the members of the military forces.

9. Fight for the abolition of the whole system of infamous imperialist "peace" treaties. Down with the Dawes Plan! Cancellation of all debts of the last imperialist world war. Immediate withdrawal from the World Court and refusal to enter into the League of Nations.

VI. DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The whole world is under capitalist domination. The Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union is the sole country in which there is a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

The very existence of the Soviet Union is the best proof that it is possible to overthrow capitalism and emancipate the working class. The example of Soviet Russia shows that socialism is not a dream. It is a fact—and a fact that looms big in the history of mankind—that under the leadership of the Russian workers, a nation of 150 million, not less than one-sixth of the earth, has been able to free itself from the yoke of capitalism and establish a workers' republic which has maintained power for over ten years in spite of all the capitalists of the world.

The capitalist countries are carrying out a ruthless rationalization at the expense of the workers. *Only the Soviet Union is carrying out a socialist rationalization for the benefit of the nation as a whole.* The proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union expropriated the capitalists and big landowners. The workers control the industries. The working farmers received the land of the big landowners. Soviet Russia is building socialism now, and is taking the first steps toward a higher, a collective type of agriculture. *There is the most complete system of labor protection and social insurance in Soviet Russia.* One of the first steps of the proletarian revolution was the introduction of the 8-hour day, and at the tenth anniversary of the existence of the Soviet Republic the Soviet Government established the 7-hour day. While the courts and the government of this country are smashing the unions in the name of the Constitution, the Code of Labor Laws, Paragraph 155, of the Soviet Union runs:

“In accordance with Statute 16 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, all organs of the State must render to the industrial unions and their organizations every assistance, place at their disposal fully equipped premises to be used as Palaces of Labor and trade-union halls; charge reduced rates for public services, such as posts, telegraphs, telephones, railroad and shipping rates, etc.”

There is a sinister conspiracy of all capitalist powers against the Socialist Soviet Union. Great Britain is the leader of the imperialist coalition, but the United States Government is actively participating in it. The United States Government refuses to recognize the Soviet Government, to recognize the very existence of one of the most powerful countries in the world, for the sole reason that the workers and not the capitalists run that country. The United States Government and its officials seize upon every opportunity to fight the Soviet Union. Ambassador Herrick's shameful statements in Paris, the American loans to finance the anti-Soviet policies of Poland and Finland, and the rejection of the gold bullion sent to the United States are convincing proofs of the hostile policy of United States imperialism toward Soviet Russia.

The Soviet Union is the only power which has reduced its military forces. It made the historic offer at the last international conference at Geneva for an immediate and complete disarmament of all countries. The capitalist governments refused to accept the proposal of the Soviet Union, because the very nature of capitalism is aggression, oppression, and war. All capitalist armies are deadly enemies of the working class, but the Red Army of workers and peasants of the Soviet Union is the defender of the working class of the whole world. *The solidarity of the working class of all countries must be with the only Workers' Republic in the world.*

DEMANDS

1. Defend the Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union, the champion of the cause of the working class of all countries, against the conspiracies of the capitalist powers.
2. Immediate recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States Government.
3. Promotion of trade with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics by the granting of sufficient credits by the Federal Government, as a means of stimulating American industry and absorbing the unemployed.
4. Establishment of direct connections between the American and Russian working class.

VII. CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY AND THE GOVERNMENT-STRIKEBREAKER

Many workers foster illusions as to the possibility of achieving their emancipation from the oppression and exploitation of capitalism through the election of a majority of the members of the legislative bodies and executive officials of the capitalist government. The American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party help to maintain these dangerous and futile illusions. The national platform of the Socialist Party states: "*By intelligent use of the ballot, aided if need be by industrial action, all class divisions and class rule can be abolished.*" It is one of the foremost duties of the Communists to destroy such illusions and to expose all those yellow Socialist misleaders of the workers who help to create these illusions.

The present government is a government of the capitalists. It cannot be transformed into a government of the working class, and its sole purpose is to defend the interests of private property and oppress the workers, working farmers, the Negro masses, and the colonial peoples.

The Constitution of the United States was drawn up by the bankers, big landowners, and rich merchants of 1787, admittedly against the working masses. As Madison, the "Father of the Constitution," put it, the Government ought "*to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority.*" It is an illusion to think that the majority of the people of the United States can change the Constitution. The vote of two-thirds of the members of the legislative bodies of three-fourths of the forty-eight States is required to initiate any movement for an amendment. On this basis one-fourth of the States, which may be the smallest ones and in which there may live only one-fourteenth of the population, can prevent any change of the so-called "democratic" Constitution.

The Constitution contains a whole series of notorious "checks and balances" for the sole purpose of making it impossible for a majority antagonistic to the ruling class to make its will effective. The members of the House of Representatives are elected every two years, the President every four years, and the members of the Senate every six years, so that a complete change of Government can be made only through elections

spread over six years. The elections are not at the same time, because the Fathers of the Constitution wanted to give a chance for the "cooling off" of any mass discontent which might express itself in the elections. The Senate has a veto over the decisions of the House. A special joker of the Constitution is that a newly elected Congress cannot come into session until thirteen months after its election, thus giving a chance to the repudiated Congress to intrench its will by new legislation. The President can veto the actions of both houses of Congress, and over and above the House, the Senate, and the President stands the Supreme Court, which can nullify laws which all three have passed, declaring these laws unconstitutional.

Only a minority of the people entitled to vote participate in the elections, and large sections of the population of voting age are disfranchised. In the South the 5.7 million Negroes of voting age are today as much disfranchised as in the darkest days of chattel slavery. The 6.3 million foreign-born unnaturalized workers of voting age are disfranchised because they are "aliens." The disfranchised Negroes and foreign-born workers together constitute almost 20 per cent of the population of voting age. The youth between the ages of 18 and 21 is entirely disfranchised. The hundreds of thousands of migratory workers, who cannot comply with the residential qualifications, are likewise robbed of their elementary political rights.

The *two-party system*, which in the South is in reality only a one-party system, is also one of the props of American democracy, preventing the splitting-off of the bulk of the working class and working farmers from the parties of big business.

Elections are very expensive in this country. Campaign funds are huge; they run into millions, and big business is able to buy as many and as high offices as it likes. On the other hand, working-class parties, which rely only on the support of the exploited workers and farmers, are poor and are not able to compete with the rich capitalist parties.

Big business controls thousands of *newspapers*. Thirty million copies of poisonous capitalist propaganda every day fill the minds of the masses. *Big business has a monopoly of the schools, churches, moving picture theatres, radio, and the whole machinery of propaganda and agitation.*

And when, despite all obstacles and barriers, some representatives elected by the votes of the working class get into the legislative bodies, big business prevents their functioning by simply kicking them out. This was done in the case of the Socialist members of the Cleveland City Council because they protested against the imperialist war. The same procedure was repeated in the case of the Socialist Assemblymen of New York State.

Under such circumstances to prate about "democracy" is hypocrisy and conscious betrayal of the working class. *The present big business democracy of the United States is in reality nothing but a dictatorship of the capitalists.* The 1928 election platform of the Socialist Party, which accepts the present Constitution as a basis and demands only a "modernized Constitution," is thereby accepting the present capitalist State and the perpetuation of the oppression of the working class.

And if there is anything big business is unable to push through by "constitutional" means, it does it unscrupulously by *unconstitutional* means. *Corruption is inseparable from capitalist government.* There are very few countries in the world which show such a clear picture of governmental corruption. The Teapot Dome scandal, the Sinclair-Burns affair, the open purchases of elections by Vare and Smith, the Fall-Doheny affair, the dirty deals of Daugherty and the other members of the Harding-Coolidge cabinet, and the campaign funds of the Republican Hoover and the Democrat Al Smith are but a few examples of the venality of leading politicians. And if any of them are caught, there are still judges and fixed juries to save them. Few rich men are convicted in this country.

Democracy, corruption, and naked force and violence are the chief methods of capitalist dictatorship. Government by injunction, raids and deportations, penitentiaries for political prisoners, troops crushing strikes, frame-ups and lynchings—these are the realities of the unwritten Constitution. Today what George Washington, the first President of the United States, said is more true than ever before: "Government is not reason; it is not eloquence—it is force."

With imperialism the Government has grown into a mam-

moth monster of centralization. *The country has never had such a huge governmental apparatus.* In 1884 the number of Federal civil service employees was only 13,780; by 1912 it had mounted to 278,000; while today the figure (exclusive of army and navy forces) is not less than 559,138. The number of Government employees—Federal, State and local—in the whole country today mounts up to a total of three million. *This gigantic apparatus of bureaucracy is entirely in the hands of the capitalists.* There is a complete merger of trustified capital and government. The leaders of big business—Hoover, the efficiency expert; Mellon, one of the richest men in the country; Dawes, the banker; Morrow, the errand boy of Morgan; Hughes, of Standard Oil; Coolidge, the strikebreaker; Fall and Daugherty, the kept men of the oil magnates—have or had seats in the Government. Governmental power is being concentrated more and more in the hands of the executive and judicial departments at the expense of the elected legislative bodies. *The President, above all, has assumed almost unlimited power.* He has control over appropriations of funds, over tariff, runs the foreign policy of the country, and decides questions of war and peace. *The actual constitutional form of the "freest" democracy in the world is today that of an unconstitutional monarchy.*

The working class in its struggle for emancipation cannot reform or "take over" the present apparatus of government. The proletarian revolution will destroy this apparatus, and will build its own based on the factories as units of production and not on territorial congressional districts. The State form of the rule of the working class will be the councils of the workers, which will serve not as "talking shops" but as working bodies uniting legislative and executive power. This Soviet form of government constitutes the only real democracy for the overwhelming majority of the people, for the toiling masses.

DEMANDS

1. Abrogation of government by injunction.
2. Prohibition of the use of guards, gunmen, deputy sheriffs, militia or Federal troops in labor struggles.
3. Unrestricted right to organize, to strike, and to picket. Unrestricted right of free speech, free press, and free assemblage for the working class.

4. Abolition of the Senate, of the Supreme Court, and of the veto power of the President.

5. Judges should not be appointed. They should be elected by the working people, and should be removable at any time. Legal aid should be gratis for all wage-earners.

6. Franchise for all foreign-born and migratory workers and for the youth between the ages of 18 and 21. Enforcement of the franchise for the Negroes.

7. Abolition of the anti-syndicalist laws and the Espionage Act.

8. Repeal of all industrial court laws.

9. Abolition of secret anti-labor organizations.

10. Abolition of censorship over moving pictures, theatres, radio.

11. Immediate release of all political prisoners.

VIII. A LABOR PARTY

There are many strikes and labor struggles in this country, but there is no political *mass* party of the working class in the United States which can today rally *millions of wage-earners*. America is the only highly developed industrial country in the world in which the bulk of the working class is not yet politically independent.

It is a most vital necessity that the masses of workers should understand that the economic struggle must be supplemented by political struggle. Without economic fights, without building unions and conducting strikes, the workers would be unable to improve their living conditions, hours, and wages. But no permanent gain can be achieved by the weapon of a mere economic struggle. *The most powerful trade union can be paralyzed by the almighty Government of the bosses*, by its troops and injunctions. The workers may even be robbed of the results of a successful strike, because the *increasing cost of living* can nullify higher wages.

Mere economic struggle cannot free the workers from exploitation and oppression. Political struggle is also necessary. But it must be political struggle in the interests of the working class and carried on by political organizations of the working

class. Many workers participate in political struggles but on the side of the bosses. Today the bulk of the workers—even those who economically, in their trade unions, by their strikes, fight the bosses—support the political parties of the same bosses, the Republican and Democratic parties. This is a fatal mistake, because it means that the workers themselves help the capitalists to hold their grip on the State power. *Those workers who still remain in the camps of the Republican and Democratic parties are helping the capitalists to be the bosses of the courts, to use injunctions and armed forces to crush the trade unions and to paralyze the strike movements of the workers.*

The workers have made several attempts to link up their trade unions and other labor organizations into a Labor Party. In certain places Farmer Labor parties are now in existence. The Workers (Communist) Party supports the formation of those labor parties which are based on trade unions and other organizations of the working class. It is willing to participate in the formation of such labor parties, because it considers this the *first decisive step toward independent political action* by the working class, the first step of the workers to break away from the parties of the bosses. At the same time the Communist Party considers it its duty to tell the workers frankly that a Labor Party has its limitations and that it will not be able to lead the workers in their final struggle for their emancipation. Only a Communist Party can do that. Only under the leadership of the Communist Party can the American working class emancipate itself from the double yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

It is to the interest of the workers to participate in all election struggles. *It is necessary to fight for the election of workers to the various legislative bodies.* It is necessary to run workers' candidates for offices. *But it is a dangerous illusion to think that the workers can assume power by electing more and more members of Congress or executive officials.* The workers can never seize power by the mere means of the ballot. Only by revolution can the working class swing into power. The most important aim of participation in election campaigns is the mobilization of the working masses for the struggle against the bosses and for the political organization of the work-

ing class in preparation for the struggle for power. The chief usefulness of representatives in legislative bodies consists in securing a public tribune for the cause of the working class, from whence it is possible to expose the actions of the bosses and arouse the militancy of the masses. The workers must know that political struggle is much broader than mere election struggle. They must know that political struggle is in the interests of the working class only if it is conducted in the form of a politically independent working-class party. The notorious "*non-partisan*" policy of the *A. F. of L.*, which calls upon the workers "to reward their friends and punish their enemies" within the capitalist parties, amounts in fact to unqualified support of the capitalist parties and capitalism itself. The policy of the *Socialist Party*, which promises the workers that they can assume power, abolish classes, and control the industries by the "intelligent use of the ballot" is an equally base betrayal of the working class. The *I. W. W.*, which restricts itself to mere "industrial action" because it is afraid that through political activities it will lose its revolutionary integrity, has actually become a sectarian and reactionary organization.

DEMANDS

1. Independent political action of the working class. Formation of a Labor Party on a national, state and local scale and an alliance between the Labor Party and the exploited farmers for a common political struggle against capitalism.

2. A genuine Labor Party must be based on trade unions and other labor organizations, and on factory, mill, and mine committees of the unorganized workers. A genuine Labor Party must exclude all politicians of big and small business, and must include as a true federated body all sections of the working class, without any discrimination, which accept the general principle of the class struggle and are willing to fight for the interests of the workers and exploited farmers.

3. We call upon every worker: Affiliate your trade union to the Labor Party and you yourself join the Workers (Communist) Party.

IX. SOCIAL LEGISLATION

There is hardly any labor protection and even less social insurance in this country. The aim of labor protection is the safeguarding of the workers from the harmful conditions of production. The aim of the United States government today is the safeguarding of the capitalists from the "harmful" effects of trade-union organization. There is no law setting a maximum to the working day or against overtime. No law guarantees a weekly rest for the workers. No legal yearly holiday is assured the wage-earners. Very few compulsory rules exist or are enforced for safety and sanitation. Labor inspection is ineffective.

America is the leading country of the world in the field of industrial accidents. In industry there occur annually 25,000 fatal accidents and $2\frac{1}{2}$ million accidents causing temporary disability. In 1927 there were no less than 2,224 fatalities on the mining field of battle. New York State alone had in 1926-27 in structural iron work not less than 21,606 accident cases which required compensation. In the metal mines there were 2,865 accidents per 10,000 workers. In other words, one worker out of every four was the victim of an accident.

There is no social insurance deserving the name in the United States. No care is taken of the *unemployed*, of the *sick*, of the *old*, of *invalids* and *cripples*. No help is given to families of deceased workers. The A. F. of L., with its narrow craft attitude against any social legislation, and the Socialist Party, with its parliamentary idiocy, share with the capitalists the responsibility for this complete lack of social legislation. The workers must understand that social legislation can be brought about only as a by-product of revolutionary struggle.

As substitutes for social legislation there are only the voluntary organizations of fraternal societies. Some of the trade unions try to build up some insurance schemes. All these small-scale organizations are very limited in their effect and mean an additional burden for the workers. The group insurance of the employers means the enslavement of the workers to a certain corporation. The private insurance companies are fleecing the working masses. There is a general lack of security in the life of the working class of America. No worker grows

old as fast as the American worker. Speed-up and lack of labor protection drive him to premature old age. Scores of poisons, extreme heat and dampness and dust, and lack of sanitary measures ruin the health of the toilers.

The lack of labor protection and social insurance in the United States, in the richest capitalist country in the world, is brought out in bold relief by *comparison with the Workers' Republic of the Soviet Union*. The Socialist Republic of Soviet Russia has the most complete system of labor protection and social insurance. Her social insurance provides the following benefits: temporary disability benefits; benefits for child-birth, infant nursing, burial of insured persons and members of their families; pensions for widows; permanent disability benefits; pensions to family in event of bread-winner's death; unemployed benefits; maintenance of rest homes, sanatoria, and health resorts for workers; free medical aid.

In Soviet Russia all forms of social insurance are under the management of the workers and are maintained at the expense of the State. Factory inspection and all State protection of labor organs are under the direct control of the trade unions. Compulsory yearly vacations on pay are assured. The 7-hour day is guaranteed by law. The law forbids systematic overtime. There is a legal weekly rest of 42 hours. Special protection of women and children in industry has been enacted. A large range of sanitation and safety measures in all factories has been instituted.

There is a world of difference between the lack of labor protection and social insurance in the United States of America and the complete system of labor protection and social insurance in the United States of Socialist Russia—the *difference between a capitalist and a socialist country*.

DEMANDS

1. Federal law for social insurance in the case of sickness, accident, old age, and unemployment for all wage-earners. The administration of all social insurance measures should be in the hands of the workers. The expenses should be covered by the State and the employers.

2. Federal law for the enactment of the 40-hour, 5-day

week, forbidding all overtime. The law to provide for a six-hour working day in especially dangerous industries. Immediate enactment of a federal law providing for 48 consecutive hours of weekly rest for all wage-earners.

3. Federal law for compulsory rules and technical measures for safety and sanitation.

4. Establishment of effective labor inspection; inspectors to be elected by the workers themselves.

5. Free medical treatment, medicine, and hospital care for all wage-earners.

X. TARIFF AND TAXATION

The propaganda agencies of the bosses are spreading the fallacy that the workers do not pay taxes. *In reality the workers and working farmers are the classes of society which bear the burden of the bulk of all taxation.*

Direct and indirect taxation and tariff revenues weigh down upon the shoulders of the working masses. Taxes are the basis of public expenditures. Public expenditures, however, are nothing but the cost of maintenance of the state apparatus of big business. The collection of taxes from the masses is a method by which the exploited are forced to pay the expenses for the upkeep of the system of exploitation and oppression.

Both parties of big business have been vying with each other for years to lighten as much as possible the burden of taxation for the big capitalists, transferring the burden of taxation to the backs of the workers and exploited farmers. The various tax-reduction plans of the government have had only one single aim: to cut the taxes of the rich and to cut even more the taxes of the richest. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, who himself is one of the richest men in the country, is brazenly following the policy of cutting down the super-tax on high incomes, and declares that he is against tax exemption of low incomes, on the ground that the payment of taxes creates for people with low incomes "a sense of part ownership in the government." The most outrageous privileges are enjoyed by the parasitic owners of federal, state and municipal securities.

This *rentier* class, which is completely divorced from the process of production and whose only connection with industry is coupon-clipping, owns today no less than 16 billion dollars of such securities, which are wholly exempt from all taxation.

The most vicious form of indirect taxation is the tariff. The tariff raises the cost of living for the working class, and increases the price of industrial goods bought by the farmers. The United States has the highest tariffs in the world, despite the fact that the industries of this country are the most highly developed and enjoy the strongest position.

Trust monopoly and tariff go together in the United States. *The chief function of tariff is to secure unlimited monopoly to the trusts.* The tariff helps to exclude foreign competition. It makes it possible for the trusts to raise the prices of their products to the buyers of this country by an amount nearly equal to that of the tariff. At the same time it makes it possible for the trusts to sell their goods below cost price in foreign countries, thanks to the surplus profits they make in this country.

Trust monopoly and high tariff are the most dangerous factors working for new imperialist wars. The larger the territory "protected" by tariff, the greater the amount of super-profit. The trust monopolies, therefore, have a tendency to expand the territory of the United States, to occupy new regions. That can be done only by conquest, through threat of war, and war.

The high tariff wall around this country forces the other countries likewise to "protect" themselves by tariff walls. This hinders or even prevents the export of American products to other countries. But accumulation of capital is going on with increasing speed, and American big business, instead of exporting goods, is exporting capital on an ever greater scale. The next step is the "defense" of the investments of American bankers in foreign countries. A strong army and a "second to none" navy are necessary. War threats, war danger, and wars are the order of the day. *The "protective," "defensive" tariff is in reality the most offensive weapon in the hands of big business.*

The tariff policy of both parties of big business exposes the

emptiness of their so-called struggle against each other.

The Republican Party was originally the party of tariff, because it represented the growing manufacturing interests of the North. The Democratic Party was originally the party against tariff, because it expressed the interests of the large plantation owners of the South. But with the change in economic conditions both parties are altering their positions on tariff. The industrialization of the South has created a powerful capitalist section in that part of the country, too, and caused a portion of the Democrats to come out as advocates of high tariff. On the other hand, the international bankers of the North—who have invested billions in Europe and are afraid that Europe will not be able to pay her debts, if she cannot export industrial products to this country—are now in favor of the lowering or abolition of the tariff and are making their influence felt more and more in the high councils of the Republican Party which they dominate.

The interests of the working class are against high tariff. At the same time it would be an illusion to think that "free trade" would be a permanent relief for the toiling masses. Free trade under capitalist conditions is as much a capitalist institution as high tariff.

DEMANDS

1. Abolition of all indirect taxes.
2. Exemption from all kinds of taxation for all wage-earners.
3. Tax-exemption for all working and exploited farmers.
4. Graduated income tax, starting with incomes above \$5,000 and increasing gradually, so that all incomes over \$25,000 per year are confiscated.
5. All tax exemptions on bonds, stocks and securities must be abolished.
6. Graduated inheritance and gift taxes on great fortunes must be introduced.
7. Tariff on all necessities of the working class and on all goods used by the farmers must be abolished.

XI. THE PLIGHT OF THE FARMERS

For two decades the conditions of the farmers have been growing steadily worse. The working farmer is becoming poorer and poorer. Millions have been driven away from their farms. Other millions are bankrupt and are only nominally owners of their farms. Tenancy is growing. The standard of living for the farmer and his family is becoming lower and lower. Hardships, suffering and poverty are features of the life of the working farmer.

The working farmer is today in an increasing measure only nominally the owner of the land. The mortgages and other debts are an unbearable burden on the exploited farmer. The product of his labor no longer belongs to him but to his creditors. The total amount of debts of the farmers (mortgage, personal and commercial) is the stupendous sum of 15 billion dollars, which at 6 per cent means *an annual tribute of 900 million dollars to the bankers, merchants and other leeches of capitalism.* The number of exploiting absentee owners is steadily increasing. In 1880 tenant farmers were 25.6 per cent of all farmers; in 1925 they were 38.6 per cent. Farmers are forced into bankruptcy by hundreds of thousands. In the Middle West between 1920 and 1923 no less than 22.5 per cent of all farm owners and 35 per cent of all tenants lost their farms by bankruptcy, by foreclosure, or retained them only—as the Government expresses it—by the “leniency” of their creditors.

At least 40 per cent of the whole agricultural population, 4.2 million people, are neither owners nor tenant farmers but simply agricultural workers, who own nothing but their labor power. *The agricultural workers have the lowest standard of living, are forced to work the longest working day and under the worst conditions in the whole country.* Their wages are actually decreasing. The introduction of new machinery is replacing them by tens of thousands. They are unorganized, isolated, and completely at the mercy of their employers and the State power. The agricultural workers are part of the American working class and must be embraced by its economic and political organizations in the struggle against capitalism.

The working farmers are in the most disastrous condition,

because they are up against trust monopoly. The farmers are forced to pay the highest percentage of taxation. *The taxes of the farmers have been increased in a most alarming fashion.* They amounted in 1913 to \$624,000,000; today to \$1,436,000,000. The general property tax is directed chiefly against the farmer rather than against other property owners. The local taxes increase the burden of the working farmer to an intolerable degree. Even Secretary of Agriculture Jardine was forced to admit that *the farmers spend not less than 30 per cent of their net income for taxes.*

Mechanization of agriculture is another reason for the ruin of the farmers. The number of tractors, which in 1920 was 229,000, by 1925 had grown to 506,000, and in 1927 amounted to 700,000. The use of combines is spreading, each of them displacing three harvest hands. The poor farmer is too poor to buy expensive machinery. His farm is too small to utilize machinery to its full extent.

Industry is trustified and by virtue of its monopoly is able to control the prices of machinery and all the other goods the farmer must buy. At the same time big business is able to dictate the prices of all products the farmer must sell. There is a whole series of special forms of exploitation to which the farmer is subjected. He is at the mercy of the powerful capitalist agencies of distribution of farm products, the railroads, meat packers, milk trusts, huge elevator combines, gamblers and cotton brokers, banks, and the government farm credit system.

The basic reason for the bankruptcy of the working farmers is trust monopoly, is capitalism.

All agricultural credit is in the hands of the banks. The cooperative organizations of the farmers are chained to capitalism by means of credit. Tariff, which is supposed to "protect" not only industrial products but agricultural products as well, operates only in the interests of the big trusts. All the promises of the Republican and Democratic parties have amounted only to betrayal of the farmers, and have only been in the interests of the bigger landowners and farm banks.

The big lesson the working and exploited farmers must learn from their own desperate situation is that they must break off their alliance with the bankers and other factors of big

business and must form an alliance with the working class. The fate of the McNary-Haugen "farm relief" bill and the McFadden branch banking bill is the best proof of the futility of any alliance of the farmers with the bankers. The farm bloc in Congress—which speaks in the name of the working farmers, but is in fact the expression of the interests of the big land-owners, farmer-capitalists, and farm bankers—made a bargain with the representatives of Wall Street to the end that both bills should pass jointly in Congress. Indeed, both bills passed. But President Coolidge, as the highest exponent of big business in the Government, signed only the McFadden banking bill and vetoed the McNary-Haugen "farm relief" bill. All the so-called friends of the farmers—banker Dawes, millionaire Lowden, the farm bloc, the "Progressives," such as LaFollette, Norris, Shipstead and their ilk—are only enemies of the exploited farmers in the disguise of friends.

The working and exploited farmers and the industrial and agricultural workers must fight shoulder to shoulder against their common enemies: against big business, against the trusts and against the government of capitalism.

DEMANDS

1. A five-year moratorium on farm mortgage debts, including debts on chattels.
2. Protection of the working farmer against monopoly prices. Essential lowering of the prices of all trust products which the farmer uses.
3. Protection of the farmer against special exploitation by distributing agencies of production, by railroads, meat packers, milk trusts and grain elevator combines.
4. Federal law for the creation of a special farm relief fund of \$1,000,000,000 to relieve the conditions of the tenant and mortgaged farmers, the fund to be administered by organizations of working farmers.
5. Federal law against forced farm foreclosures.
6. Abolition of all federal and local taxes on working and tenant farmers.
7. The land to belong to its users.
8. Complete freedom to organize and strike for the agri-

cultural workers. Federal law to guarantee a seven-hour maximum working day and a 48-hour weekly rest for all agricultural workers. Yearly vacation with pay for all farm laborers. Extension to agricultural workers of all benefits of social insurance and labor protection legislation demanded for industrial workers.

XII. OPPRESSION OF THE NEGROES

American white imperialism oppresses in the most terrific way the ten million Negroes who constitute not less than one-tenth of the total population. White capitalist prejudice considers the Negroes a "lower race," the born servants of the lofty white masters. The *racial caste system* is a fundamental feature of the social, industrial and political organization of this country. The Communist Party declares that it considers itself not only the party of the working class generally but also the champion of the Negroes as an oppressed race, and especially the organizer of the Negro working-class elements. *The Communist Party is the party of the liberation of the Negro race from all white oppression.*

There is a "new Negro" in process of development. The social composition of the Negro race is changing. Formerly the Negro was the cotton farmer in the South and domestic help in the North. The industrialization of the South, the concentration of a new Negro working-class population in the big cities of the East and North, and the entrance of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale have changed the whole social composition of the Negro race. *The appearance of a genuine Negro industrial proletariat creates an organizing force for the whole Negro race, furnishes a new working-class leadership to all Negro race movements, and strengthens immensely the fighting possibilities for the emancipation of the race.*

The Negro tenant farmers and share-croppers of the South are still, despite all the pompous phrases about freeing the slaves, in the status of virtual slavery. They have not the slightest prospect of ever acquiring possession of the land on which they work. By means of an usurious credit system they are chained to the plantation owners as securely as chattel slaves.

Peonage and contract labor are the fate of the Negro cotton farmer. The landowners, who are at the same time the merchants and the government of the South, rule over the Negroes with a merciless dictatorship.

There is the most dishonest and disgraceful "gentleman's agreement" between the two capitalist parties against the political rights of the Negroes. The famous Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution amount but to a scrap of paper. They were never carried out for a moment. The Supreme Court has upheld State laws which disfranchised the Negroes. Sheer force prevents the Negro from exercising his so-called political rights. The Federal Government has never made any attempt to reduce the representation of those Southern States which violate the Constitution, as Section Two of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution provides. The Republican Party, the party of Lincoln, has sunk so low that it has provided for measures to segregate the Negro delegates in its 1928 Kansas City nominating convention. *Lynch law is the law over the Negroes. The terror of the Ku Klux Klan is the constitution for the Negroes.* They are burned alive whipped to death, hunted to death with dogs in the name of white civilization.

There is a general segregation policy against the Negro race. Separate residential sections; Jim Crow cars; separate schools for Negro children; exclusion from "white" hotels, restaurants, theatres and railway waiting rooms; exclusion of Negroes from juries which try Negroes. Negro teachers cannot teach in most white schools. *The white masters try to reduce the Negroes to illiteracy.* According to the 1920 census, there were 4 per cent illiterates among the whites and 22.9 per cent among the Negroes. The Southern States spend hardly any money for the education of Negro children.

In the cotton States the Negro farmers are compelled to live in miserable shacks under conditions destructive of life and health. In the cities the Negroes do the unskilled, the most disagreeable, most hazardous work, and are crowded into the worst sections of the city. The death rate of the Negroes is much higher than that of the whites. In 1925 it was 11.8

per thousand for the whites and 18.2 for the Negroes.

The Southern plantation owners and their Government have tried to keep the Negro farmers and agricultural workers in the Southern cotton fields by force. But even their brutal terror has not been able to check the mighty migration from these cotton plantations to the industrial centers of the Northern and Eastern States. This migration is an "unarmed, Spartan uprising" against slavery and oppression by a capitalist and feudal oligarchy.

The Negro fled from the South, but what has he found in the North? He has found in the company towns and industrial cities of the North and East a wage slavery virtually no better than the contract labor in the South. He has found crowded, unsanitary slums. He has exchanged the old segregation for a new segregation. He is doing the most dangerous, worst paid work in the steel, coal and packing industries. He has found the racial prejudices of a narrow, white labor aristocracy, which refuses to recognize the unskilled Negro worker as its equal. He has found the treachery of the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. which refuses to organize the Negroes into trade unions. The lynchings of the South are replaced by the race riots of the East. The employing class deliberately arouses the racial hatred and prejudice of the white workers against the Negro workers with the sinister aim to split and divide the ranks of the working class, thereby maintaining the oppression and exploitation of white and Negro workers. What Marx said about the United States is still true: "Labor in a white skin cannot emancipate itself as long as labor in a dark skin is branded." The Negro worker must learn to utilize to the fullest extent the possibilities created by modern capitalism for organization and struggle against wage slavery in alliance with the workers of other races.

The Communist Party considers it as its historic duty to unite all workers regardless of their color against the common enemy, against the master class. The Negro race must understand that capitalism means racial oppression and Communism means social and racial equality.

DEMANDS

1. Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial, political, and social equality for the Negro race.
2. Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of Negroes. Abolition of all Jim Crow laws. The law shall forbid all discrimination against Negroes in selling or renting houses.
3. Abolition of all laws which disfranchise the Negroes.
4. Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.
5. Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children or youth from attending general public schools or universities.
6. Full and equal admittance of Negroes to all railway station waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels, and theatres.
7. Federal law against lynching and the protection of the Negro masses in their right of self-defense.
8. Abolition of discriminatory practices in courts against Negroes. No discrimination in jury service.
9. Abolition of the convict lease system and of the chain gang.
10. Abolition of all Jim Crow distinctions in the army, navy, and civil service.
11. Immediate removal of all restrictions in all trade unions against the membership of Negro workers.
12. Equal opportunity for employment, wages, hours, and working conditions for Negro and white workers. Equal pay for equal work for Negro and white workers.

XIII. THE FOREIGN-BORN WORKERS

Next to the Negroes the foreign-born workers in the basic industries are the most exploited, most persecuted stratum of the toiling masses of this country. There are almost 14 million foreign-born in the United States. The overwhelming majority belong to the working class. *Nearly half of all the foreign-born are toiling in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. The majority of all industrial workers of America, not less than 58 per cent of the total employed in American industries, are*

foreign-born. Steel, coal, textile, automobile—all these industries are based on the sweat of the foreign-born workers. Cut off by differences in language and customs, the foreign-born workers are an easy prey of the employing class. Their fate is the longest hours, the lowest wages, the worst housing, the poorest schooling. *Scores of state and federal laws discriminate against the foreign-born workers.* There is hardly a State in the United States which has no special laws discriminating against the foreign-born workers. According to the law of some States, the foreign-born person has no right to read newspapers or books not printed in English. He has no right to keep dogs or a gun or a rifle. He cannot teach in public schools. According to the laws of nine States, a foreign-born worker cannot be employed on public works. Some States do not allow public meetings to be conducted except in the English language.

But all this discrimination is not enough for 100 per cent Americanism. *The Coolidge administration is carrying out an offensive against the foreign-born workers as part of the open-shop drive of the bosses, is planning a whole series of vicious measures against them.* The foreign-born workers are to be registered. They are to be finger-printed and photographed like criminals. If naturalized, they are to have their citizenship papers taken from them if their conduct does not suit the bosses. They are to be deported if they participate in strikes or make speeches in strike meetings. The Chairman of the House Immigration Committee, Albert Johnson, during the powerful demonstrations demanding freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti, uttered the threat: "Aliens domiciled in America should remember that if they partake in anti-government demonstrations here they are liable to deportation under the 1919 Act."

There is a whole series of bills before Congress which are aimed against the foreign-born workers. The Brand Bill, the Hawes Bill, the Ashwell Bill, and other products of American Fascism try to reduce the foreign-born workers to modern industrial serfs. The Brand Bill would compel all foreign-born not only to register but "to report at such times and such places" when "in the judgment of the President the interests of the national defense so require." The same Act would decree that "whenever any alien is *temporarily* absent from the district in

which he is registered, he shall report at such times and places and give such information in regard to his movements as may be required."

The *immigration laws* which restrict the freedom of movement of the foreign-born workers and discriminate against the peoples of Asia are part and parcel of the system of American imperialism. The newest demand of the bosses, as expressed in the notorious Brand Bill, is to give full authority to the President to regulate, restrict or enlarge the immigration quotas according to the actual needs of the different industries. The apostles of 100-percentism are not the enemies of the foreign-born workers, if they can use them as strikebreakers, as helpers "in industrial needs."

The labor aristocracy, under the leadership of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, shares with big business the profits derived from high tariffs and restriction of immigration. High tariff is the material basis for the prohibition of immigration. The platform of the Socialist Party for 1928 shows the true colors of this renegade party in not demanding unrestricted freedom of immigration and the repeal of the infamous immigration laws, but calling only for the "*modification of the immigration laws to permit the reuniting of families.*"

The Workers (Communist) Party of America is equally the party of the native-born, the foreign-born, and the Negro workers. It is the party of the whole working class. It fights the offensive of the bosses against the foreign-born workers. It fights against nationalist prejudices which divide the ranks of the workers. *Its slogan is: Workers of all languages and races in America unite!*

DEMANDS

1. All workers must unite against the common enemy, the capitalist class, to prevent the enactment of new laws (to register, fingerprint, and photograph) against foreign-born workers and to abolish all existing laws of discrimination.

2. All workers must wage an active campaign to uproot the prejudices fostered by the employing class against the foreign-born workers and to draw the millions of foreign-born workers

more and more into the political life of the country and the class struggle.

3. Immediate repeal of the immigration laws. Abolition of all restrictions on immigration.

4. Equal pay for equal work for native and foreign-born workers.

XIV. WORKING WOMEN

The number of working women is steadily growing. There are today in this country $8\frac{1}{2}$ million working women over the age of ten.

The capitalists are the apostles of the family, but they do not hesitate to break up the family life of the working class, if the needs of industry make it necessary. They cannot resist the call of profits. The number of adult and married women in industry is growing fast. It had reached in 1920 almost two million. Manufacturers prefer women, because they offer less resistance than male workers to capitalist oppression. Male workers are often replaced by women, because the introduction of new machinery makes the skill of male workers superfluous. As a general rule, women work in less well-paid occupations and receive lower wages for identical work. The logic of capitalism is that working women need more protection, they are weaker than the male workers; therefore, they get less protection and are subjected to greater exploitation than male workers.

The Communist Party is by no means against women working in industry. It is of the opinion that in entering industry working women can become more effective participants in the struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation. But it calls on the workers to fight the harmful effects of industrial work on women and to struggle for the adequate protection of working women. Only a Communist society can lift the double burden of housekeeping and factory work from the women of the working class.

DEMANDS

1. Prohibition by law of night work, overtime and job work for working women.

2. The law shall provide for an allowance throughout the period of pregnancy and child-birth to the amount of full working wages.

3. Legal enactment of a special allowance for working women during the nursing period of nine months. Nursing mothers shall have a half hour's leave every three hours for child feeding in nurseries provided by employers at all working places.

4. The organization of working women into trade unions and elimination of all restrictions and discriminations against women in trade unions.

5. Equal pay for equal work for male and female workers.

XV. YOUTH, CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION

Exploitation of children and young workers is one of the pillars of American capitalist society. Children's blood and young boys' and girls' sweat are a growing source of profit for big business. According to the 1920 census, which greatly underestimates the number of child laborers, there were over one million working children between the ages of 10 and 15. To increase the shame there were 378,000 toiling children between the ages of 10 and 13. There are no statistics on the work of children under the age of 10—that is the sole reason why there is no report about the scores of thousands of the smallest children of the working class slaving to the glory of our dollar civilization.

There are almost four million young workers and at least one million boys and girls in industry alone. Steel and iron, coal and textile factories are the chief "playgrounds" of our working-class youth. *Technical progress means progress of youth and child labor.* It is one of the biggest achievements of American "democracy" that the Supreme Court of the United States, that notorious guardian of American "liberties," declared any laws forbidding child labor unconstitutional.

The propaganda agencies of capitalism boast about the wonderful progress in education. They forget only that the sole aim of the education of the children of the working class is to implant in their minds as early as possible a feeling of awe towards capitalist society. *Education is class education in this*

country. Higher education is too expensive for the children of the working class. Primary education is conducted in the spirit of jingoism and religious prejudice. According to official statistics, in 1920 only 73 per cent of the pupils reached the sixth and only 58 per cent the eighth grade. In other words, almost half of the children did not even graduate from the elementary school. The schools are overcrowded. Anti-evolution laws prevent the teaching of natural science in many States. In the South, Jim Crow education prevails. The famous "academic" freedom is only a legend.

Under capitalism education is a monopoly of the master class. Only a Communist society, which will combine the participation in production with vocational training and general education, will break this monopoly and will abolish the class character of education, transforming it into social education, making it compulsory, universal and equal.

DEMANDS

1. Compulsory abolition by law of child labor under the age of 16, and State maintenance of all children at present employed. Abolition of underground work, night work, overtime, and work in dangerous occupations for all young workers. Six-hour working day and the five-day week for all young workers between the ages of 16 and 18.

2. A \$20 minimum wage for young workers.

3. Establishment of work-schools in factories for the training of young workers in industry. These work-schools should be modeled on the work-schools in the Soviet Union, should be under the control of the young workers belonging to trade unions and workers' factory committees. Young workers to receive full wages while attending work-schools, and the hours attending school should be included in the general hours of work.

4. Immediate utilization of schools as feeding centers for children of unemployed workers, whether of school age or below it. These stations should be under labor-parent control. Free clothing and free medical treatment by the schools for the children of the unemployed.

5. Every young person 18 years of age or over must be

given the right to vote. Old enough to work—old enough to vote.

6. In schools at present: (a) free and equal education from the elementary schools through the universities; (b) immediate relief from over-crowding by building new schools; (c) abolition of religious and jingoist instruction; abolition of anti-evolution laws; (d) abolition of Jim Crow education; (e) no discrimination against teachers on account of "subversive" political opinions; right of teachers and students to organize.

XVI. HOUSING

Nothing brings out into bolder relief "equality" under capitalist conditions than the matter of housing. The members of the master class dwell in the finest apartments, in the most luxurious palaces. They monopolize the clean, broad streets of the "respectable" residential sections. *The workers are segregated in the most disagreeable unsanitary sections of the crowded cities.*

Congested tenements, miserable slums are the main quarters for proletarian homes. Death has a bigger toll in the working-class sections, especially among the children. Rent is unbearably high for workers. On the average the worker is compelled to spend more than 25 per cent of his wages on rent. According to the law of social justice in capitalist society, the higher the income the lower relatively the rent.

The Government—federal, state and municipal governments alike—are doing nothing to relieve the housing shortage and to reduce the high rents. Building speculators do not construct homes for the workers, because the poorly-paid wage-earner is not able to pay the high rent demanded. Scores of thousands of workers are forced to live in lightless rooms without adequate plumbing and heating, with insufficient ventilation and water supply.

In striking contrast to the criminal attitude of the American capitalist Government toward the housing situation are the measures of the Workers' Government of the Soviet Union.

The Workers' Government of the Soviet Union nationalized all dwellings of the employing class. It turned over all the palaces and villas of the capitalists to the workers. It lowered the rent for wage-earners so much that unskilled workers pay only a nominal rent. The building of homes for workers is an essential part of the whole constructive program of the Soviet Government, which spends millions yearly to erect houses for wage-earners.

DEMANDS

1. Municipal fixing of low rents for workers. Rent for wage-earners should not amount to more than 10 per cent of their wages.

2. Municipally built houses should be rented to the workers without profit.

3. Immediate enactment of state laws providing for abolition of the right of eviction by landlords against wage-earner tenants.

4. Compulsory repair by the landlords of all working-class homes in bad condition.

5. Immediate establishment by municipalities of homes to shelter the unemployed.

6. Municipal aid to workers' building co-operatives.

XVII. PROHIBITION

Prohibition, as it is "enforced" and violated in this country, is one of the most outstanding examples of capitalist corruption and hypocrisy.

The Workers (Communist) Party takes the following stand on the prohibition issue:

Prohibition was introduced in the interests of the manufacturers. As the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Journal put it: "We believe there is no question of greater importance to American manufacturers, the great employers of labor, than prohibition." The prohibition of the consumption of liquor decreases the needs of the worker, and thus tends to decrease the price of his labor power. The introduction of prohibition was part and

parcel of the big rationalization campaign of the employing class. It makes the worker more efficient, more adaptable to the machinery. It is a link in the chain of the general speed-up. The enforcement of prohibition is a typical class measure. Rich people are exempt from its enforcement. Its whole burden falls upon the proletarian elements.

Prohibition embodies in the most classic manner the basic views of the employers toward the workers. The worker gives his life not only during the working hours but all day and all the time to the capitalist. Eating, drinking and sleeping, the worker serves only one purpose: the maintenance of his labor power for the capitalists. The very fact that the worker consumes the food which he buys for his wages forces him to sell his labor power again. It *does* concern the capitalist how the worker eats and drinks. If the worker spends his wages for liquor, if he gets drunk Sunday night, if he is not fit for work Monday morning—that concerns the capitalist not because it is a violation of the interests of the worker, not because it helps to destroy him physically and mentally, but because it constitutes high crime against capital, since it “defrauds” the capitalist of the labor power which belongs to him.

These are the views of the capitalists concerning the “private” life of the workers. Prohibition is nothing but the realization of these views.

On the other hand, the driving force behind the movement against the enforcement of prohibition, for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, is the *powerful alcohol capital* which still has tremendous vested interests in the liquor industry.

The “enforcement” of prohibition has created a *huge governmental machine* of prosecutors, spies, provocateurs and courts. This machine tends to increase the power of the capitalist government and is a virtual part of its strikebreaking apparatus.

The lack of enforcement of capitalist prohibition has created a *powerful bootlegging industry* with a capital of hundreds of millions of dollars. The hazards of this industry are compensated by extremely high profits. An elaborate system of an underground capitalist world is hiding itself under the surface of respectable capitalist society. It has its own spies, provocateurs

and gunmen, who are often utilized against the labor movement, against striking workers. *The combination of the twin brothers, capitalist prohibition enforcement and capitalist bootlegging, has created an unheard-of amount of corruption, crime and hypocrisy.*

The stand of the Republican and Democratic parties on the prohibition issue is a model example of capitalist demagoguery. It is not an issue between the two parties but rather one within both. Very often from wet throats issue dry voices. The playing up of prohibition as a major political issue serves only one purpose. It covers up the lack of any real difference between the capitalist parties, and distracts the attention of the workers from the real major class issues of the toiling masses.

Especially shameful is the position of the Socialist Party of America on the prohibition issue. Its platform is against the present prohibition enforcement, because "further persistence in this tragic farce threatens a complete breakdown of law and order." This exposes the Socialist Party in its true role as the upholder of capitalist law and order. Many members of the employing class also, who favor prohibition from the point of view of capitalist efficiency, are against strict enforcement, because they realize its impossibility under present conditions and likewise are concerned lest the faith of the masses in "law and order" be shaken.

Alcoholism is one of the most terrible social diseases of capitalist society. Alcoholism is caused by capitalism itself. Insecurity of life, the monotony of standardized factory work, the low cultural level of the masses and desperate poverty are the reasons for this social disease. Only a Communist society can cure alcoholism by elevating the cultural level of the masses, by diversifying labor, by putting an end to insecurity of life, and by eradicating poverty. The struggle against alcoholism, which must be conducted by the Communists in the most energetic fashion, is a part of the general struggle against capitalism. Only the overthrow of capitalism will sweep away the despicable bootlegging industry and the equally despicable, corrupt, hypocritical capitalist prohibition enforcement.

DEMANDS

1. The Workers (Communist) Party favors the repeal of the Volstead Act and the Eighteenth Amendment.
2. Dissolution of the federal and state prohibition enforcement apparatus.
3. Energetic propaganda against alcoholism as one of the most malignant social diseases under capitalism.

XVIII. FORWARD TO A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT

This is the platform of the class struggle. These are the demands the Workers (Communist) Party puts forward in the present Presidential election campaign. But none of these demands, and not even the total of these demands, exhausts the program of the Communist Party. We call upon the workers to rally around the Communist Party in a relentless struggle for these demands which, realized, would protect the toiling masses against the most harmful effects of trustified capitalism. But even the realization of all these demands would not liberate the working class from the double yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression. Only the full realization of the entire program of the Communist Party can bring about the emancipation of the working class. The Communist Party has the following aims:

The formation of the proletariat into a class; its separation from other classes; the development of its consciousness, organization, and fighting capacity;

The organization of a mass Communist Party to lead the struggles of the working class against all capitalist parties;

The representation of the most general international interests of the working class as a whole as expressed in the principles and practice of the Communist International;

The overthrow of capitalist rule;

The conquest of political power by the working class and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

American imperialism is very powerful. Capitalism in this country is still on its upward grade, but it is becoming more and more part and parcel of world capitalism, which on

the whole has entered into the last declining stage of its development.

United States imperialism will not be able to bribe broad sections of the working class for many more years. It is not the sole workshop in the world as Great Britain was for decades. There are other mighty imperialist powers limiting the expansion of United States imperialism, competing with it on every front. The menace of new imperialist wars is looming up ever bigger on the horizon.

The very existence of the Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union, which freed one-sixth of the earth from capitalist influence and expansion, is a limitation to the growth of United States imperialism. *The forces of the proletarian revolution are gathering in other countries, too.* The more than three million votes of the Communist Party of Germany, the over one million votes of the Communist Party of France, the election victories of the Communist Party of Poland, which, though driven underground, was able to rally the majority of the Polish working class—are so many indices of the growth of the legions of the working-class revolution.

The struggle for liberation of the oppressed peoples of Asia and the growing resistance of the suffering peoples of Latin America constitute another limitation to the upward development of United States imperialism. There are *inherent contradictions within American imperialism* which work with irresistible force to break up the whole system. The anarchy created by the private ownership of the means of production results inevitably in murderous competition, crises and wars. The class character of American capitalist society must lead without fail to class wars. The sharpening contradictions within American capitalism will arouse gigantic forces which will be strong enough to overthrow it. The alliance of the 17 million industrial workers, the 4 million agricultural workers, the 10 million Negroes, and the millions of exploited tenant farmers will constitute a powerful bloc which will be able to crush the present dictatorship of the bosses.

These exploited and oppressed masses will rise up and establish a workers' and farmers' government, will organize their own State apparatus in the form of workers' councils, and will

break the monopoly of the capitalists over the means of production.

A genuine Workers' and Farmers' Government of the United States will expropriate all large-scale industries, railroads, super-power plants, meat-packing plants, grain elevator combines. It will nationalize all large land estates; it will establish huge collective State farms, and will satisfy the land needs of the mortgaged and tenant farmers. It will nationalize all banks and commercial institutions. A Workers' and Farmers' Government of the United States will free all American colonies immediately, will grant the right of full self-determination to all Latin-American peoples, will realize full social equality for Negroes. It will disarm the master class and will arm the working masses.

Forward to a Workers' and Farmers' Government! Forward by means of relentless class struggle! The Workers (Communist) Party is the party of the class struggle. It is the deadly enemy of capitalist society. It fights for the complete unity of the working class, for the united struggle of native-born, foreign-born, and Negro workers against the common enemy: trustified capital.

The Workers (Communist) Party calls upon all workers and exploited farmers to leave the old capitalist parties.

Workers and exploited farmers, vote for and join the Workers (Communist) Party!

Rally around the platform of the class struggle!

Down with capitalist rule!

Forward to a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

THE END.

VOTE COMMUNIST!

For President

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

For Vice-President

BENJAMIN GITLOW

For the Party of the Class Struggle!

For the Workers!

Against the Capitalists!

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